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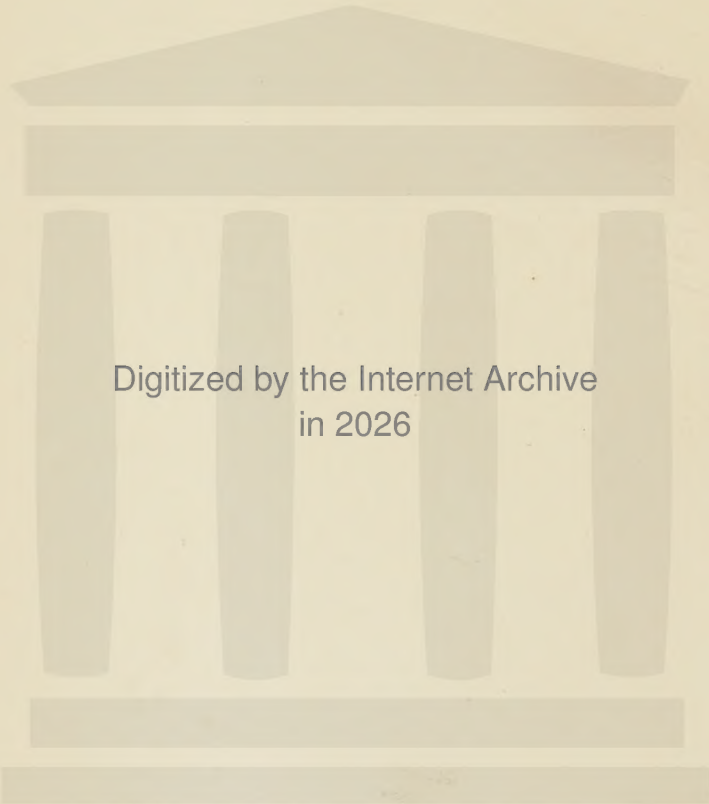
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H. M. Queen Victoria
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VOL. III

1879-1885



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EDITORIAL NOTE

WHEN his Majesty the King decided to sanction the publication of the Second Series of *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, it was intended that the Royal correspondence should be brought down to the close of 1885. This seemed to be the natural break, as it was in the winter of 1885-6 that Mr. Gladstone definitely adopted the policy of Irish Home Rule, and by so doing changed the whole face of national politics; and it was just after 1885 that there emerged, to take a leading part in public affairs during the closing years of the Queen's reign, some statesmen who are happily still with us, notably Lord Rosebery and Lord Balfour.

Owing, however, to various circumstances, the original scheme was not carried out in its entirety, and the two volumes published in February 1926 only covered the years 1862-1878. The present volume, therefore, covering the years 1879-1885, completes the Second Series as originally conceived. The Editor has to thank the same ready helpers as before, with the addition of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who has kindly placed at his disposal some letters of Queen Victoria written in 1882.



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INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER I

THE year 1879 opened amid serious domestic distress ; a hard winter aggravated the suffering caused by a period of acute depression both in industry and in agriculture. Fresh anxiety was caused by startling news of a grave disaster in South Africa. As Cetewayo, the Zulu king, had disregarded the ultimatum sent him by Sir Bartle Frere, the High Commissioner, British troops under Lord Chelmsford advanced early in January into Zululand, and on the 22nd of the month a British camp at Isandhlwana was surprised by the enemy, 800 white soldiers and nearly 500 natives being killed to a man. The Government, without withdrawing their confidence from either High Commissioner or General, reproved Sir Bartle Frere for having gone to war without authority from home ; but this action did not by any means satisfy public feeling. Reinforcements were sent out, and the situation was improved by an heroic stand at Rorke's Drift and by successes gained by Lord Chelmsford at Gingihlovo and by Colonel Evelyn Wood at Kambula ; but the delays in obtaining a definite mastery drove the Government, which had found some difficulty in defending its policy in Parliament, into a decision in May to send out Sir Garnet Wolseley with supreme civil and military authority over part of South Africa—namely, the Transvaal, Natal, and adjacent territory. Before, however, Sir Garnet had taken over the command of the forces in the field, Lord Chelmsford had won on 4th July a complete victory before Ulundi, Cetewayo's kraal. The King was captured by the end of August, and a temporary settlement was effected by splitting up the country into thirteen districts. Sir Garnet also gave a Crown Colony Constitution to the Transvaal, assuring the disaffected Boers that the annexation would never be revoked.

As the trouble on the Natal frontier was surmounted, that on the Afghan frontier became more acute. After General Roberts's victories in December 1878, organised resistance died down. The Ameer, Sher Ali, retreated with the retreating Russian Cabul mission into Turkestan ; his appeals to the Emperor Alexander were disregarded, and he died in exile in February. Before leaving Cabul, he released his son, Yacub Khan, whom he had long kept in confinement ;

and with Yacub the Indian Government concluded in May a treaty at Gandamak, by which the Ameer accepted British control of his foreign policy, with a British agent at Cabul, and ceded the frontier districts which gave the British the command of the passes. Sir Louis Cavagnari, who had conducted the negotiations at Gandamak, was appointed British Agent at Cabul. He and his mission were received with all respect on 24th July, and lodged in the citadel of Balahissar; but, six weeks later, on 3rd September, they and their escort were treacherously attacked in the Residency by Afghan soldiers, and were all massacred, the Ameer taking no step to protect them. No time was lost in re-establishing the British position. General Roberts pressed on rapidly by the Kurram Pass to Cabul, winning a victory over the rebels at Charasiab on 6th October, while General Stewart reoccupied Candahar. Yacub, who had early fled to General Roberts's camp, abdicated when the General entered Cabul, and was sent to India. Final decisions as to the future were postponed.

Early in the year the spendthrift Khedive of Egypt, Ismail Pasha, abruptly attempted to throw off the control that France and England had been gradually driven to impose on his financial and administrative vagaries. He dismissed his responsible Premier, Nubar, and his French and English Ministers. As he refused to listen to remonstrance, France and England invited him to abdicate; and his hesitations were speedily ended on 26th June, when the Sultan of Turkey, his Suzerain, deposed him and appointed his son, Tewfik, Khedive in his place. Two permanent Controllers, Major Baring and M. de Blignières, whom the Khedive was to have no power to dismiss, were then appointed by England and France.

These imperial questions, and the delays which took place in carrying out the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin, occupied much of the time of Parliament. Mr. Parnell and his party continued their policy of obstruction, and found great scope for its exercise on the Army Discipline Bill and particularly the provisions for flogging, which were, after long debates, considerably limited. When the recess came, the Parnellites took advantage of the general distress to foster in Ireland a violent Anti-Rent campaign, in which the strongest language was used, and to promote which a Land League was formed. The Government retaliated by arresting, on 19th November, three of the most active agitators, and there was a slight check in the movement.

In England the depression had revived, among a portion of the agricultural community, the desire for Protection, particularly in the form of Reciprocity. Lord Beaconsfield, however, in a debate in the Lords, repudiated passages from his speeches of the forties as "musty phrases," and declared that Reciprocity was dead. In view of the necessary approach in 1880 of a General Election, the recess was mainly occupied by a series of great political demonstrations all over the country, to denounce, or support, the Beaconsfield Government. The most striking of these was Mr. Gladstone's electioneering tour in Midlothian at the end of November, when he delivered a vehement series of philippics against Lord Beaconsfield and his policy.

In Germany Prince Bismarck definitely made a new departure both in domestic and in foreign policy. He pushed forward his negotiations with the Vatican over the May Laws, whose author, Dr. Falk, resigned office; he broke with the National Liberal Party, and began to coquet with the Catholic Centre instead; and he abandoned Free Trade and started to build up a constructive system of Protection. In foreign policy he risked the hostility of Russia by signing in October a defensive alliance with Austria, the inclusion of Britain in which he affected at one time to desire, and which was hailed by Lord Salisbury, the Foreign Secretary, in the interests of peace, as "glad tidings of great joy." In France Marshal MacMahon resigned at the end of January the Presidency of the Republic, and was succeeded by the President of the Chamber, M. Jules Grévy, a convinced Republican, whose own position in the Chamber fell to the Republican leader, M. Gambetta. A forward education policy was launched, exciting vehement hostility from the Church.

Queen Victoria was grievously distressed by one incident of the Zulu war—the loss of his life in an outpost affray by Prince Louis Napoleon, the only child of the Emperor Napoleon III and of her friend the Empress Eugénie, who had been educated with British officers at Woolwich and had been eager to serve with them in the field. Her Majesty was also greatly interested in the choice, for the newly created Bulgarian principality, of Prince Alexander of Battenberg, one of whose brothers, Prince Louis, was serving in the Royal Navy. The Queen's third son, the Duke of Connaught, was married in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, on 13th March, to Princess Louise Marguerite, daughter of Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia, her Majesty being present in state.



CHAPTER I

1879

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 1st Jan. 1879.—What a sad beginning to the New Year! What sadness, what grief on so many sides! Our darling precious Alice,¹ one of my beloved five daughters, gone, after but six days' illness, gone for ever from this world, which is not, thank God, our permanent home! What misery in her once dear, bright, happy home! And my poor dear Loosy far away in a distant land, in another quarter of the globe!² May God preserve all my dear children and their children, as well as all my friends, and give me strength to bear up and struggle on, in spite of all these trials, and cruel shocks and griefs!

Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry in 1879.

<i>First Lord of the Treasury</i>	.	EARL OF BEACONSFIELD.
<i>Lord Chancellor</i>	.	EARL CAIRNS.
<i>Lord President</i>	.	DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON.
<i>Lord Privy Seal</i>	.	DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.
<i>Home Secretary</i>	.	RICHARD A. CROSS.
<i>Foreign Secretary</i>	.	MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.
<i>Colonial Secretary</i>	.	SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH.
<i>War Secretary</i>	.	COL. HON. FREDERICK STANLEY.
<i>Indian Secretary</i>	.	VISCOUNT CRANBROOK.
<i>Chancellor of the Exchequer</i>	.	SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE (<i>Leader of the House of Commons</i>).
<i>First Lord of the Admiralty</i>	.	WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.
<i>President of the Board of Trade</i>	.	VISCOUNT SANDON.
<i>Postmaster-General</i>	.	LORD JOHN MANNERS.

¹ The Grand Duchess of Hesse had died on 14th December, 1878. See Second Series, vol. ii, p. 655.

² Princess Louise was in Canada, with her husband Lord Lorne, the Governor-General.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 8th Jan. 1879.—Heard from Lord Beaconsfield, that there would be nothing to prevent my going to the North of Italy¹ in the latter part of March, which I am very anxious to do, as I feel it an absolute necessity for my nerves and health, to have a complete change of scene. Germany I could not bear to go to this spring, Switzerland was too cold, and Italy I have long desired to see.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 12th Jan. 1879.—Lord Salisbury, with his humble duty to your Majesty, submits respectfully that on Friday Count Schouvaloff² spoke to him with respect to the future candidate for the Principality of Bulgaria. He said that at first the Emperor had desired to find a Bulgarian: but that no suitable Bulgarian could be discovered. Then the idea was to select a relative of the Prince of Montenegro: but, in addition to the extreme objection of Austria to this plan, it was doubted whether the Bulgarians would willingly accept a Montenegrin. To Prince Charles of Roumania there were several objections. The one that weighed chiefly with the Russian Government was this—that to prevent the revival of a Byzantine Empire, the Russians would risk everything; and that a Prince reigning from the Pruth to the Balkans, with a prospect of getting further, would bear a formidable resemblance to the

¹ Lord Beaconsfield had written on 6th January: "Italy is probably one of the safest places in Europe. It would appear that there are no British members of the International, and it is said that the Society itself is scrupulous in not permitting foreigners to accomplish [its] behests. Thus, your Majesty will observe that two Germans shot at the Emperor William; a Pole at the Emperor Alexander; Moncasi was a Spaniard; the cook, who tried to stab King Umberto, was a Neapolitan; Vera Sassulitch was a Russian; and though Orsini at Paris was an Italian, the Italians always looked upon the Bonapartes as natives, and especially the last Emperor." The two attempts on the German Emperor, and those on Kings Alphonso and Humbert, had all taken place in the previous year. See Second Series, vol. ii, Introductory Note to ch. 17, p. 586.

² Russian Ambassador.

political creation they most feared. This candidature, therefore, they would resist strongly. A Russian candidature, such as Dondoukoff or Ignatieff, was, he said, of course out of the question. There only remained Prince Battenberg; who had the advantage of being a *persona grata* not only in Russia and Austria, but also (he said) in London, on account of the position of his brother¹ in the English navy: and as he was poor, and was nothing but a lieutenant, he might look upon the Principality of Bulgaria as promotion, and would probably accept it.

Lord Tenterden² to General Ponsonby.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 16th January 1879.

DEAR GENERAL PONSONBY,—The Chinese Minister has sent his interpreter, Mr. Macartney, to the Foreign Office, to explain that in consequence of attacks which have been made upon him in China for having too much Europeanised himself by living familiarly with Englishmen, and for having allowed his wife to appear in public, he is obliged now to be exceedingly circumspect.

He would consequently be glad if it could be arranged that his wife should be received by the Queen, separately from himself, that no gentleman except the interpreter should be present at the Audience granted to her by her Majesty, and that no refreshments should be offered either to himself or to her, and that they may be allowed to depart forthwith for the train so that she may not have to meet with more persons than could be avoided.

He is a very genial representative of China, and it would be much to be regretted if he or his wife should be exposed to anything on their return on account of a want of care in the Audience ceremonial. I believe it is as much as their lives are worth. . . . Yours sincerely, TENTERDEN.

¹ The late Admiral of the Fleet Prince Louis of Battenberg, who was created Marquis of Milford Haven in 1917.

² Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 17th Jan. 1879.—Before luncheon I received the Chinese Minister's wife, Madame Kuo, who was presented by Lady Waterpark. She is small, and wears the usual Chinese dress, only with a large sort of tippet over it, entirely lined with fur, which she kept on all the time in the house, only a few little ornaments on her head, but nothing else, and no additional wraps for going in the open carriage! She had the celebrated small squashed feet. Mr. Macartney, the interpreter, was there, to interpret for her. She seemed much pleased. She is by way of seeing no gentlemen, but Lord Salisbury could not help doing so, as well as everyone else on the journey.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 20th Jan. 1879.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty :

With regard to the peerage suggested for Mr. Cochrane,¹ Lord Beaconsfield feels that it is quite unnecessary for him to assure your Majesty, that on the subject of granting honours, or indeed in the exercise of patronage generally, he is always only too ready, and too happy, when he finds himself in a position which enables him to meet your Majesty's wishes.

The case of Mr. Cochrane, however, is full of difficulties.

In the first place, his immediate accession to the Peerage would not only probably, but certainly, insure the loss of his present seat, which at this moment would be a disaster. But this is the least of the difficulties.

There are more than a dozen Members of the House of Commons, all of them with superior claims

¹ Mr. Baillie Cochrane, who entered Parliament first in 1841, and was now sitting for the Isle of Wight by the narrow majority of 9, was raised to the peerage as Lord Lamington in the spring of 1880, when Lord Beaconsfield resigned.

to those of Mr. Cochrane, who have expressed their desire to have their names submitted to your Majesty for the distinction of a Peerage; and Lord Beaconsfield has only succeeded in tranquillising those claims by confidentially assuring the claimants that there is no intention at present on the part of your Majesty to exercise your Majesty's prerogative in this respect, except when in recognition of public services, but that, on a legitimate occasion, as, for instance, a dissolution of Parliament, these desires should be impartially considered.

Lord Beaconsfield has no hesitation in saying that the elevation of Mr. Cochrane at this moment would call forth a dangerous degree of discontent in the ranks of the Conservative Party, would alienate the feelings of some powerful individuals, would seriously diminish Lord Beaconsfield's personal influence with his followers, and affect the results of the impending General Election.

Under these circumstances he earnestly hopes that your Majesty will deign to reconsider the wish, which your Majesty graciously intimated on this subject, and that your Majesty will pardon the frankness with which, as a matter of public duty, Lord Beaconsfield has expressed his views to your Majesty.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

OSBORNE, 23rd Jan. 1879.—. . . The Queen understands the difficulty about Mr. B. Cochrane, but wishes it were only possible to give him a little encouragement that he would *not* be forgotten. . . .

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 26th Jan. 1879.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty:

With reference to an observation in your Majesty's gracious letter, he would venture to remark that, from experience, he finds that a message of hope, or balm, to a certain friend of Lord Beaconsfield, in

whom your Majesty deigns to take an interest, is rather a dangerous step, as it is sure to be followed up by paragraphs in all the journals, announcing the impending honour, and by leading articles in what are called, by courtesy, the journals of Society, written, to use a diplomatic phrase, in an "identic" style, and showing the extreme propriety of the promotion in question. Then, after a time, these articles are forwarded to Lord Beaconsfield as proofs that "the opinion of the country" would sanction, and almost require, the *immediate* exercise of the prerogative in this case. All this, Lord Beaconsfield assures your Majesty, leads to great inconvenience. But, on this matter, some day perhaps, in audience, your Majesty will permit Lord Beaconsfield to speak. . . .

[*Same Day*] . . . The question of the "Distress"¹ was again considered by the Ministers in the Cabinet of yesterday, especially with reference to the letter of General Ponsonby, enquiring whether there were any particular place where it would be desirable that aid from outside should be accorded.

There is nothing so difficult as partial aid when the distress, though not absolutely general, is still extensive and in various places.

The locality most suffering at the present moment is, perhaps, the City of Glasgow, but the Lord Provost, in his letter of yesterday morning to the Secretary of State, though he deplores its increase, does not yet state that the local machinery is incapable of grappling with it.

A very great difficulty also occurs in the case of Scotland, from the fact of the Scotch having no poor law, or rather having one which, from its not permitting outdoor relief under any circumstances, is absolutely nugatory.

For example, immense sums are raising at this moment at Sheffield, the place in England where the distress is most severe, by the machinery of the poor

¹ See Introductory Note.

rate. If assistance were given to Glasgow, where not a shilling has been raised except by voluntary contribution, and where property is legally exempt, the discontent at Sheffield, Wolverhampton, and other places in England would be keen, and scarcely unjust.

Then again the distress at Glasgow, and in many places in England, is aggravated by the strikes of different classes of workmen. It would be a terrible mistake if workmen acting so injudiciously, and so unworthily, should be encouraged in their conduct and sustained by the charity of other communities. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 11th Feb. 1879.—Directly after breakfast there came a telegram from Colonel Stanley to General Ponsonby, telling of a great and most unfortunate disaster at the Cape, or rather more Natal, the Zulus having defeated our troops with great loss, and Lord Chelmsford¹ obliged to retire. How this could happen we cannot yet imagine. A Cabinet was to be called at once, and large reinforcements ordered out. Thirty officers, 70 non-commissioned officers, and 500 men have fallen. It is fearful. The Zulus lost more than 3,000. I sent the telegram over to Bertie, who soon came over to me, and remained talking a long time.

General Ponsonby to Colonel Stanley.

[*Telegram.*]

OSBORNE, 11th Feb. 1879.—The Queen wishes you to telegraph to Lord Chelmsford that she sympathises most sincerely with him in the dreadful loss which has deprived her of so many gallant officers and men, and that her Majesty places entire confidence in him

¹ The General in Command in South Africa. He was the second baron, his father, the first baron, having been Lord Chancellor. See Second Series, vol. i, p. 508, and vol. ii, pp. 645 and 656; and Introductory Note to this chapter.

and in her troops to maintain our honour and our good name.¹

Sir Michael Hicks Beach to General Ponsonby.

COLONIAL OFFICE, 12th February 1879.

DEAR GENL. PONSONBY,—I have telegraphed to Sir Bartle Frere² to catch the steamer at St. Vincent—“The Queen desires me to express her deep feeling at the terrible calamity, and her implicit confidence in you.” Yours sincerely, M. E. HICKS BEACH.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 18th Feb. 1879.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty :

He is greatly distressed at not having the honour and the happiness of an audience of your Majesty to-day, but he is really quite prostrate, though Dr. Kidd assures him his *malaise* will pass away, and even speedily. Still, he cannot shut his eyes to the fact that he has rarely left his roof for the last three months, and he feels that so great a Sovereign as your Majesty should not have a sick Minister.

This is the anniversary of the fifth year of the existing administration. He hopes he has not altogether failed in devotion to your Majesty, and in some accomplishment of your Majesty's policy, but he feels deeply how much, in any efforts, he owes to your Majesty's support and experience and confidence. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 24th Feb. 1879.—Heard from George C.,³ that the Prince Imperial is determined to

¹ Lord Beaconsfield wrote the same day to the Queen : “ It is to be hoped that [Lord Chelmsford] may be equal to the occasion, but it is impossible not to feel that this disaster has occurred to the Headquarters Column, which he was himself commanding.” The letter is given at length in *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi, ch. 11.

² Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner for South Africa. See Second Series, vol. ii, pp. 502, 644, 656, etc. There was at that date no direct cable to South Africa.

³ The Duke of Cambridge, Commander-in-Chief of the British Army. About Prince Louis Napoleon, see Introductory Note.

go. Difficulties were made as to his actually serving, but George suggested his going out on his own hook, specially recommending him to Sir Bartle Frere, in the same way that Paris and Robert Chartres¹ had joined the American army. The Prince is delighted, and expressed a great wish to serve and show his gratitude to me and the British nation. He is to start on Thursday.

The Sultan of Turkey to Queen Victoria.

[Telegram.]

CONSTANTINOPLE, 17 Mars 1879.—L'Ambassade Britannique a fait part à mon Gouvernement de l'ordre que votre Majesté a bien voulu donner à sa flotte de quitter le golfe d'Ismidt pour sortir du détroit des Dardanelles. A cette occasion je ne saurais assez exprimer à votre Majesté tout le prix que j'attache aux relations amicales qui ont de tout temps existé entre nos deux états et à l'intérêt sympathique qu'elle a bien voulu me témoigner en s'associant aux efforts déployés durant les derniers graves événements pour assurer la sécurité du pays. C'est dans ces sentiments qu'en exprimant à votre Majesté ma reconnaissance personnelle je fais des vœux ardents pour la gloire et la prospérité de nos deux états et pour le raffermissement des rapports qui les unissent si heureusement.

The Marquis of Salisbury to General Ponsonby.

[Telegram.]

FOREIGN OFFICE, 18th March 1879.—In answer to your telegram of yesterday I suggest following: "I appreciate highly the amicable sentiments your Majesty has expressed in your telegram. I have watched with the sincerest sympathy your resolute efforts to restore security and good government to your people. In the pursuit of these objects your Majesty may rely confidently on my friendship and

¹ The Comte de Paris and the Duc de Chartres, Orleans princes.

may be assured of the high value I attach to the safety and independence of your Empire.”

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 19th March 1879.—In both Houses of Parliament most impertinent remarks were made about my message of condolence and encouragement to Lord Chelmsford and Sir Bartle Frere, but they were stiffly and decidedly answered, especially by Lord Beaconsfield.

23rd March.—Saw Sir Wm. Jenner,¹ and later Lord Beaconsfield, who was very anxious about the Cape debate. He would do what he could to support Sir Bartle Frere and Lord Chelmsford, but the feeling was strong against them. Roumelia seems the great difficulty, but he does not despair. Afghanistan looked like settlement. I then spoke of Hanover. He is going to write himself to Bismarck.² Lord Beaconsfield and Sir M. H. Beach were, in addition, to dinner. Talked to the latter about the Cape. He is very unhappy about the debate, especially about the despatches of censure, which he must unwillingly write, being forced upon him by the Cabinet. He has written a private letter, to explain this to Sir Bartle Frere. He hopes soon to have better news, and will do all in his power to defend him and Lord Chelmsford. In Canada he thought Lorne was doing very well.

BRITISH EMBASSY, PARIS,³ 27th March.—Got up, feeling rested. Received a telegram, which on opening I found, to my unbounded grief and horror, to contain the terrible words: “Have just taken a last look at the beloved child.⁴ He expired at half-past three this morning, from paralysis of the heart. Your broken-hearted daughter Victoria.” How heart-rending! My poor darling Vicky! Only a

¹ Her Majesty's physician.

² Two of the letters of this correspondence between Lord Beaconsfield and Prince Bismarck were published in *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi, ch. 9.

³ The Queen was on her way to Lago Maggiore.

⁴ The little Prince Waldemar of Prussia, who was 11 years old.

week to-day since she returned home, and twelve days since I took leave of her! Our poor family seems persecuted by this awful disease, the worst I know. I sent and received many telegrams.

After luncheon, received the President, M. Grévy, in the big drawing-room. He was presented by Lord Lyons,¹ and I asked him to sit down. He expressed great satisfaction at my receiving him under the present painful circumstances, and his regret at my not remaining longer, and his not being able to show the friendship and respect entertained for England and me, by France, which he called *la sœur de l'Angleterre*, that France wished and required peace, and that *Chauvinisme* was at an end. He praised Bertie very much, whom they considered *un Parisien*. I shook hands with M. Grévy when he left. Lord Lyons introduced M. Waddington, Prime and Foreign Minister, half an Englishman, who has been at Harrow,² and at Oxford with Lord Derby. He was at the Berlin Conference last year, speaks English like an Englishman, and was most civil, expressing much regret for the sad loss of poor dear little Waldie.

VILLA CLARA, BAVENO, 1st April.—In the afternoon drove with Beatrice and Jane C[hurchill] beyond Gravellona, and back. The mist was low down on the hills, but one could just see that there was much more snow on them. The children on the roads know me quite well, and call out “La Regina d’Inghilterra.” There are such dreadful, queer-looking pigs here, as thin as greyhounds, and with quite long legs. Two mounted Carabinieri generally follow the carriage at some little distance, and ones on foot patrol the roads. They look very smart and well turned out.

Queen Victoria to the Sultan of Turkey.

[Copie.]

VILLA CLARA, BAVENO, 12 d’Avril 1879.

SIRE, ET MON BON FRÈRE,—Je profite du retour de Sir Henry Layard,³ pour qui, ainsi que pour Lady

¹ British Ambassador in Paris.

² It was at Rugby, not Harrow, that M. Waddington was educated.

³ British Ambassador at Constantinople.

Layard, votre Majesté Impériale a toujours été si bienveillant, pour le charger de remettre ces lignes à votre Majesté et pour vous prier d'agréer mes remerciements les plus affectueux pour l'aimable lettre qu'il m'a remise de la part de votre Majesté. Il sera aussi le porteur de mon portrait, que je vous prie d'accepter et de croire, en le regardant, que c'est le portrait d'une amie sincère, qui désire le bien-être de votre empire, et qui fait des vœux ardents pour que toutes les mesures si nécessaires pour le développement et l'amélioration de vos sujets de toute religion quelconque réussissent, et fassent des progrès visibles.

C'est la meilleure garantie pour la paix, que votre Majesté désire, je le sais, autant que moi.

En faisant bien des vœux pour votre bonheur, ainsi que pour celui de vos enfants, je me dis, Sire et mon bon Frère, de votre Majesté Impériale la bien bonne Sœur, V. R. & I.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 29th April 1879.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty :

He cannot refrain from expressing his grateful sense of your Majesty's most gracious reception of him yesterday. The times, during your Majesty's absence,¹ had been critical and trying, but cares and dangers alike seem to vanish when guided by your Majesty's experience, and sustained by your Majesty's generous and indulgent consideration.

Lord Beaconsfield was much moved by the interesting souvenir of the Italian visit, which now adorns his saloon. It is always gratifying to be remembered, but to be remembered by his beloved Sovereign, in her hour of relaxation, might well touch his heart.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 7th May 1879.—Saw Lord Beaconsfield at 1. Talked of the loss of the Bill, permitting the marriage with a sister-in-law, in favour

¹ At Baveno.

of which Bertie presented a petition, and which we are most anxious should pass. It has passed the Commons but is thrown out in the Lords, the Bishops being so much against it. Lord Beaconsfield is in favour of it, but the whole Cabinet against it!! Incredible! Spoke also of another, for opening Museums on Sundays, which likewise has been lost, but only by 10. It ought to be granted, for it is the only way to improve the masses and check drink. Then talked of the Cape, which causes Lord Beaconsfield still much anxiety, though the news are not bad; of Roumelia, of Afghanistan, and of some shameful motion, from a Radical, finding fault with the Viceroy, for having telegraphed to me.

The Grand Duke of Hesse to Queen Victoria.

[Translation.]

DARMSTADT, 8th May 1879.

DEAREST MAMA,—On my return I found the newly elected Prince of Bulgaria, with whom I was anxious to have as much intercourse as possible, prior to his departure for Livadia, which took place to-day.

He requested me to beg you to entertain for him feelings of friendship, since he puts the highest value on the confidence shown him by England. Standing on the basis of the Berlin Treaty he will, above all things, try to raise Bulgaria—materially as well as morally—to a higher level and to strengthen her position, whilst he will himself keep aloof from trying political experiments.

He sets a great value on your being informed that he is *not Russian* in heart, and that he is *not* inclined to act as Russia's tool (*marionnette*). He is, therefore, rather vexed by the invitation to Livadia, as he sees it is but too natural that people will say he is gone to get his instructions, and as he is altogether likely to be regarded as a Russian vassal. He yielded at length, simply to avoid giving offence to the Emperor, and to avoid appearing ungrateful, since he and his family owe so much to the Emperor's kindness.

He certainly does not want to get instructions, but he may collect there very useful information, since Dondoukoff is there at present, and others who have hitherto ruled Bulgaria. If it can be done without being glaringly rude, he will refuse to receive the Bulgarian deputation at Livadia.

Nobody will believe that he and his parents knew nothing more than what we all read in the newspapers ; and yet they were, so to say, taken by surprise. At first they did not think it worth while, in Russia, to keep Alexander informed, and now he is urged to come to Livadia, afterwards to present himself at the Courts of the Great Powers, and then to go as soon as possible to his new country.

It is no easy task which he is going to undertake, but with intelligence, energy, and honesty he will—I trust—honourably fulfil it.

I hope his brother Louis may be enabled to meet him in London, when he presents himself there, as the former is well known and liked in London Society, and may be of much use to him there.

It is very desirable that Turkey should believe in his honest and friendly sentiments ; he had himself occasion to appreciate the good qualities of the Turks, and he made even friendly acquaintance with several Turkish Generals and Officers at Constantinople, when he was with the Russian army, and when at that time he repeatedly stopped at Stamboul for his amusement.

In conclusion I repeat his request : not to believe him to be a Russophile, but to have faith in his honest intentions, since he puts the highest value on the friendship of England.—LUDWIG.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 12th May 1879.—Received the news that Charlotte¹ had been safely delivered of a

¹ The eldest daughter of the Crown Princess of Prussia, who had married the Hereditary Prince of Saxe-Meiningen.

little girl,¹ all doing quite well, and I have thus become a great-grandmother ! Quite an event.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 13th May 1879.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty :

He remembers the birth of the royal “great-grandmother” herself, and little did he think then that he should be her servant and counsellor !

The strangeness of life, ever wonderful, can only be realised by taking somewhat extensive views of time. The days in detail are equally marvellous, but custom prevents us from being adequately astonished.

Your Majesty has become the “mother of many nations,” and your Majesty is still in the freshness and fullness of life. Your Majesty has yet much to do and to see. May all, that now occurs, be for your happiness and glory !

Viscount Barrington to Queen Victoria.

[*Telegrams.*]

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 13th May 1879.—With humble duty.

Mr. Fawcett² made ineffectual appeal to Mr. Dillwyn to withdraw his motion³ as involving matters of great delicacy which would place House in an unfair position ; present motion was fresh on paper this day and time to consider it should be given previous to debate. Mr. Dillwyn made long speech evidently composed for his original motion. He emphatically disclaimed any reflection on the actions

¹ Princess Feodora of Saxe-Meiningen, who married Prince Henry XXX of Reuss.

² The blind economist, afterwards Postmaster-General.

³ The motion ran thus : “ That, to prevent the growing abuse by her Majesty’s Ministers of the Prerogative and influence of the Crown, and consequent augmentation of the power of the Government in enabling them, under cover of the supposed personal interposition of the Sovereign, to withdraw from the cognisance and control of this House matters relating to policy and expenditure properly within the scope of its powers and privileges, it is necessary that the mode and limits of the action of the Prerogative should be more strictly observed.”

of her Majesty, and had used word "Crown" as head of executive in constitutional sense. He felt loyalty to the Crown and the greatest respect for her Majesty, but considered we were drifting into taking the advice of a single Minister instead of a collective advice from Cabinet. History showed that evils come from favourite Ministers. In these days matters have been withdrawn from cognisance of House until too late, citing as examples purchase of Suez Canal shares, and the sending of Indian troops to Malta, which violated Bill of Rights, the Anglo-Turkish Treaty, the Afghan war, the annexation of the Transvaal. If these matters had been submitted to Parliament in time they might have been stopped; when questions are asked we are told there is no official information; commented on her Majesty's telegram from India; private correspondence should not be carried on about public affairs; complained of covering despatch sent to Sir Bartle Frere; and styled such proceedings as double-dealing; and of her Majesty's letter of sympathy to Lady Frere as mentioned by *Daily News* Correspondent. He wished Cabinet responsibility to be more clearly defined than at present and believed he was only doing his duty as a loyal subject of the Queen. He sat down without any cheering amid cries of divide.

Mr. Courtney¹ seconded, saying this was a vote of Censure on Ministers on [? not] the Crown; such vote was an impossibility. Sovereign had right to be consulted, to encourage, and to warn, but cannot initiate. It must not be asked for advice, only for its opinion on a Minister's opinion; action of Ministers must be collective not individual. Cast reflections on my making notes and warned me that in telegraphing speeches to your Majesty I was violating the privileges of Parliament and laying myself open to its censure, citing case of Mr. Grenville and King George III; charged the front Bench with abandoning all wish to debate affairs beforehand, denounced Prime

¹ Afterwards Lord Courtney of Penwith.

Minister as not understanding Constitutional principles, whose exercise of autocratic power was raising a democratic power among us. Mr. Courtney was an old Whig and wished to maintain the collective authority of the Cabinet.

Mr. Gladstone rose at seven-thirty, though against protest from Lord R. Montagu, overruled by the Speaker. Mr. Gladstone heartily concurred with Mr. Fawcett's appeal for delay. He vindicated his exercise of the prerogative on abolition of purchase because it was stopping illegality, disclaimed all participation with this motion for which there was no excuse; all these things had been already complained of, but House had approved them by large majorities. This has lifted the responsibility from the shoulders of the Government. House under the circumstances would be called on to pass vote of Censure on itself. After three hours' debate he hardly knew if we were engaged on serious discussion. He ridiculed Mr. Courtney's attack on myself as it showed his ignorance. In the days of Mr. Grenville it was an offence to communicate debates in Parliament to the nation; that is not the case now; therefore it is absurd to say that the Sovereign is not to be kept daily informed of proceedings in Parliament.

Chancellor of Exchequer said a few words and was quite prepared to defend any action of her Majesty at the proper time. He could not understand this motion and should reserve further remarks till late in the debate. Lord R. Montagu rose at 8, and an attempt was made to count, which failed as the House soon filled.

14th May.—With humble duty. After Chancellor of Exchequer's speech Lord Hartington said he should vote with the Government. At 1 a.m. Sir R. Peel moved adjournment of the debate, ayes 46, noes 347. Captain Nolan then moved adjournment of the House; division thereon, ayes 43, noes 307. Mr. Sullivan then moved adjournment of debate, which was agreed to by Chancellor of Exchequer at 1.45 a.m.

Sir Henry Layard to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

BRITISH EMBASSY, CONSTANTINOPLE, 13th May 1879.

DEAR SIR HENRY PONSONBY,—Will you kindly inform the Queen that her portrait,¹ which she sent through me to the Sultan, arrived safely? His Majesty was so impatient to receive it that he requested me to have it sent to the Palace the moment that it was landed. I was there to present it to him. He was greatly delighted with it, and said that, although some years had passed since he had seen her Majesty, he recognised her features; that he had not forgotten, and never should forget, her kindness to him; and that he should place the portrait in his own room so that he might always have it before him. He spoke, standing before the picture for some time, with an animation and warmth, which impressed me with his sincerity. He observed that it was the first time a Sultan had received a similar proof of friendship from a foreign Sovereign, and expressed his intention of writing at once to the Queen to thank her for it. I had presented her Majesty's letter to him, of which I was the bearer on my return here, the day of my arrival, when his Majesty asked me to dine with him.

His Majesty, who appears to be in better health than when I left Constantinople in February, welcomed Lady Layard and myself back with much kindness and cordiality. We spent an afternoon with him last week. He drove Lady Layard about the spacious grounds of Yildiz in a "Victoria," and then insisted upon her driving him, whilst he held a parasol over her. I mention this little incident, as it was probably the first time that a Sultan and Caliph has shown such attention to a European lady.

Begging you to present my humble duty and that of Lady Layard to her Majesty, I am, yours very truly, A. H. LAYARD.

¹ See above, p. 15.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 15th May 1879.—After luncheon saw Mr. Dalton.¹ Had a long talk about the boys, who are both to go to sea for five or six months—half round the world.² Mr. Smith and others are afraid lest something might happen if both went, but Mr. Dalton convinced me that, though the plan has objections, it is the best. Their staying away for two years, as at first proposed, would not do. Mr. Dalton certainly has the children's interest most earnestly at heart.

18th May.—Saw Lord Beaconsfield, and took leave of him before going to Scotland. He is very anxious about the Cape, and said the feeling against Sir Bartle Frere and Lord Chelmsford was very strong, which *I* think very wrong. Strongly protested against anyone being sent out to conclude peace, and said no one ought to be sent out to supersede the others, but merely to carry a message and explain the views of the Government. This was decided on already ten or twelve days ago, but was prevented. Spoke again of orders, distinctions, etc.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 19th May 1879.— . . . Lord Beaconsfield must repeat that the Cabinet was strongly of opinion that the departure of the two young Princes in the same ship will greatly disquiet the public mind, and that, if anything happened to them, your Majesty's Government would justly be called to a severe account. He cannot adequately describe the feelings of your Majesty's Ministers on this subject.

¹ Tutor (1871–1879) and then Governor (1879–1888) to Prince Albert Victor and Prince George of Wales, now Canon of Windsor. See Second Series, vol. ii, pp. 312, 521, 574.

² In H.M.S. *Bacchante*.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 19th May 1879.—I entirely approve the plan for my grandsons going, which ought never to have been brought before the Cabinet.

The Prince of Wales only mentioned it to Mr. Smith, and was with right extremely annoyed at his doing so.¹ Such a thing was never done when the Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred went on long journeys and voyages.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 20th May.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He most deeply apologises for having, he fears, caused your Majesty some unnecessary anxiety and trouble yesterday, respecting the cruise of the young Princes.

The fact is, it was brought under his notice at the end of a long and exhausting Cabinet, and, at the moment, he thought your Majesty might wish to speak to him on the subject, and he knew that your Majesty's presence in England was to be counted only by hours.

Had the matter been originally brought before his notice, he should, he hopes, have given it more thought, and acted with more discretion. He takes the whole blame upon himself, and trusts your Majesty will not be angry with Mr. Smith, who is inexperienced, and ought to have been guided better by Lord Beaconsfield.

The matter ought never to have been brought before the Cabinet. Lord Beaconsfield will now withdraw the subject from the consideration of Ministers, and as there are no records of the Cabinet Councils, he shall address a letter to the Lord Chancellor, taking the whole responsibility of the affair on himself.

It grieves him to trouble your Majesty almost at the moment of your Majesty's departure. It grieves him

¹ *I.e.* bringing the matter before the Cabinet.

much. And yet he must congratulate the Empress of India on the triumphant conclusion of the Afghan war!

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 26th May 1879.—I omitted mentioning how much annoyed I was at a proposal¹ from Lord Beaconsfield, which I got two days ago, and which I annex, with my answer. Much surprised at not hearing again. Heard that the Ameer had signed the peace.² A great thing. Greatly startled and much annoyed at hearing from the House of Commons that an announcement had been made of Sir Garnet Wolseley's appointment, not having received any answer, or further explanation. Telegraphed to Lord Beaconsfield to ask what it meant.

27th May.—Had a rather distressed answer from Lord Beaconsfield, who said they thought I had sanctioned, though not approved the proposal, and therefore, as the House was going to be adjourned for Whitsuntide, they had considered it best to make the announcement, forgetting he had not answered my cypher.

Sir Michael Hicks Beach to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 27th May 1879.—Sir M. Hicks Beach presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and encloses the three Commissions to Sir Garnet Wolseley: which, should they receive your Majesty's approval, he would take with him to South Africa on Thursday next, 29th May. The Commissions to Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Henry Bulwer, and Col. Lanyon will still remain in force, so far as they are not revoked by these later Commissions.

Enclosed is also a despatch which Sir Michael Hicks Beach proposes to address to Sir B. Frere,

¹ To send Sir Garnet Wolseley to South Africa, as High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief for Natal, the Transvaal, and adjacent territories, thus placing him over Lord Chelmsford, and restricting Sir Bartle Frere's authority to Cape Colony and adjacent territories. See, for the correspondence between the Queen and Lord Beaconsfield on the subject, *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi, ch. 11.

² The Treaty of Gandamak. See Introductory Note.

explaining the grounds of the action which it has been decided to take. That action can scarcely come as a surprise to Sir Bartle Frere : indeed it was partly suggested by himself. He has more than once, in private letters to Sir Michael Hicks Beach during the past three months, referred to the difficulties arising from the friction between the military authorities and the civil Government of Natal. In one letter he writes as follows :

“ The relations between the Natal Government and the military are now, and must for some time continue to be, all important. Natal is the key, and at present the natural base of all military operations ; and everything else, for some time to come, in the Natal administration should be subordinated to military considerations. This can never be under the present form of Government, unless a military man be at the head : and he ought to be a part of the military staff of the army, and not a military man employed as civilian Governor.”

Sir Michael Hicks Beach also wrote privately to Sir B. Frere, in the middle of March, to the effect that, as soon as he could, he should return (via Kimberley and Griqualand) to Cape Town, and there at once undertake several important matters (which have necessarily been delayed by his absence) alluded to in the accompanying despatch : and that he should not return to Natal. Sir B. Frere has replied to this letter : has raised no objection whatever to the course suggested : and is, indeed, actually carrying it out. It appears from the newspapers that he is expected at Cape Town by the opening of the Cape Parliament on June 20th. For these reasons, Sir M. Hicks Beach believes that Sir B. Frere will be prepared for the action that has been taken, and cannot but admit the force of the reasons in its favour.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 28th May 1879.—Received a long, explanatory letter from Lord Beaconsfield, as well as

a satisfactory one from Sir M. H. Beach, showing the necessary reasons for the appointment of some General Officer possessing civil powers as well. Lord Chelmsford seems not to be up to the mark. The demands for every sort of thing are so boundless, the disagreement with others so unsatisfactory, etc. The wording of the instructions by Sir M. H. Beach seems very conciliatory.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 29th May 1879.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty :

With reference to your Majesty's gracious intention of conferring one of your Majesty's orders on Prince Battenberg, Lord Beaconsfield thinks the proposal highly politic, but he has observed that, in conferring such honours on Royal personages, and especially on incipient royalty, it may be wise rather to exceed the absolute requirements of the case. It is not well that the decoration should not be equal to their hopes. In this instance, what does your Majesty think of conferring on the Prince the Red Ribbon ?

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 8th June 1879.—Besides Sandro¹ and Louis B[attenberg], the three ladies, Lord John Manners, Principal Caird,² and Sir H. Ponsonby dined with us. Sandro, in answer to a question of mine, said Prince Bismarck had been very kind to him. Sandro went to him saying, he did not wish to accept the offer, and thought someone older would be better, upon which Prince Bismarck shut the door, and told him he would not let him out before he promised to accept. Sandro asked what would happen should he fail, as his whole future would be ruined, and he answered, "You will at all events take away a pleasant recollection with you." This made us all laugh.

¹ Prince Alexander of Battenberg.

² Principal of Glasgow University, and a famous preacher of the Church of Scotland; died 1898.

Sandro takes only a young German friend with him, a Herr von Riedesel, and possibly a German secretary, but otherwise no one. He thinks it better, though he will be unable to trust anyone, which is dreadful, especially for a young man. He means to turn for advice to the Foreign Ministers and Agents, and said he had told this to Lord Salisbury.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 10th June 1879.—As I had no time to write by messenger, wish to express my sincere interest in young Prince Alexander of B. and my belief that his professions are perfectly sincere, as he and his brother are singularly honest and good young men, known and liked from their infancy by my dear Alice. Any help and encouragement we can give him would be well bestowed.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 19th June 1879.—After dinner Leila Erroll read, and I was writing, when, just before 11, a telegram was given me with the message that it contained bad news. When I, in alarm, asked what, I was told it was that the Prince Imperial had been killed. I feel a thrill of horror in even writing it. I kept on saying “No, no, it can't be!” To die in such an awful way is too shocking! Poor dear Empress! her only child, her *all*, gone! I am really in despair. He was such an amiable, good young man, who would have made such a good Emperor for France one day. It is a real misfortune. The more one thinks of it the worse it becomes. Got to bed very late, it was just dawning! and little sleep did I get.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 26th June 1879.—. . . The Queen thanks Lord Beaconsfield for his letter received the day before yesterday. She feels very anxious about the poor Prince of Bulgaria, and has not seen

any answer to his appeal to herself. *After* we urged him to go to *Constantinople*, and *not* to be *Russian*, we *cannot* desert him. It would be then his only chance to throw himself into the arms of Russia, and not be honourable in us.

The accounts from Constantinople of the Sultan, and also from Cairo of the behaviour of the Khedive, are very annoying, but if France and the three other Powers go with us *all* will be right.

The accounts from the Cape fill one now with redoubled anxiety, for, if so precious a life was not more cared for, how much less will others be !

The dear Empress Eugénie's conduct is beyond all praise.¹ Her resignation, her uncomplaining, patient submission to God's will, her conviction that it could not be otherwise, and the total absence of all blame of others are admirable. But her heart is broken and her poor health seems sadly shaken. She can eat nothing and hardly sleep ! *But how* could it be otherwise ?

The Queen wishes to say, as she cannot see Lord Beaconsfield, that she *cannot* consent to send Leopold to Australia. Since the loss of her beloved child, the separation from another, and this dreadful event of the dear Prince Imperial's death, she cannot bring herself to consent to send her very delicate son, who has been *four or five times at death's door*, who is *never* hardly a *few* months without being laid up, to a great *distance*, to a climate to which he is a stranger, and to expose him to dangers which he may not be able to avert.

Even if he did *not* suffer, the *terrible anxiety* which the Queen would *undergo* (nervous and shaken as she feels since last November)² would unfit her for her duties at home and might undermine her health. So she must ask Lord Beaconsfield to look *elsewhere*

¹ The Queen had been to see the Empress at Chislehurst on 23rd June.

² When diphtheria first began its ravages in the Grand Duchess's family at Darmstadt. See Second Series, vol. ii, pp. 646-7, 653-5.

for someone to represent her at this great Exhibition in Australia.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 27th June 1879.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty :

... He entirely agrees with your Majesty about the visit of Prince Leopold to Australia. Under the happiest circumstances it would be too great and too continuous a strain upon your Majesty's nervous system. The distance is too great, and the absence would be too long.

The events of Egypt are momentous,¹ but Lord Beaconsfield thinks to the advantage and, he will presume to say to the credit, of your Majesty's Government. The charges of the Opposition, that your Majesty's Government has succeeded in Egypt only at the cost of introducing the influence of the other great Powers into that country, where before that of Great Britain was not only paramount, but isolated, have no foundation whatever. The Egyptian *malaise* lasted much longer, and was much more serious, in the time of Lord Palmerston, when he was Foreign Secretary under Lord Melbourne, and was eventually settled by Lord Palmerston inducing Russia, Austria, Prussia, the Porte, entering [? to enter] into a Convention to terminate them, and finally, by a general Treaty, to which France was a party, definitively to settle them.

Lord Beaconsfield ventures to think that in the present instance your Majesty's affairs in Egypt have been conducted with promptitude, secrecy, and success. . . .

Lord Salisbury has communicated with the Porte, and very strongly, about the Prince of Bulgaria, but we have so much need of the Sultan at this moment that we cannot venture to threaten him on this head. Lord Beaconsfield trusts it may yet go right.

He must humbly apologise for this dull de-

¹ See Introductory Note to this chapter.

spatch; he fears a little illegible too, as he writes recumbently.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 12th July 1879.—At the door [of Camden Place, Chislehurst] we¹ were met by Lord Sydney, Princesse Mathilde (whom I had not seen since '55, in Paris), Prince Napoleon, with his two sons Victor and Louis, Prince Lucien Bonaparte (the savant, who always resides in England), Prince Charles Napoleon Bonaparte (his nephew), Prince Murat, his daughter Princesse Eugénie, and his brother Prince Louis, the Duc de Bassano, and others. We were at once taken into the Chapelle Ardente, which was beautifully arranged, all hung with white, and burning candles all around. On a catafalque, covered with a violet velvet pall embroidered with golden bees, was placed the coffin, on which rested the Order of the Légion d'Honneur, and quantities of wreaths. We placed our wreaths, and knelt a moment in prayer, and then retired by the same way we came.

Were shown into rather a large room, which had been the Prince Imperial's study, and which the poor Empress had just rearranged for her son. The Princes and Princesse Mathilde came in here, and the different Princes were presented by Prince Napoleon, who was very civil, and very subdued and embarrassed. Princesse Mathilde I found very little altered. Prince Napoleon is aged and grown balder, and more like to Napoleon I than ever. His eldest son Victor is tall and nice and intelligent-looking, very like the Italian family, but with the fine Bonaparte brow and complexion. The second is much shorter and darker, and has quite the Bonaparte features. Prince Lucien is grey and old-looking, very pleasing and gentleman-like. He loved the dear young Prince dearly, and feels his death acutely. He is the son of Napoleon I's elder brother. He was present at the painful identification and said, "Mais, je l'ai reconnu!"

¹ The Queen and Princess Beatrice, and their suite.

When I remarked to Prince Napoleon how dreadful this event was, he said, "C'est bien triste. Votre Majesté a été si bonne." Princesse Mathilde repeated the same and added, "Il s'est précipité—et a dû avoir l'esprit malade." I said I thought he had only had the natural wish to distinguish himself and "de faire quelque chose."

The moment was now fast approaching when what remained of the dear young Prince had to leave his mother's roof for ever! We went into the next room where my ladies and gentlemen were waiting with the Marquis de Castelbajac, who had been placed in attendance on me. By pulling up the blinds we could look out upon the entrance where the gun carriage was already drawn up at the door. There was a great assemblage of officers, gentlemen, and French gentlemen, the latter in evening dress, standing close by, the Cadets from Woolwich mounting guard. In another few minutes, we saw the coffin borne out by ten Artillery Officers, preceded by the clergy, one priest carrying the crucifix on high. The muffled drums rolled, and the minute guns began to fire. It was a fearfully thrilling, affecting moment! The pall bearers (my four sons, George C., Crown Prince of Sweden, the Duc de Bassano, and Monsieur Rouher) now came out to take their places, holding white cords hanging from the gun carriage. We went out and stood at the corner of the house watching the preparations, and were then asked to go up to a small raised covered seat from whence we could witness the sad procession.

In a few minutes all was ready to start. First came the 200 Military Cadets, to whom was given, in remembrance of the Prince having been one himself, the special honour of forming the Escort, marching in column of four with arms reversed. The Royal Artillery Band, with muffled drums continually rolling, playing the fearfully solemn, wailing, and too well-known Dead March in *Saul*, the ten R.A. officers who had carried the coffin and placed it on the gun carriage,

the clergy, including the Bishop [of Constantine], who wore his mitre which had a very fine effect, and then suddenly appeared the gun carriage drawn by 6 horses, bearing its sad and precious freight. The coffin was covered and most beautifully arranged with the two flags of England and France, and wreaths of flowers, including my laurel one which, as I had wished, had a conspicuous place; two Artillerymen sat in front holding the dear Empress's beautiful wreath of white flowers. Immediately behind the gun carriage came the dear Prince's horse, entirely caparisoned in black and gold, led by Mr. Gamble, the late Emperor's stud groom who had been with him in England in '55, had followed him here in '71, and had remained with the Prince Imperial. The two poor servants (Uhlmann, the Prince's faithful valet who had been with him from his birth, and the soldier servant Lomas who went out with the Prince). Then followed Prince Napoleon, his sons, the rest of the Bonaparte family (all wearing the *Légion d'Honneur*), Christian, young Prince of Baden, Franz Teck, Ernest Leiningen, Edward Weimar, Victor Gleichen, and Louis Battenberg, besides an immense number of British Generals, Colonel Stanley, Sir M. H. Beach, next to whom came numbers and numbers of French—it was a most beautiful, touching, solemn procession, and yet not at all gloomy.

After it had left the grounds the band took up that beautiful and most sad march of Beethoven's. Nearly 2,000 people passed in one unceasing stream, almost, if not all, French of every class—all wearing violets and carrying wreaths, also banners brought over from France. We occasionally caught glimpses of the sad procession winding its way across the Common, the music died gradually away, and when the minute guns ceased firing we knew that the procession had reached the church. The Duchesse de Mouchy had joined us after a little while, and was very much affected. She said the poor Empress was in a dreadful state, each gun seeming to shake

her through and through, which I could quite understand, as they are fearful, combined with the solemn music and muffled drums !

When everyone had passed, we went back into the house. M. de Castelbajac said, as we went in, " L'intérêt est fini ; il ne reste plus que le sentiment." Mme Aguado and Mlle de Larminat came to say the Empress had got up again to see me, so we hastened up, and I went into the little room where I saw her last. It was in such complete darkness that I could not in the least see where she was. She came towards me, and sobbed much, and when I put my arms round her, telling her no one felt for her as I did, she gently said, " Je vous remercie, Madame, pour toutes vos bontés." She asked if Beatrice was there, and kissed her also. Then we left the room.

This is the end of all that was once so splendid and brilliant, and of one who promised to be a blessing not only to his country, but to the world. He wore truly the "white flower of a blameless life." We got back after 1. Arthur showed me a letter from Capt. Lane, who was one of those who went out to find the poor dear young Prince's body—he gives a short account of it, and sent Arthur a little bit of the Prince's hair which he cut off thinking I might like to have it.

14th July.—Received from George C. all the reports from Lord Chelmsford, enclosing Captain Carey's account and Colonel Harrison's, as well as the troopers' evidence, all of which are distracting and painful in the highest degree, showing how the poor Prince was deserted, and how everything went wrong, the saddle giving way, etc. But that no one remained when there are so many instances of courage and self-sacrifice in going back, or remaining to save another's life, is too dreadful ! Col. McNeill did this for his servant in New Zealand, getting the V.C. for it, and there are others who have done the same in this war. It is incredible that there was not one who remained behind to try and save this precious life ! I sent for

Arthur, and gave him these reports to read, at which he was also greatly shocked.

The Prince of Wales to Queen Victoria.

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, 14th July 1879.

MY DEAREST MAMA,—You were, I am sure, as much impressed as we all were at the sad ceremony of Saturday.

One has at any rate the satisfaction of feeling that everything that could be done to pay all honour and respect to the poor young Prince who met with such a horrible and untimely death was done. The arrangements seemed to me in every respect admirable, and the long procession was most striking, though of course I was not able to judge so well as the spectators.

Your interview with the poor Empress must have been most painful, and, now that all the excitement is over, the utter blank and desolation to her must indeed be dreadful. . . .

Alix sends you her best love, and I remain, your dutiful and affectionate Son, BERTIE.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 17th July 1879.—Directly after luncheon, saw Prince Lucien Bonaparte, who had asked to be received, in order to thank me for my kindness. He expressed in the very strongest of terms the gratitude of himself and the whole family for the kind sympathy which I, in common with my people, had shown, as well as the generous “*témoignage de respect et de regret*” which had been unanimously evinced on this dreadful occasion, and which would never be forgotten. I replied that it came truly and sincerely from the heart, and that I could not sufficiently express all I felt. The Prince remained half an hour talking most pleasantly. In speaking of the respect shown on the occasion of the dear Prince Imperial's death and funeral, Prince Lucien said that it was quite unique in its way. He would ever retain the deepest sense of gratitude towards

me, "qui ne finirait qu'avec son dernier soupir." "J'ai toujours aimé l'Angleterre, que je connais depuis tant d'années, et maintenant je l'adore." He said he abhorred politics, and entirely devotes himself to science, but not in opposition to, rather in conjunction with, religion.

At quarter to 5 Beatrice and I left for Chislehurst, accompanied by the Duchess of Athole, Horatia S[topford], and Sir H. Ponsonby. Drove straight from the station to the little church of St. Mary's, where we placed two nosegays of white flowers, tied with violet ribbon, on the coffin. After looking at the Emperor's sarcophagus, we drove to Camden Place. The Empress was calm, and not at all hysterical, though crying a good deal at times. She thanked me again and again for all my sympathy and kindness, talked of various things concerning the Prince's departure, Prince Lucien's visit to me, and then suddenly said, with the greatest fervour, "N'est-ce pas, on ne fera rien contre ce pauvre homme? O, non, je vous prie! Il peut avoir une mère!" I hesitated, and said of course it was not entirely in my hands, but that I would try and see what could be done, to which she exclaimed "Merci, merci." I said how unhappy in fact *he* was, and alluded to the grief we felt, upon which she hastily answered, "Je ne veux rien savoir. Je sais qu'on l'a tué, voilà tout." She asked again whether there was any chance of the uniform being found, to which I answered I feared it was not likely, but that the sword might certainly be. Her impression is, from his nature, "qu'il aura attaqué le premier." She then repeated again all the circumstances of his wishing to go to S. Africa. How, when he had first mentioned it, she tried to dissuade him in every way, and had even thought of writing to me, in order to beg me to prevent it. But when she saw how bent he was upon it, saying to his mother that he had no object in life, "Je ne suis pas homme de plaisir," that he cared for nothing of that kind nor for going out

into society, refusing endless invitations, “ Je ne peux rien faire dans mon propre pays ”—what should he therefore do ?—she felt she must no longer stand in his way. When he was refused he was in perfect despair, “ Les pleurs jaillissaient de ses yeux, lui qui ne pleurerait jamais,” and in answer to her question what was the matter, he replied, “ On m’a refusé.” Seeing this, though the Empress was at first delighted at the thoughts of his not being able to go, she became alarmed at the state of despair he was in, and went herself to the War Office, unknown to anyone, to ask if nothing could still be arranged for him to go in some way or another. She then turned to me, saying amidst tears, “ Vous ne croyez pas que j’aurais pu faire autrement, que de le laisser partir ? ” I assured her that I thought she had done quite right. In leaving, the Empress accompanied me to the top of the staircase. At the door, Lord Sydney presented M. Rouher,¹ who said he had seen me at Cherbourg in ’58. Speaking of the Prince’s death, he said, “ C’est un grand malheur pour mon pays.”

The Empress Eugénie to Queen Victoria.

[*Copie.*]

CHISLEHURST, 18. Juillet 1879.

MADAME,—En commençant ainsi ma lettre, ne croyez pas surtout que mon cœur n’apprécie pas tout ce que le vôtre a de tendresse et de délicatesse ; mais je suis si malheureuse dans mes *affections*, que je crains d’employer toute expression qui me touche de plus près. Votre Majesté se préoccupe de ma santé. Hélas ! que de vie il y a encore en moi ! le chagrin ne tue pas où on vit, je le sens bien ; je suis encore tellement sous le coup de la terrible situation que Dieu m’a faite, que je suis sans force, même pour envisager un projet ; puis je sens que toute ma vie est entre les deux tombes, en attendant que Dieu ait assez pitié de moi pour ouvrir la troisième.

Je supplie votre Majesté de me laisser auprès

¹ The well-known Minister of Napoleon III.

d'eux !¹ Si vraiment j'ai le courage, plus tard, j'essaierai, car pour moi tout conseil qui vient d'elle me touche et m'entraîne, mais tout est si récent ; je n'ai pas encore eu la force de sortir ; je veux d'abord aller auprès d'eux, et je n'ai pas pu encore.

Combien l'idée d'être auprès de votre Majesté serait douce à mon cœur ! Mais il me semble que lorsqu'on est si frappée, que je le suis, Dieu semble vous rayer de la liste des vivants. Je ne sais comment remercier votre Majesté de l'amitié qu'elle me montre. J'en suis profondément touchée, surtout des larmes que j'ai vu couler pour mon enfant bien aimé. . . .
EUGÉNIE.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

OSBORNE, 28th July 1879.—The Queen received Lord Beaconsfield's letter this morning, for the contents of which she had been prepared. She is extremely grieved about it,² and at the anxiety and worry which it causes Lord Beaconsfield. . . . A tax on tea is to be deprecated ; at any rate, a large one. . . .

One great lesson is again taught us, but it is never followed : NEVER let the Army and Navy DOWN so low as to be obliged to go to great expense in a hurry.

This was the case in the Crimean war. We were not prepared. We had but small forces at the Cape : hence the great amount having to be sent out in a hurry. The means of transport (which seemed to have been greatly improved) were inefficient already at Cyprus. All this causes great trouble and expense afterwards.

If we are to maintain our position as a first-rate Power—and of that no one (but people of the Bright,

¹ The Queen had asked the Empress to stay with her at Osborne.

² The division in the Cabinet as to the method of meeting the bill for the Zulu war. Sir S. Northcote, Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed to increase the tax on tea, but Lord Beaconsfield and the majority of the Cabinet were opposed to increasing taxation ; and it was ultimately resolved to have recourse to Exchequer Bonds. See *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi, ch. 11.

or *rather* Anderson, Jenkins etc. school) can doubt—we must, with our Indian Empire and large Colonies, be *prepared for attacks and wars, somewhere or other, CONTINUALLY*. And the *true economy* will be *to be always ready*. Lord Beaconsfield can do his country the greatest service by repeating this again and again, and by *seeing it carried out*. It will *prevent war*.

This Zulu war which we *must* hope to see ended soon, if not at once, would *certainly have come*, though it may have been somewhat precipitated.

Lord Cranbrook has the courage and firmness which Sir S. Northcote¹ ought to have, and, though his irritability might be a difficulty, it would have been usefully counterbalanced by the former qualities.

Lord Lytton to Queen Victoria.

SIMLA, 20th July 1879.— . . . There is only one other Indian subject which I am anxious to mention to your Majesty before closing this letter. It has reference to the status of the Viceregal Court ; which has never been defined.

When the government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown, the Governor-General, ceasing to be the Company's representative, became, forthwith, your Majesty's Viceroy, and, as such, the representative of your Majesty's person. It was natural, and doubtless intended, at the time that the Governor-General's establishment, which then became a Viceregal establishment, should here, as elsewhere, be placed on the customary footing of a Court, in reference to all State ceremonies and occasions : so that the representation of your Majesty's august presence might, in India, be surrounded with the same dignity and the same outward tokens of respect which it commands from your Majesty's subjects and officers in Ireland, or wherever else it is

¹ Referring to Lord Beaconsfield's decision, when he left the House of Commons, to entrust the leadership to Sir Stafford Northcote rather than to Mr. Gathorne Hardy, as Lord Cranbrook then was. See *Life of Disraeli*, vol. v, ch. 13.

confided to one of your Majesty's Viceroys. As a matter of fact, however, your Majesty's wishes and intentions on this point have never been expressed, for indeed it has not ever, so far as I know, been submitted for the expression of them. . . .

As matters now stand, the Viceroy has no recognised right, nor any power whatever, to prescribe the costume of those who attend the levees and drawing-rooms which it is his honourable duty to hold in the name of your Majesty. More than this, your Majesty's Indian Civil Service, which constitutes the greater part of English society in India, is not only without any sort of official uniform, but it has, strictly speaking, no right to wear the ordinary Civil Service uniform on any occasion. As regards the Viceroy himself, he has, practically, less power to prescribe the costume of those whom he receives in your Majesty's name than belongs to any private gentleman in the reception of his own guests. For no private gentleman is obliged to receive, in his own house, persons who enter it in a costume indicative of disrespect to its owner. But the Viceroy of India is, of course, on all State occasions, obliged to receive everyone whose privilege or duty it is, on such occasions, to pay respect to the Sovereign by waiting on your Majesty's representative for that purpose. This the members of your Majesty's Indian Civil Service are not only entitled, but bound, to do. Yet, strange to say, they are not by the present rules of that service either entitled, or bound, to wear, on such occasions, that costume which constitutes the customary mark of a subject's respect to the person of his Sovereign. Nor is the Viceroy empowered to require it of them. . . .

What actually *does* happen is that officials who happen to have any sort of uniform, and unofficial persons who happen to have the ordinary Court dress, attend the Viceregal levees and State dinners in those costumes: those who have them *not*, do not feel called upon to procure them; and they come in

every variety of private dress—some in trousers, others in breeches—and so forth, whilst the ladies attend the drawing-rooms, some in trains, others in long, others in short dresses. The whole effect is incongruous, undignified, and more or less ridiculous ; yet I am persuaded that there is no part of your Majesty's dominions where the decorum and etiquette of State ceremonial has a greater political importance than it has in India. It is for this reason that, although the matter is certainly not a very serious one, I venture to think that it deserves the notice of your Majesty's Government ; from whom I propose to solicit an official decision on the point whether the Viceregal Court in India is a Court or *not* a Court. If it is not a Court, I would humbly recommend the abandonment of all pretension to Court ceremonial, which ceases to be impressive when it is careless. If, however, it *is* a Court, I would respectfully solicit some rule or authority enabling your Majesty's Viceroy to place such ceremonials on a more congruous and becoming footing.¹ . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 3rd Sept. 1879.—Saw Lord Chelmsford, who brought me a Zulu shield, 4 ft. 6 ins. by 2 ft. 4½ ins., made of oxen hide, stiffened and prepared in a peculiar manner. This one, white, with a little black, belonged to the regiment of unmarried men, and was taken out of the King's Shield House, in his kraal, at Ulundi. Formerly they always used to carry these large shields, and those who have no fire-arms almost invariably do so still. But Cetewayo, finding them very inconvenient in fighting with fire-arms, had them reduced to about one-third of their size. Had a great deal of conversation about many things, including Ulundi, and the reason of the retreat after it, for which Lord Chelmsford has been blamed. He said it was because there were not

¹ See below, p. 50.

enough provisions, and that if he had detached only a small portion of troops to follow the King, they might have been beaten, and Cetewayo would have claimed the victory, thereby entirely doing away with the effect of the victory at Ulundi. Lord Chelmsford considers the war over. He praised Col. Pearson very much, and as for Col. E. Wood and Col. Buller,¹ he considered they were the "two best officers" in my service. Col. Buller he thinks "one of the finest soldiers of the century," so modest and reticent, that it was in fact very difficult to say for what individual deed he had got the Victoria Cross, as he had been doing acts worthy of it all along the line, and it was only when others were there to prove what had been done that he could be recommended for any special act of bravery.

Lord Lytton to Queen Victoria.

[*Telegram.*]

SIMLA, 6th Sept. 1879.—It is with the deepest sorrow that the Viceroy has to inform the Queen Empress that letters have been received from the Ameer of Cabul, stating that on the 3rd instant the British Embassy was attacked and fired by some revolted Afghan regiments who were joined by the mob. That his Highness, who stated that he is himself besieged with five followers, has failed in repeated efforts to rescue the residency, and that there is every reason to fear that Sir Louis Cavagnari with all the members of his mission have perished. General Roberts has been instructed to advance on Cabul with all possible expedition. General Stewart has already reoccupied Candahar, and the troops in the Peshawur Valley are being reinforced.

The Viceroy cannot express his lasting sense of the loss sustained by her Majesty, by himself personally, by all India, and by England.

¹ Afterwards Field-Marshal Sir Evelyn Wood and General Sir Redvers Buller.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

BALMORAL, 6th Sept. 1879.—Though the Queen is suffering from headache, and not able to write at length, she cannot let a post pass without expressing her horror and distress at this terrible catastrophe at Cabul. *How* could it happen? After this we shall probably have to hold and probably take Cabul! The troops were sent too quickly away, and the residency *cannot* have been sufficiently protected! Just when *all* seemed satisfactorily settled! . . . The Queen fears there are no hopes whatever for that distinguished man Sir P. L. Cavagnari, who will be a serious loss!

It is only by hearing by word of mouth¹ from people who have been through all these wars, and who know *all* the difficulties and dangers and impossibilities that you *CAN really judge* of the true state of the case, and it is for *that* that she always wishes to see her Generals and Officers when they return, and wishes Lord Beaconsfield to do so. For to judge from private letters, and letters only (which *depend* on the talent of the writer), is not *safe*.

The Queen has to acknowledge Lord Beaconsfield's letter received to-day. She will answer it to-morrow. But so much she will just say, that *Lord Chelmsford's* visit was very satisfactory, and that he can explain very much which was *not* understood *here*. . . . He is most amiable, has most interesting accounts to give, and is most generous to others.

Queen Victoria to Lady Cavagnari

[Copy.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 9th September 1879.

DEAR LADY CAVAGNARI,—Though I am a total stranger to you and never had the pleasure of knowing personally your distinguished and noble husband, I

¹ Lord Beaconsfield, in spite of pressure from the Queen, refused to ask Lord Chelmsford to Hughenden, and only gave him an official interview in Downing Street. See *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi, ch. 12, for this correspondence.

cannot remain silent at this terrible moment, and must intrude on your overwhelming grief to express my deep sympathy.

It is quite impossible for me to express what my feelings are or *how* my heart bleeds for you !

To me, to my country, and to India, the loss of your most distinguished husband is immense. And after the first dreadful hours of anguish, it will be soothing to you to hear how he was valued and respected !

That God may in His infinite mercy sustain and comfort you as He alone can the widowed and bleeding heart, is the sincere prayer of yours truly and sympathisingly, VICTORIA R. & I.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

BALMORAL, 11th Sept. 1879.—The Queen has to thank Lord Beaconsfield for his last kind letter which has crossed hers. The events in India are very distressing. She trusts they may not lead to more serious consequences. But she thinks we *ought* to learn a *lesson* from it—viz.—*never* to withdraw our troops in too great a hurry, and *never* to say beforehand, to satisfy the House of Commons (and we have done this, as Lord Beaconsfield will remember, often against his *own* will and feeling, pressed and urged by his colleagues, and which does no real good), that we shall keep nothing.

Our keeping these countries in India and elsewhere *is* (and will always be) because the *Native* Sovereigns CANNOT maintain *their authority* ; like the Punjab and Oude, especially the former, when after replacing, after much bloodshed, the Maharajah Duleep Singh—then a child—on the throne under a Regency [it] did not maintain its promises and we were forced to take possession of it after another war. It is *not* for *aggrandisement*, but to *prevent war* and *bloodshed* that we *must* do this.

The *Ameer* can't manage his people, and we shall have the *same to do* in South Africa. Lord Beacons-

field *must* see these officers or he will be *quite* in the dark as to the REAL state of the case. Lord Palmerston always saw everyone who came back from high commands, and Lord Beaconsfield *ought* to do so too.

He should see Sir E. Wood and Col. Buller, our two most distinguished men, and he must be generous and see poor Lord Chelmsford too. It would do harm if he did *not*. The Queen will write more about Zululand after she has further spoken to these two very gallant officers who are still here, and who are Sir G. Wolseley's friends.

The Queen was very glad to see the determination with which Lord Beaconsfield spoke about the late peace with Afghanistan being a *tabula rasa*. SHE suspects *Russian instigation*. The French openly declare it.

The Queen hopes Lord Beaconsfield is well. . . .

13th Sept.— . . . To return to the Cape. The Queen has had a great deal of most interesting conversation with these two very distinguished men, Sir E. Wood and Col. Buller, and she questioned them (as she had done Lord Chelmsford before) very fully on every point, the result of which is, that the war and the power of Cetewayo (pronounced Etchwayo) are virtually at an end and broken. But that confederation will be very difficult, that annexation would be the *safest* and least *expensive*, as it would *effectually* prevent future wars, and that the *nearest* to *that* (if we cannot annex the country, containing, as Zululand does, the finest and bravest race in South Africa) must be carried out in order to produce the moral effect of our superiority over these people, which is all important.

Sir E. Wood is a remarkably intelligent man; not only an admirable General with plenty of *dash* as well as prudence, but a man of what is *now* called *Imperial* views, loyal and devoted to Sovereign and country, and who takes *in all* the *difficulties* of the position. He is most agreeable as well as amusing, very lively yet *very discreet*.

His accounts would interest Lord Beaconsfield very *much*. He has been in the Crimea (where he was severely wounded), in the Indian Mutiny, where he got the Victoria Cross, in Ashanti, and *now* again where he has rendered the *most* invaluable services. He, as all of them, feels keenly the most unjust and unkind attacks of the Press and House of Commons on the S. African army.

Sir E. Wood himself (as well as Col. Buller), belonging to the Liberal Party through his family, strongly deprecates the conduct of the Opposition in all these very trying difficulties in the East and in S. Africa.

Col. Buller is a grand soldier, and who has shown an amount of bravery and power of indefatigable work *hardly* to be surpassed. He is reticent and rather dry in manner, but speaks very *plainly* his mind when asked. He is hardly a man of such wide knowledge and grasp of mind as Sir E. Wood, to whom he is devoted and *vice versa*.

Both admire the Zulus, and so does Lord Chelmsford. . . .

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

HUGHENDEN MANOR, 16th Sept. 1879.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He is most grateful for your Majesty's letter, one of the most interesting that he has, for a long time, received: full of appreciation of character, and that of people one will hear more of, and much of. Lord Beaconsfield has invited both the heroes to Hughenden, and they will come at different times, and not be, he hopes, quite alone.

With respect to Cabul, . . . if the Russian hand is in this business, their conduct has been premature. We hold the Shutargardan Pass, and occupy Candahar. This is a commanding position, which in a little time we must have retired from.

Sir Henry Elliot¹ wished to see Lord Beaconsfield, and Lord Beaconsfield was obliged to ask him down

¹ Ambassador at Vienna, formerly at Constantinople.

here. He dined at Hughenden yesterday, and quitted it this morning. He did not tell to Lord Beaconsfield more than what we know, but it is well, as your Majesty wisely observed, to see people. You get from them something which cannot be gathered merely from despatches and private letters. Sir Henry is a dry man, with no play of mind, but he knows his business, and is shrewd and safe.

It is quite clear that the resignation of Count Andrassy has somewhat perplexed Prince Bismarck. Lord Beaconsfield thinks that the real cause of Count Andrassy's retirement is that he wished to free himself from the too close intimacy which existed between himself and Prince Bismarck, and which had become to him a source of weakness and unpopularity.

This, however, is not Sir Henry's view, who really believes that Count Andrassy resigned because he was "tired of it," or had an indigestion, or something of that kind. Sir Henry is not an inspired observer, but he is sharp and accurate, and certainly, if his views are correct, the world is on the eve of many troubles. He holds that Russia will certainly attack Austria, and as soon as she can. Lord Beaconsfield is not by any means sure that Germany will come to the aid of Austria, as is assumed. The fear of the French attack may prevent this, and France is only waiting for her opportunity. All this made Lord Beaconsfield say, in a former letter, that he wished to see your Majesty the dictatress of Europe, and it is clearer to him every day that this may be your Majesty's position. . . .

Lord Beaconsfield did not mean that your Majesty should have a "young" Minister, but a "younger" one, a Minister whose physical energies would allow him to hasten to his Sovereign at critical moments, and, however great the distance, offer and receive counsel. This he cannot do, and he feels it acutely. Your Majesty graciously enquired after Lord Beaconsfield's health, and if he did not remember your Majesty's warning at Windsor, he would venture to

say it was excellent ; much better than for many years. He has been now for a long time entirely free from those pectoral complaints which were so distressing, which rendered it most painful to address the House of Lords, and scarcely permitted him, even with his kind and indulgent Mistress, to conduct a Royal audience with propriety. He attributes a good deal of this improvement to solitude, and mechanically regular hours in meals and rest.

On Thursday, however, he has to embark once more on the stormy sea of public life, and address, with a terrible feeling of responsibility, the agricultural interest of your Majesty's kingdoms at one of the darkest hours of their fortunes !¹

Queen Victoria to the Marchioness of Ely.

BALMORAL CASTLE, 21st September 1879.

DEAR JANIE,—I wish it were possible for Sir H. Ponsonby to *get at some* of the *Opposition*, and to point out the *extreme danger* of binding themselves by foolish, violent declarations about their policy beforehand. I hope and trust the Government will be able to go on after the Election, as change is so disagreeable and so bad for the country ; but, if it should *not*, I wish the *principal* people of the Opposition should *know* there *are certain* things which *I never can* consent to.

1. Any lowering of the position of this country by letting Russia have her way in the East, or by letting down our Empire in India and in the Colonies. This *was* done under Mr. Gladstone, quite *contrary* to Lord Palmerston's *policy*, which, whatever faults he had, *was always* for *keeping up England*, which of late years had *quite* gone down, so that we were *despised abroad*.
2. That I would never give way about the *Scotch Church*, which is the real and true stronghold of Protestantism.

These are points which *I never* could *allow* to be

¹ Lord Beaconsfield presided, on 18th September, over the Royal Bucks Agricultural Association at Aylesbury, and delivered a long address on the agricultural situation. See *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi, ch. 13.

trifled with, and I could have *no* confidence in any men who attempted this. Our position in India, and in the Colonies, *must* be *upheld*. I wish to *trust my* Government whoever it is, but they should be *well aware* beforehand I never could if they intended to *try* and *undo* what has been done.

In the same way I never could take Mr. Gladstone or Mr. Lowe as my Minister again, for I never *COULD* have the slightest *particle* of confidence in Mr. Gladstone *after* his violent, mischievous, and dangerous conduct for the last three years, nor could I take the *latter* after the very offensive language he used three years ago against *me*.¹

Sir H. Ponsonby has so many Whig friends that he might easily *get* these things *known*. In former days *much* good was done by Baron Stockmar and Mr. Anson paving the way *for* future arrangements and *preventing* complications at the moment, like Sir R. Peel's failure in '39 about the Ladies. Ever yours affectionately, V. R. & I.

I never *could* take Sir C. Dilke as a *Minister*.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

HUGHENDEN MANOR, 25th Sept. 1879.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty :

He had the honour of receiving yesterday your Majesty's most gracious and interesting letter. . . .

Sir Evelyn left Hughenden this morning, Lord Beaconsfield trusts, not dissatisfied with his visit, and left behind him a most agreeable impression. He is full of information, and flows like a fountain, not like a pump ; spontaneous and natural ; evidently a consummate soldier ; never happier than when in action, but always a sharp observer of men and things, and with a mind rich with practical conclusions, which will be ever ready to assist him in the conduct of affairs and the management of men.

Colonel Buller, who was in the wilds of Scotland, with impending business engagements in Devon, has

¹ On the Royal Titles Bill. See *Life of Disraeli*, vol. v, ch. 12.

asked permission to visit Lord Beaconsfield in the course of next month.

Lord Beaconsfield trusts that your Majesty will find the Grand Duke¹ well. Lord Beaconsfield always remembers "his dear boy," whose acquaintance he made at Osborne, in a manner which much touched him at the time by its frankness and *naïveté*; so that he has always since felt an interest in the young Prince.¹ So much depends on first impressions in life. They colour conduct, and influence events, often after an interval of years.

Lord Beaconsfield cannot conceal his impression, that the state of affairs generally is not free from disquietude; he would even say not free from peril. But everything depends on England, and he still trusts that events will show that the Sovereign of Great Britain is the arbitress of Europe. It will not do to falter now, and the greater the difficulties the greater must be our efforts.

The German Ambassador arrives at Hughenden to-morrow, at his own suggestion, and, avowedly, to make some communication to Lord Beaconsfield. Lord Beaconsfield will lose no time in making your Majesty acquainted with the result of this visit. He has, however, always had an impression that when Count Münster returns from Germany, he always wishes to convey the impression that he has been entrusted with State secrets, while it is well known that he often returns without seeing the Prime Minister of his own country. In the present case, however, having invited himself, it will be difficult to take refuge in the silence quite justified on the part of your Majesty's correspondent.²

¹ The Grand Duke of Hesse, who had been Princess Alice's husband.

² As a matter of fact, Count Münster came direct from Prince Bismarck with a proposal for an alliance between Germany, Austria, and Great Britain. Lord Beaconsfield's report to the Queen of the conversation between himself and the German Ambassador is given in full in *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi, ch. 13. The proposal was received in a friendly but indecisive manner by Lord Beaconsfield and more dubiously by the Queen, but was never followed up by Bismarck. Towards the end of the following month it was announced that a treaty of alliance had been concluded between Germany and Austria.

Viscount Cranbrook to Queen Victoria.

28th Sept. 1879.—. . . The question of the Vice-regal Court has been submitted officially by Lord Lytton, and a full investigation is being made as to former proceedings in respect to it. The Council of India has hitherto been very adverse to imposing the expense of dresses upon the Civil Servants in India, and the successive Secretaries of State have not pressed the matter. It seems one rather for the Lord Chamberlain's office than for the Secretary of State, but although Lord Cranbrook believes it was once submitted to it no order was made.¹ . . .

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

BALMORAL, 2nd Oct. 1879.—The Queen duly received Lord Beaconsfield's cypher.

She has had much conversation with Lord Cranbrook, and she has found him very firm and very fair.

The news from India so far are very good. But, as Lord Beaconsfield said in his first letter *after* the catastrophe at Cabul, there *must* be "*tabula rasa*" as regards the peace, and there *must* be no *half measures*. In the Queen's long experience, half measures, temporising with Cabinet and Parliament, are of *no use*. Don't make promises and declarations to satisfy Parliament, especially *not* when the honour and safety of the country and the great Empire and Colonies belonging to it are concerned. They have hampered us in Zululand.

Lord Beaconsfield has restored the honour of Great Britain to an extraordinary degree, and he must *now* be VERY firm and do *what is required* for the safety of India. Russia is very inimical and gives us stabs in the back.

The affairs in South Africa will also soon be so far settled, though the Queen fears the terms of peace are such as will with difficulty be carried out, beginning with the disarmament. This naturally can only apply to guns ; and if, as Lord Cranbrook truly says,

¹ See above, p. 38.

we disarm the Zulus and they are attacked, we are bound to defend them. The Queen has urged very strongly kind and generous treatment of Cetewayo.

Sir E. Wood has made an admirable speech in the City.

The Queen believes that the two great difficulties in India and South Africa will be settled before the meeting of Parliament. But the difficulties in Europe are only likely to increase.

The Queen has not even hinted anything to Lord Cranbrook about the *Secret Memorandum*¹ Lord Beaconsfield sent her.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 7th Oct. 1879.—. . . Lord Beaconsfield is anxious that your Majesty should appoint Lord Alwyne Compton² to the vacant Deanery of Worcester. Your Majesty is aware of the great hostility Lord Beaconsfield excited against himself by carrying the Public Worship Bill “in obedience to your Majesty’s commands.”

The extreme High Church Party, the creatures and confederates of Mr. Gladstone, have always taken advantage of this feeling against Lord Beaconsfield, and, by intrigue and exaggeration and false representation, have on more than one occasion at elections defeated your Majesty’s Government.

Of late, the justly great influence of several Members of the present Ministry, notably Lord Salisbury, Sir Stafford, Lord Cranbrook, and others, with Churchmen, and the popular and generally approved of ecclesiastical appointments that have been made by your Majesty, have counteracted and mitigated this hostility, and the great body of the clergy have become of late more placable.

Lord Alwyne Compton is the individual who has to a great degree brought this about. He is a repre-

¹ Describing the interview between Count Münster and Lord Beaconsfield at Hughenden.

² Afterwards Bishop of Ely (1886–1905).

sentative man, and, though a High Churchman, is instrumental in inducing Convocation to take, on many occasions, a moderate and patriotic course. A recognition of his character and services would, at this moment, be beneficial.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 27th Oct. 1879.—After tea, saw Lieut. Bigge,¹ with whom I had a long talk. As I said before, he was devotedly attached to the dear young Prince Imperial, belonging, as did Lieutenants Slade and Wodehouse, to the same battery of Horse Artillery to which the Prince had been attached, and all three were his great friends. Lieut. Bigge's grief for the poor Prince's untimely death is very great, and he would do anything for the dear afflicted Empress. After Kambula, Lieut. Bigge became very ill indeed, and the Prince Imperial came to see him in hospital, when he said he hoped they would meet again soon! This was only a week before the Prince was killed, and, humanly speaking, it seemed more likely that Lieut. Bigge would die than that the other should happen. He cautioned and begged the Prince to be very careful, which he promised he would. The great misfortune seems to have been, that the Prince was attached to the Staff instead of being with his old battery, where such a catastrophe could never have happened, and secondly, that he had not one of the French gentlemen with him. Lieut. Bigge said the Prince was so good, so excellent, and that the older he grew the more this would have showed itself. We spoke of the Empress's wish, indeed determination, to go to S. Africa, to visit the spot where her dear son fell, which will be difficult to carry out, but not impossible.

¹ He entered the Household as Groom-in-Waiting in 1880, succeeded Sir Henry Ponsonby in 1895 as Private Secretary to the Queen, during King Edward's reign was Private Secretary to the Prince of Wales, and has been Private Secretary to the King since his accession, having Lord Knollys as his colleague during the first few years of the reign. He was created Lord Stamfordham in 1911.

30th Oct.—Saw Sir S. Northcote after luncheon, and showed him a letter from Lord Salisbury, on the subject of this German and Austrian alliance. Showed him also the confidential communication I had had from Lord Beaconsfield in September, relative to a secret communication on the same subject, received by him from Count Münster. Sir S. Northcote is greatly against (and so am I) any alliance on our part, which might seem directed against France. A letter I had from Fritz two days ago on the same subject leads one to fear this would be the case. Sir S. Northcote was to write to Lord Beaconsfield about it.

Queen Victoria to the German Crown Princess.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 3rd Nov. 1879.—. . . What Fritz said about the alliance or good understanding between Germany and Austria is not *new* to me. It came in a secret form two months ago to my ears; but only now have I heard of it from *Lord Salisbury*, who heard it from Count Karolyi.

I am naturally pleased at the prospect which a cordial defensive alliance between Germany and Austria offers in the interests of peace.

The value of such an alliance, however, would be greatly *diminished* in my eyes, and I am certain in that of this country, if it were misconceived and were supposed to be of such a character as would give umbrage to France. This would be a great misfortune. Fritz seems to think that our influence might be of use in deterring France from opposing herself to such a league, but how far or under what conditions that influence could be exerted beneficially is a question involving a great many considerations, and I know not yet what Lord Beaconsfield's and Lord Salisbury's views are. But I am certain that any league against France would never be tolerated by this country.

Fritz's name shall not be mentioned, and I am very grateful for his giving me the important inform-

ation he has done. If he hears more I trust he will let me know. And I may soon be able to say more. V. R. & I.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 19th Nov. 1879.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty :

He regrets to hear of your Majesty's domestic cares and grief. Losses of old and faithful attendants are not merely sorrows in themselves, but they recall the past ; and the irresistible association of ideas brings back afflictions which we had hoped were not only soothed but entombed.

Lord Beaconsfield fears that it is quite impossible for Sir E. Commerell to hold both his Household and his official post ;¹ but it is still open to him to refuse the latter.

Lord Beaconsfield has, with Lord Salisbury, much considered the question, whether your Majesty's Ambassador should return to St. Petersburg when the Emperor arrives there.

We have received no official intimation that Prince Lobanoff² is kept back with an unfriendly intention. Indeed, we have no more right to assume such to be the case than we have in the instance of the United States, which are doing the same thing. As a matter of policy we must represent to your Majesty that it is wise to take no notice of the Czar's caprices.

With regard to your Majesty receiving Count Schouvaloff, no one of your Majesty's servants can wish your Majesty ever to dissemble. What is the use of being a Queen and an Empress if such a course were necessary, or possible ; but your Majesty may deign to recollect that one of the causes of Count Schouvaloff's unpopularity at his own Court

¹ He was a Groom-in-Waiting, and had just been appointed a Naval Lord of the Admiralty.

² Who had been appointed to succeed Count Schouvaloff as Russian Ambassador.

is the supposed friendliness of his Excellency to England. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

BALMORAL, 22nd Nov. 1879.—The Queen thanks Lord Beaconsfield for his kind letter. She will invite Count Schouvaloff, but would prefer doing so on the 28th, *not* the same day that he presents his letters of recall *unless absolutely necessary*.

Under the circumstances the Queen will give up Sir Edmund Commerell, but he is a *great loss* to her, and it is rather like David and Nathan and the Ewe Lamb.¹

The Queen will try and get some other distinguished officer, for she will not stand all the *dunces* and *fools of rank* being thought *good enough* for Court. And trusts for the future she will be *asked* BEFORE her *people* are asked whether they will accept appointments which they were not themselves aware would *remove* them from the Queen's personal service.

The news from Ireland seems bad.² But sedition must be put down.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 23rd Nov. 1879.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He telegraphed in cypher yesterday in reply to your Majesty's telegram respecting Ireland. Nothing as yet has transpired to occasion the slightest alarm. Nor is there, so far as Lord Beaconsfield can form an opinion, any excitement in the country. The stir is limited, and essentially factitious. Lord Beaconsfield hesitated to take the step till, he believed, it was ripe for action, and that the move³ would enlist the

¹ See II Samuel, ch. 12.

² See Introductory Note to this chapter.

³ The arrest of three men, one of them being Michael Davitt, on 19th November, for seditious language.

sympathies and approbation of all well-meaning subjects of your Majesty in both countries.

Lord Beaconsfield is sorry about Sir E. Commerell. His conscience does not accuse him of ever having placed any dunce or fool near your Majesty's person, for he can unaffectedly and sincerely say that he is of opinion they would be singularly out of their sphere. He thinks, in future, Lords of the Admiralty should not be appointed without their names being first submitted to himself, so that he may always take your Majesty's pleasure before any intimation is made to the individual in question. . . .

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 3rd Dec. 1879.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty :

The " letters " ¹ were not submitted to the Cabinet. Lord Beaconsfield heard, to that effect, last night at Hughenden. The alleged reasons : that it was premature ; other letters, it was thought, were arriving ; and that, as Lord Dufferin was on the point of departure, it was as well that, in a difficult position, your Majesty's Ambassador should have the advantage of the moral influence which results from Russia being conscious that we possess the documents, and can produce them at a moment's notice.

The Cabinet which sat to-day for two hours mainly considered, he ought to say entirely considered, our contemplated relations with Persia, and that too with respect to the larger question, our contemplated policy as to Afghanistan.

Lord Beaconsfield is glad to say that the Cabinet agreed that the Treaty of Gandamak should be *tabula rasa*—a phrase which your Majesty approved ; and having arrived at that definitive position, they considered Afghanistan as a disintegrating State, so that we might retain what was necessary for your Majesty's Empire, and dispose of the rest in that

¹ Correspondence between Sher Ali and Russian agents, found at Cabul.

manner which would be most conducive to its permanent interests. This would permit us, if necessary, to allow Persia to hold Herat as your Majesty's feudatory.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 4th Dec. 1879.—The Queen received Lord Beaconsfield's letter relative to the Cabinet, and its deliberations, yesterday evening. She had previously read the very important papers which Lord Cranbrook sent her, and the very important letters of Lord Lytton, as well as those containing the Russian correspondence. Silence or concealment upon this treacherous correspondence the Queen *deprecates* and *deplores* as exhibiting great weakness.

Regarding the other and very large and difficult subject, the Queen thinks we should delay till more information can be given. It is impossible for the Queen to arrive at any opinion unless she has more information.

Lord Lytton in his letter objects to any great acquisition of territory, and Lord Beaconsfield, the Queen thought, was also opposed to any wide extension of territory. Still in his letter of yesterday it would appear as though Herat is to be included in the territory under the Queen's protection, and that the Shah is to hold it as a feudatory.

Now Mr. Thomson¹ has said that the Shah would pay *no* tribute for Herat. If he does *not*, he is free and independent, and may always be gained over, Lord Lytton thinks (and the Queen agrees), to Russia.

The question is whether England *can safely* incur the responsibilities of Government as far as Herat, and *what* strong guarantees can the Shah give that would secure his good faith in acting with us?

The Queen owns she does not see any chance of the last. However, delay is important so as to make no false step, and in the meantime the Queen would wish for further information with respect to the

¹ Minister in Persia.

apparently conflicting views of the Viceroy and the Cabinet, and also to know the nature of the securities to be demanded from Persia.¹

*Lady Emily Russell*² to *Queen Victoria*.

BRITISH EMBASSY, BERLIN, 5th December 1879.

MADAM,—Your Majesty may be pleased to hear that the visit of their Majesties the King and Queen of Denmark to Berlin has been a great success. We had the honour to dine at the Palace and to witness the cordiality of the reception on the part of the Emperor and Empress, and from the Danish Minister, M. de Quaade, we heard how much it had been appreciated by the King and Queen, who were deeply gratified and touched by their reception here, which could not have been more cordial. The public in general have felt great interest in the visit, and seem much pleased at the *rapprochement* they hope and believe it will ensure. Before this, there were the successive visits of the Russian Grand Dukes, and that of the Cesarewitch and Czarevna (her Imperial Highness had never been in Berlin before) made a sensation, but it passed completely *en famille* and little was known in the general world about it; but the impression in society and all classes is, that the Russian Court is most desirous and anxious to remain on the same intimate footing as before with the Court of Germany, and not to allow Prince Bismarck's alliance with Austria to stand in the way of their former friendship, or disturb their family ties and cordial relations with the Imperial Court here.

The Crown Prince returned from Pegli the day before the King and Queen of Denmark arrived, in obedience to an urgent letter from the Emperor, requesting his Imperial Highness's presence in Berlin during their Majesties' visit. I am happy to say his Imperial Highness is looking in very good health and

¹ Lord Beaconsfield's reply to this letter is printed in full in *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi, ch. 13.

² Afterwards Lady Ampthill. See below, p. 168.

so much better than in June last, thanks to the change of air and scenery; and his Imperial Highness gave a much more satisfactory account of the Crown Princess, and of the benefit she is deriving from the good climate of Italy, and the complete rest and quiet her Imperial Highness is able to enjoy at Pegli, where the Crown Prince will return after the 20th of January, and having been present at the *Ordensfest* here. . . .

Everyone is astonished at the Emperor's wonderful health and spirits, and that he is able to enjoy life as cheerfully and keenly as ever; and certainly his Majesty's activity and looks are quite *marvellous* for 82. A change has come over the Emperor, however, in regard to public affairs; for now his Majesty yields in *everything* to Prince Bismarck, whom he allows to do as he pleases with the Government of the German Empire, in all its branches. Perhaps one of the most wonderful results of his personal influence has been to overcome the Emperor's reluctance to ratify the alliance with Austria, which his Majesty deemed contrary to the feelings and traditions of the House of Hohenzollern. It is nevertheless *immensely* popular throughout Germany, and has strengthened Prince Bismarck in the eyes of the nation. Odo thinks that by their artful diplomacy the Russians will know how to *neutralise* its effects and keep up the good relations that have so long subsisted between the Courts of St. Petersburg and Berlin, and which the late visits of the Russian Princes have again tended to cement. . . . I am, Madam, your Majesty's most obedient, humble servant, EMILY RUSSELL.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 17th Dec. 1879.—The Queen returns Lord Cranbrook's letter. The news to-day are *anxious* but still, as regards Genl. Roberts, not alarming.¹ The inability of Genl. Gough's advancing

¹ On the 14th an attack was made on General Roberts by Afghan tribes, and he had to retire from Balahissar to the Sherpur cantonment. An attack on Sherpur on the 22nd was repulsed with heavy loss, and the British troops reoccupied Cabul.

is distressing. We “must conceal nothing,” Lord Cranbrook says, which is all very well, but we must be *very* secret and reticent as to what we *intend* to do, and as to *means*, etc., and act very vigorously and firmly; for else our enemies may profit by every difficulty and every weakness. Be *firm* on this point. Publicity is the ruin of *all* warfare. It is impossible to go on in that way.

Reinforcements must be sent to the front, and troops sent out so that other parts of India may not be left unguarded. But *don't* (just as you said) interfere with the Generals from here. They know what they are about.

This sudden rising seems inexplicable! All went so well last winter!

The Queen hopes Lord Beaconsfield got safely back? The cold is *very severe*, and the fog was very thick here. . . .



INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER II

WHEN the Queen opened Parliament in person early in February 1880, it was uncertain whether its dissolution, inevitable in any case during the year, would be decreed for the spring or the autumn. As soon, however, as a necessary Bill for the relief of Irish distress had passed in the beginning of March, Ministers, encouraged by favourable by-elections at Liverpool and Southwark, and finding themselves in some difficulty over a London Water Bill, decided to advise a dissolution at once. Lord Beaconsfield, in a letter to the Irish Viceroy, the Duke of Marlborough, pointed to the Home Rule campaign in Ireland and the policy of passivity or non-interference in foreign affairs as the imminent dangers to be averted by keeping the Conservative Government in office. The Liberals, with Mr. Gladstone, in spite of his nominal retirement, in the forefront, treated this as an attempt to divert attention from the Government record, and especially from its Eastern policy, which they denounced unsparingly. The Parnellites exhorted Irish electors to "vote against Benjamin Disraeli as the mortal enemy of your country and your race." The result was a sweeping victory for the Liberals, who returned 349 strong, as compared with 243 Conservatives and 60 Home Rulers (more than half of whom followed Mr. Parnell). The Queen was much distressed, particularly as public opinion expected that the new Prime Minister would be Mr. Gladstone, of whose recent political conduct she had strongly disapproved. On her return from Germany, where she had gone to be present at the confirmation at Darmstadt of two of her motherless granddaughters, her Majesty sent for Lord Hartington, the Liberal Leader in the Commons; but he, and his colleague in the Lords, Lord Granville, convinced her that Mr. Gladstone was inevitable. In forming his Ministry Mr. Gladstone found himself driven, somewhat reluctantly, to include one Radical leader, Mr. Chamberlain, in his Cabinet and to give the impor-

tant position of Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs to another, Sir Charles Dilke.

The new Parliament met on 29th April, and was immediately faced by a delicate problem. In order to sit and vote in the House of Commons, it was a statutory preliminary to take the Oath of Allegiance to the Sovereign in the traditional form—"So help me God." Could Mr. Bradlaugh, Radical M.P. for Northampton, who loudly proclaimed himself an Atheist, be permitted to do this? In the alternative, might he be allowed to make an Affirmation, as provided for safeguarding the consciences of Quakers and others? He himself, though he preferred to affirm, was ready to do either; but in any case was resolved to fight his way in. The Ministry and the bulk of the Liberals, though far from sympathising with his opinions, were disposed, on general grounds of toleration, to remove obstacles from his way, so that the choice of the electors might not be interfered with. But the majority of the House was hostile to his claims, a profound repugnance on religious grounds to his admission being felt by many of the best men in all parties; while no doubt many Conservatives hoped for a party advantage. It was owing to activity on this question that there came together a "Fourth Party," which consisted of three vigorous and independent Conservatives, Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, and Mr. J. E. Gorst (with Mr. Arthur Balfour as an occasional fourth), and which proved, in this and subsequent sessions, a thorn in the side both of Ministers and of the Tory chiefs. After the House had decided on 22nd June by 275 to 230 that Mr. Bradlaugh should be permitted neither to take the oath nor to affirm, Mr. Gladstone left the guidance of Parliament in the matter to the Conservative Leader, Sir Stafford Northcote, gingered up by the Fourth Party. The question was never settled in this Parliament; and its progress was marked during the various sessions by a succession of committees, legal proceedings, legislative proposals, periods of sitting, of exclusion and of imprisonment, physical tussles in both House and lobbies, new writs and fresh elections for Northampton.

In this first session, which was prolonged into September, the Government passed a Burials Bill, conceding the claim, which had been pressed through many years, of Nonconformists to be buried in parish churchyards with their own rites and by their own ministers; and also a Hares and

Rabbits Bill, enabling farmers effectively to protect their crops from injury by ground game, though in this case Lord Beaconsfield had to use all his authority to prevent the Lords from rejecting what they regarded as an unjust encroachment on landlords' rights. Ireland was, after Bradlaugh, the chief subject of controversy. The Government found the country greatly disturbed, a large number of evictions and ejectment processes having inevitably followed the Anti-Rent campaign of the previous autumn. They resolved, nevertheless, not to renew the Peace Preservation Act, but to meet the immediate need by a temporary Bill enabling the County Court Judge, at his discretion, to give compensation to tenants ejected for nonpayment of rent. This Compensation for Disturbance Bill was vehemently assailed not merely by Conservatives but also, as a gross invasion of freedom of contract, by many Liberals; was only lukewarmly supported by the Home Rulers; and, after never receiving in the Commons the support of the normal Government majority, was rejected on second reading in the Lords on 3rd August by 282 to 51, more than half the Liberal peers present voting against the Ministry.

Another autumn of violent agitation in Ireland followed, the abolition of landlordism being held up as the aim of the Land League. On September 25th Lord Mountmorres, a well-known Irish landlord, was brutally murdered near his house in Galway, and a reign of terror ensued. Mr. Parnell had suggested in a speech at Ennis that a tenant who bid for a farm from which another tenant had been evicted should be shunned as a leper in street, shop, market-place, and church. This sinister advice was first put into full effect against Capt. Boycott, Lord Erne's agent and himself a farmer in Mayo, for issuing processes against Lord Erne's tenantry, who would not pay their legal rent but only what they thought fair. Local terrorism at once deprived him of domestic servants, stablemen, farm labourers, laundress, and postal facilities; and the neighbouring shops refused to serve him. Ultimately his necessities were relieved by a great expedition from Ulster; but the system of "boycotting" was put into force throughout Nationalist Ireland as the most effective weapon of the League. The Government decided to prosecute Mr. Parnell and his principal lieutenants (thirteen in number). The trial began on 28th December.

Ministers had gained office largely on a denunciation of the foreign and imperial policy of their predecessors; but

the change developed slowly. They endeavoured, through a somewhat inharmonious concert of Europe and a conference at Berlin, to make a stubborn Porte carry out the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin in relation to Greece and Montenegro, and sent a distinguished statesman, Mr. Goschen, as Ambassador to Constantinople to forward this policy; but the results, in spite of the use of more or less open menace, were small. A naval demonstration did indeed procure the surrender of Dulcigno to Montenegro; but the Turco-Greek frontier in Thessaly and Epirus was still unsettled at the close of the year. Sir Bartle Frere, too, was not recalled for some months, until confederation had definitely failed to secure the support of the Cape Parliament. The Transvaal Boers rose against British rule, and there were constant native revolts, beginning with a Basuto rebellion, which were with difficulty subdued. In India Lord Lytton resigned when the Beaconsfield Government fell, and Lord Ripon was appointed his successor. Negotiations were at that time proceeding, which were completed in July, to recognise Abdurrahman Khan, a nephew of Sher Ali who had returned from exile in Turkestan and attracted wide support in the north, as Ameer of Northern Afghanistan. Candahar had been placed by Lord Lytton under a separate ruler, supported by British troops. On Candahar Ayub Khan, a son of Sher Ali who had returned from exile in Persia, advanced in June with a considerable force from Herat, and on 27th July he inflicted a severe defeat on General Burrows at Maiwand. He failed, however, to capture Candahar, which was relieved by General Roberts, who marched at the head of some 10,000 men from Cabul in three weeks, and completely routed Ayub at the battle of Mazra. In November the Home Government directed British withdrawal from Candahar at the earliest suitable time.

In Germany during the year Prince Bismarck pressed forward both with his Anti-Socialist legislation and with the details of his compromise with the Vatican. In France the struggle with the Church continued, and the unauthorised Congregations were dissolved, M. Jules Ferry, who took the lead in this policy, becoming Prime Minister. In Russia the Nihilist Conspiracy compassed its most startling attempt on the Emperor's life, by an explosion in the Winter Palace at St. Petersburg, after which dictatorial powers were conferred on Count Loris Melikoff.



CHAPTER II

1880

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

HUGHENDEN MANOR, 1st Jan. 1880.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty :

The Lord Lieutenant's letters on the state of Ireland are so unsatisfactory that Lord Beaconsfield has summoned the Cabinet for Saturday to consider the state of that part of your Majesty's Kingdom. It is a difficult subject, for in Ireland, though there may be real suffering, in the remedial measures which are recommended there is, invariably, a hideous amount of jobbing. Still, the matter must be vigilantly treated ; particularly in these days of faction.

The affair at Madrid, coming quickly on the memory that, six months ago, your Majesty crossed the Tay Bridge,¹ has rather shaken Lord Beaconsfield's nerves. He entreats your Majesty to deign to be cautious ; but fear, he knows, is not a characteristic of the House of Brunswick.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 8th Jan. 1880.—Having heard from all sides the highest character of Lieut. Bigge, I have

¹ On 28th December 1879, in a violent hurricane, a portion of the Tay Bridge, together with a train which was crossing it, was blown into the firth, and the whole of the passengers, about seventy, perished. On 30th December the King of Spain, while driving through Madrid with the Queen, was fired at by a waiter, but happily not hit.

appointed him to succeed Charlie Phipps.¹ I wrote to announce it to the Empress, and just received a dear letter from her, expressing her great pleasure and satisfaction at the appointment, and also thanking me for allowing him to accompany her to S. Africa.²

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 14th Jan. 1880.—. . . Lord Beaconsfield returned to London for permanent residence this morning, having previously made an appointment with Sir E. Henderson.³

Nothing could be more satisfactory than his interview with that gentleman. He says that, notwithstanding the pinch and pressure of want of employment, he never knew the population better affected; and as for foreigners, Socialists, Communists, and all that, they so highly value the only place of refuge which remains for them, that he has no doubt that, if any plot were hatched against any foreign personage of rank visiting this country, the leading Communists here would give notice to the police, that the machination might be baffled.

Sir E. Henderson spoke with the most absolute confidence in your Majesty's security, and the warm welcome of your Majesty's people, who, he says, are much touched by the various messages of sympathy and assistance which your Majesty appropriately expresses to them.

He said to me, by the bye, and asking pardon were he to mention it, that it was desirable that, if your Majesty opened Parliament, the procession should be as splendid as might be convenient to your Majesty. He said there was nothing which the great body of the people more appreciated than this spectacle. They have little of it, but value it intensely. He trusted, therefore, that there might be a good

¹ As Groom-in-waiting. See above, p. 52, and below, pp. 124 and 127.

² When she went to visit the spot where the Prince Imperial had met his death.

The Commissioner of Police for the Metropolis.

muster of the Household troops; not wanted for your Majesty's security, for that must be guaranteed and provided for by his force; but because the splendour of Royalty delights the people.

Lord Beaconsfield, therefore, hesitates not to counsel your Majesty to open your Majesty's Parliament, and, when authorised, will reply to the enquiry of the Lord Great Chamberlain on the subject. . . .

Queen Victoria to Viscount Cranbrook.

[Copy.]

31st Jan. 1880.—The Queen trusts that in any public announcement as little as possible may be said as to any promise of non-annexation.¹ These promises are often made to stave off the clamour of the moment, but frequently lead to subsequent embarrassment.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 1st Feb. 1880.—Lord Beaconsfield . . . has the honour to enclose a draft of Speech from the Throne for your Majesty's gracious consideration. . . .

The country is looking forward with much interest to the presence of your Majesty at the opening of your Majesty's Parliament. Lord Beaconsfield mentions this, as he receives this intimation of the public disposition from the highest authority on such a question.

He quite agrees with your Majesty about the honour² to be conferred on Mr. Martin, on what, without exaggeration, may now be called his great work. It will take its place now among the most precious contributions to our political history; the

¹ In regard to the border districts of Afghanistan. Lord Cranbrook replied, on 2nd February, that "our *policy* is to avoid needless annexation," and that that had been proclaimed as our object, but "it is impossible now to be certain that it will be adhered to."

² The fifth and last volume of the *Life of the Prince Consort* was published early in the year, and Mr. Theodore Martin was made a K.C.B. See below, p. 72.

political history of the most political nation in the world.

A clumsy hand, and a falsely fastidious spirit in the source which furnished him with his materials, might have sunk the work, now about to be completed, into a mere courtly record, instead of volumes which will guide the action, and sustain the spirit, of a great and grateful nation.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

Confidential.

OSBORNE, 7th Feb. 1880.—In the Queen's letter of this morning, she omitted to say that her intention was, D.V., to go abroad March the 21st (Monday in Passion week) for the purpose of being present, at the Confirmation at Darmstadt, of her dear motherless grand-daughters early in Easter week, and to visit her beloved child's grave!¹

The Queen would be back, D.V., by the 14th, or at latest the 16th or 17th of April. Parliament generally adjourns from the Tuesday or Wednesday in Passion week to the Monday after Easter week, which would be April the 5th. The Queen *hopes*, therefore, the few days beyond that would not signify. Of course, should anything require it, she could be back any time sooner.

The *sole* motive of the Queen's *going abroad* THIS year is to be *present* at the *first great step* in the lives of those poor dear motherless children, the eldest of whom was born and christened under the Queen's roof, and is her godchild. But once abroad, the Queen would like to rest a little while if *she could* at Baden, the air of which place agrees with Beatrice and the Queen particularly well at that time of year.

The Queen does *not* wish anything to be said about her going *yet*.²

¹ See above, p. 4.

² Lord Beaconsfield replied that he would "take every step to facilitate your Majesty's visit to the Continent, and its duration."

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 8th Feb. 1880.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty:

He would desire to draw your Majesty's attention to the social position of Mrs. Bentinck. Though she is only step-mother to the present Duke of Portland, between them there have always been feelings of absolute devotion.

His half-brothers and sister will petition your Majesty for the rank to which they would have been entitled had their father lived to accede to the Dukedom, and your Majesty, very probably, would have graciously granted their prayer.

The family, however, who are knit together by strong domestic feelings, have a pang in assuming a rank superior to their widowed parent, and are most anxious that your Majesty would be pleased to confer on her a title, which would remove this anomaly of the heart.

Lord Beaconsfield has consulted the Lord Chancellor and Garter, and they agree that there is not the slightest difficulty in your Majesty, in the exercise of the Royal Prerogative, conferring on Mrs. Bentinck a life peerage, or a peerage with remainder to the heirs male of her late husband, which then, on her death, would merge in the Dukedom.

Lord Beaconsfield would not hesitate, under the circumstances, to recommend such a course to your Majesty on the ground of public propriety; but, as he has no secrets from your Majesty, it is his duty to state that he is himself much interested in this question, and that it would add greatly to the strength of your Majesty's present Government, were the social difficulty, in which there is as much affection as etiquette, happily solved by your Majesty's gracious interposition.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

OSBORNE, 10th February 1880.

DEAR LORD BEACONSFIELD,—In reply to your letter about Mrs. Bentinck, the Queen commands me

to observe that she does not remember any case where a courtesy title has been granted to the mother of one who became a Peer, and to confer any such title on Mrs. Bentinck, who is only a step-mother of the Duke of Portland, would create a precedent that may very probably occasion serious embarrassment on future similar occasions.

But the aspect of the question is changed when you ask from yourself that a peerage may be conferred on Mrs. Bentinck for political reasons. This makes the case to some extent analogous to the elevation of the eldest sons of Peers to the House of Lords, and if it can be clearly understood that Mrs. Bentinck's peerage is not to be considered a precedent for other claims founded on the similarity of position, the Queen will not object to create her a peeress for life, or with remainder to her husband's heir as may be most desirable.

I must, however, add that the real cause which has induced the Queen to waive her objections to the proposal was that you have made the request from yourself as being really interested in it.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

Confidential.

10 DOWNING STREET, 12th February 1880.

DEAR SIR HENRY,—I am deeply grateful to the Queen for acceding to my earnest request, that her Majesty would graciously please to confer a peerage on Mrs. Bentinck. It will greatly assist, and strengthen, the Ministry.

I ask it myself only on public grounds, and for political reasons; and certainly by myself, and, I should hope, by none who succeed me, will there be an attempt to construe this Royal favour into one accorded for merely social and private grounds, for which it is no precedent. . . .¹ Yours sincerely,
BEACONSFIELD.

¹ Mrs. Bentinck was created Baroness Bolsover on 23rd April 1880.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 14th Feb. 1880.—There has been a great victory for the Government at Southwark, the Conservative candidate¹ having 7,683 votes, while the Liberal had 6,830, and the Radical 799. It was thought that, in consequence of two Liberals standing, the division between them would have let in the Conservative, but it was not so; the Conservative won the contest over the united members, and therefore it is a decided victory. When I saw Mr. Cross, he was naturally much delighted about it.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 14th Feb. 1880.—He wishes he could repose on a sunny bank, like young Valentine² in the pretty picture that fell from a rosy cloud this morn—but the reverie of the happy youth would be rather different from his. Valentine would dream of the future, and youthful loves, and all under the inspiration of a beautiful clime! Lord Beaconsfield, no longer in the sunset, but the twilight of existence, must encounter a life of anxiety and toil; but this, too, has its romance, when he remembers that he labours for the most gracious of beings!

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 5th Mar. 1880.—Saw Lord Beaconsfield, who had telegraphed to ask to see me. It was about the dissolution. He had been against it all the time, and had wished to put it off till the autumn, but now he felt it could no longer be delayed. The reasons were, that there was more agitation, the farmers had had bad times, but were only grumbling, whereas, by delaying, this might take a serious form,

¹ Mr. Edward Clarke, Q.C., afterwards Solicitor-General, and now the Right Hon. Sir Edward Clarke, K.C. Southwark had been regarded as a stronghold of Liberalism.

² The practice of sending "valentines" on St. Valentine's Day, the 14th February, though not so general as it had been some years previously, was still in fairly common use in 1880.

and become much more difficult to contend with ; foreign affairs were threatening, but nothing at the present moment was stirring. Still they might become critical, if the dissolution were too long delayed. This was the decided opinion of Sir S. Northcote, and most of those in the Cabinet, who were M.P.'s, as well as that of the Whips. Lord John Manners and Sir M. H. Beach were the only two of a different opinion. A Cabinet was summoned for early to-morrow morning, when it must be decided, but he did not wish to do so without first consulting me, as it was a subject of such great importance. He had, therefore, asked to see me. Lord Salisbury was better, but not well and very weak. The Cabinet was to be held at Lord Beaconsfield's [? Salisbury's] house.

Sir Stafford Northcote to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 8th Mar. 1880.—Sir Stafford Northcote presents his humble duty to the Queen, and has the honour to report to your Majesty that the announcement of the dissolution was very well received by the House of Commons. Lord Hartington, to whom Sir Stafford had sent notice that he was about to make an important statement, was not in town ; and Mr. Gladstone was not in the House ; but Mr. Forster on behalf of the Opposition expressed his satisfaction, and no hint of disapproval came from any quarter. There seemed to be a general willingness to co-operate with the Government in getting through the necessary business before Easter. . . .

Queen Victoria to Mr. Theodore Martin.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 10th Mar. 1880.—The Queen thanks Mr. Martin so very much for the 5th Volume of the dear *Life*, and the very kind note which accompanied it. She feels with him great thankfulness, and great gratitude to him, for having accomplished this arduous task so admirably ! She feels too

a sadness that it should be finished, which she is sure he feels also, and that the end has come !

Everyone seems greatly excited by the news of the dissolution, but the Queen believes the time has been well chosen, and that the Government will be more successful even than they would have been later. . . .

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

VILLA HOHENLOHE, BADEN BADEN, 2nd April 1880.—The Queen is greatly distressed at the news of the Election. If the Opposition had only behaved as they ought—without advancing opinions which must fill her with terror for the good of the country and the peace of the world—she would be comparatively easy. . . .

The Queen fears all her messages and warnings have been of no avail. If the Opposition force themselves upon her, it will be quite impossible for the Queen *not* to express in VERY STRONG terms her views and feelings, and she must *abide* by the views she expressed on certain points and people. . . .

3rd April.—This is a terrible telegram¹—and surely *how* can he yet be *sure* of *this* ?

The Queen cannot deny she (Liberal as she has ever been, but never Radical or democratic) thinks it a great calamity for the country and the peace of Europe !

Sir Henry may help to *mediate*, but the Queen feels, and has for long felt, *so strongly and bitterly* on the unpatriotic conduct of the Opposition, and their want of feeling toward her, that she feels it will be *very long* before SHE can trust those who have brought matters to this *pass*, and she wishes they *should* know and feel this.

It will make her quite ill.

¹ Lord Beaconsfield had telegraphed on 2nd April : “The result of yesterday’s polling leaves no doubt of the defeat of your Majesty’s present Ministry.”

*Lord Odo Russell to Sir Henry Ponsonby.**Private.* BRITISH EMBASSY, BERLIN, 5th March [? April] 1880.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—We feel very unhappy at not having the great honour and happiness of presenting our humble duty to the Queen, while her Majesty is in Germany, and the more so as I do not expect to get home on leave this year.

Grave events appear in store, to judge from the overgrowth of standing armies, and the mutual distrust of the Powers regarding each other's intentions, and it may be long before they make up their minds to disarm and shake hands all round.

The unexpected result of our elections and the consequent change of administration at home is viewed with anxious interest abroad, and may affect the European situation.

Lord Beaconsfield had acquired the full confidence and respect of the leading Statesmen of Europe, and will be universally regretted abroad, whilst the future Premier, whether his foreign policy be active or passive, will have to entertain and reconsider delicate questions of grave international importance on which the Powers will feel it their interest to re-consult her Majesty's Government.

Happily the Queen knows them better than any of her Majesty's subjects, and we can therefore look to the future with confidence. . . .

Pray command my services if I can be of any use, and believe me, yours sincerely, ODO RUSSELL.

*The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.**[Telegram.]*

7th April 1880.—Your Majesty must not be unnecessarily hurried or agitated at this moment.

Your Majesty need not leave Baden till the 15th instant. I take the responsibility on myself. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

[*Telegram.*]

BADEN BADEN, 7th April 1880.—Very grateful for your kindness. What your loss to me as a Minister would be, it is impossible to estimate. But I trust you will always remain my friend, to whom I can turn and on whom I can rely.

Hope you will come to Windsor in the forenoon on Sunday, and stop all day, and dine and sleep.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

8th April.—Received letter. Understand from personal and true friend of mine that it is of the utmost importance, to prevent speculations and combinations and great alarms, that it should be *known* (*unofficially of course*) that it is believed that I shall send for Lord Hartington in case of your resignation.

Pray find means to let this be known. I am sure *you* would wish this. I will write fully, but *no time is to be lost*.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

[*Copy.*]

VILLA HOHENLOHE, BADEN BADEN, 8th April 1880.—Though nothing can of course be done till the Queen sees Lord Beaconsfield, and he (unfortunately) resigns, she knows, and Sir Henry will recollect seeing it in the Prince's life that Baron Stockmar, or rather Mr. G. E. Anson, undertook in '41 to smoothen the way for Sir R. Peel's coming into office some time before the Government resigned.¹

What the Queen is especially anxious to have impressed on Lords Hartington and Granville is, firstly, that Mr. Gladstone *she* could have nothing to do with, for she considers his whole conduct since '76 to have been one series of violent, passionate invective against and abuse of Lord Beaconsfield, and that *he*

¹ For Mr. Anson's interviews with Sir Robert Peel in May 1841, see First Series, vol. i, pp. 341-344, 358 and 359.

caused the Russian war, and made the task of the Government of this country most difficult in times of the greatest difficulty and anxiety, and did all to try and prevent England from holding the position which, thanks to Lord Beaconsfield's firmness, has been restored to her.

Secondly, that the Queen *does* feel the Opposition to have been unusually and *very* factious, and to have caused *her* great annoyance and anxiety, and *deep* regret. She wishes, however, to support the new Government and to show them confidence, as she has hitherto done all her Governments, but that *this must entirely depend* on their conduct. There must be no democratic leaning, no attempt to change the Foreign policy (and the Continent are terribly alarmed), no change in India, no hasty retreat from Afghanistan, and *no* cutting down of estimates.

In short *no lowering* of the *high position* this country holds, and *ought always* to hold.

Lastly, the Queen will expect *that* consideration for her *feelings* and *her health* which she has received from the present Government, and which her age and the great exertions and trials she has gone through of late years, and which tell a good deal upon her, entitle her to receive.

Mr. Lowe she could *not* accept as a Minister. Sir C. Dilke she would only and unwillingly consent to having a *subordinate office* if absolutely necessary.

The Secretary of State for War must be chosen *most carefully*.¹ No mere theorist, but someone who will act cordially and well with the Commander-in-Chief. V. R. & I.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

BADEN, 9th April 1880.—Lt.-General Sir Henry Ponsonby presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs leave sincerely to assure your Majesty of

¹ The Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of Cambridge, had written to the Queen on 6th April, suggesting Lord Hartington for this post.

his desire to carry your Majesty's wishes into effect as far as it is in his power to do so, and to save your Majesty from as much annoyance and anxiety as he can.

The circumstances alluded to by your Majesty in 1841 were, he thinks, brought about after lengthy negotiations during which Baron Stockmar and Mr. Anson were daily meeting persons of both parties. If Sir Henry Ponsonby were to enter into communication with any of the Opposition leaders at this moment, it might be looked upon as a direct message from the Queen, and might lead to complications. He has already placed many of the chiefs in possession of your Majesty's views, and these gentlemen will, he is sure, do their best to attend to them as far as lies in their power, and most especially as regards all consideration for your Majesty's feelings.

Lord Granville, Lord Hartington, and indeed all the members of the former administration would do so. In the peculiar circumstances of the present state of affairs Sir Henry Ponsonby humbly submits that it might be better to preserve silence till your Majesty has seen Lord Beaconsfield, and has learnt from him who he would advise your Majesty to summon. Whoever is selected will attend to your Majesty's injunctions as to the persons who it is desirable should not hold office.

But he will be urged by a large body of Radical supporters to reduce our expenditure, and many will also demand a modification of our Foreign Policy. If he finds himself unable to disregard this pressure and also unable to comply with your Majesty's wishes, a man like Lord Granville or Lord Hartington will decline to form a Government, and the duty will fall on others.

Almost all the newspapers assume that the Queen will send for Lord Granville, who will be acceptable to all sections of the Liberal Party (as will also Lord Hartington). But it must not be concealed that every day the cry becomes stronger for Mr. Gladstone

Perhaps Lord Beaconsfield may consider that, if Mr. Gladstone is ready for office and his party urge it, his claim cannot be ignored. Or that, if he will not serve again, it might produce a good effect if he were first summoned—and declined. But it is perhaps too early yet to discuss who Lord Beaconsfield may suggest.

Sir Henry Ponsonby will do his utmost to watch the course of events, and to be prepared to obey all your Majesty's wishes when the time arrives.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 10th April 1880.—Lord Beaconsfield with his humble duty to your Majesty:

The people of Liverpool are very anxious about their new Bishop. The Tories subscribed the whole of the endowment, and built "the palace." Lord Sandon says his seat for Liverpool depends upon the appointment being made by your Majesty's present advisers. The whole city are most anxious that your Majesty should appoint the present Dean of Salisbury (Canon Ryle).¹ He is known at Liverpool, and has a great following. There would then be Salisbury vacant for your Majesty's choice.

Lord Beaconsfield could not refuse Lord Sandon, to whom he owes much for his public exertions, making this statement to your Majesty.

The Duke of Connaught to Queen Victoria.

BAGSHOT PARK, 11th April 1880.

DEAREST MAMA,—Many thanks for your dear letter which I received this morning. How well I can enter into your feelings at the present moment; the difficulties of a constitutional Sovereign at a moment like the present are indeed very great.

I know how strongly you feel against the line

¹ A prominent leader of the Evangelical Party. He was Bishop of Liverpool from 1880 till 1899 and died in 1900. He was father of Dr. E. H. Ryle, successively Bishop of Exeter and of Winchester, and from 1911 till his death in 1925 Dean of Westminster.

that the Liberals have taken up these last three years, and now they are returned with this very large majority. It is indeed very hard for you to bear, dearest Mama, but I know how nobly you can sacrifice your own feelings at the call of duty. I can't understand what is to be done with Mr. Gladstone if he is not to be in the new Ministry; won't he be a terrible thorn in their side out of office? I am afraid, from what I can hear and from what I read in different papers, that Mr. Gladstone is more popular among the Liberals and Radicals than ever, in fact they are mad about him. It is not pleasant to think, but so it is. I hear that the Duke of Westminster has spent £100,000 to promote the Liberal cause. I hear also that even Lord Derby has spent a lot of money for the Liberals in Lancashire. The amount of money that has been spent at this election, especially by the Liberals, has been something enormous. . . .

The Prince of Wales to Queen Victoria.

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, 18th April 1880.

MY DEAREST MAMA,—First of all let me hope that you are none the worse for your long journey,¹ but I fear you will be much worried and fatigued by the change of Government. If I may venture to say so, I sincerely hope you will send for Lord Hartington.² He is, as you know, the most moderate man of the Liberal Party, and has till now accomplished so well the difficult task before him.

¹ The Queen returned from Baden on the previous day, and on this 18th April received Lord Beaconsfield at Windsor. He told her Majesty that the Cabinet proposed to resign immediately, without meeting Parliament, and, in answer to her request, advised her to send for Lord Hartington. The Queen's formal memorandum of the audience is printed in *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi, ch. 14, together with the bulk of the letters that passed between her Majesty and her outgoing Minister during the crisis. For other information and important memoranda see *Life of Gladstone*, bk. vii, ch. 9.

² Subsequently the Prince altered his opinion, largely under Lord Hartington's influence, and appealed to the Queen to send for Mr. Gladstone. See *King Edward VII*, vol. i, ch. 28.

I had a long conversation with him yesterday, and I know how anxious he is about everything, and I feel sure is most desirous to please you. He looked dreadfully worried and careworn, and expressed as much to me.

I need hardly say that, if you should wish to see me at any time, I am always at your disposal, and if I can be of the slightest use in lightening the task which is before you, or give you any assistance, or see anybody for you, I shall be only too happy to do so. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 22nd April 1880.—A week to-day since we left Baden, and how much has happened. Saw Lord Beaconsfield, and thought him very low. Wrote last night to Lord Hartington, asking him to come to-day at 3, as I wished to charge him with forming a Government. I saw him at that hour, and he spoke quite frankly. I was equally frank with him. But the result was unsatisfactory. When I stated that I looked to him to form a Government, he said that, though they had not consulted Mr. Gladstone, both he (Lord H.) and Lord Granville feared they would have no chance of success if Mr. Gladstone was not in the Government, and that they feared he would not take a subordinate position. If he were to remain a sort of irresponsible adviser outside the Government, that would be unconstitutional and untenable, and that, if he were *quite* independent, he might make it impossible for any Liberal Government to go on. They therefore thought it would be best and wisest if I at once sent for Mr. Gladstone.

I said there was one great difficulty, which was, that I could not give Mr. Gladstone my confidence. His violence and bitterness had been such, the way in which he had, in times of great anxiety, rendered my task and that of the Government so difficult, and the alarm abroad at his name being so great, it

would be impossible for me to have the full confidence in him I should wish, were he to form a Government. Lord Hartington tried to defend Mr. Gladstone, saying there was not so much difference between them as I thought. Did I think Mr. Gladstone had passed the ordinary bounds of Opposition? Most decidedly, I said, and instanced the violence of his language, on his progress in Scotland. Lord Hartington admitted that both he and Lord Granville much regretted many of the expressions Mr. Gladstone had used, and on my observing that the one against Austria¹ was very offensive, Lord Hartington said that certainly had been most unfortunate. I alluded to Mr. Gladstone's apparent leaning towards Russia, which Lord Hartington denied, saying, he merely objected to the Government not taking the line he thought they ought against Russian influence. That Mr. Gladstone, whatever he might have done against the Government, had always had, and professed, the greatest loyalty towards me. I replied that I did not doubt this, but could not quite separate his violence against my Government, when I was, with them, doing all I could to prevent war, and to raise the position of my country, from causing me deep sorrow and anxiety, by the Opposition adding so greatly to the difficulties of the Government, instead of helping them and me. Lord Hartington replied, he would not appear to defend Mr. Gladstone, who could best explain his conduct himself. The result of Lord Hartington's audience was, that he was to consult with Lord Granville, and then with Mr. Gladstone, as to whether he would serve with them.

Lord Hartington asked whether he might repeat to Mr. Gladstone any part of my conversation with him, and I replied that he might, for I would say the same to Mr. Gladstone himself, if I saw him. Lord Hartington had remarked that he considered Mr.

¹ In one of his Midlothian speeches, Mr. Gladstone had cried "Hands off!" to Austria, and had said that nowhere on earth had she done good.

Gladstone had committed a grave error in resigning the Leadership as he did in '74; if he did that he ought never to have returned to public life again. Lord Hartington is to write to me, and return to-morrow, but he fears it will be of little use, as he does not think they could stand at all without Mr. Gladstone. He spoke of one or two measures (which I will not now mention) regarding the army, but they are in no way pledged to maintain the new plan, should it not answer, Lord Cardwell being the only person identified with those measures, and no longer fit for office. Lord Hartington does not think Mr. Gladstone wishes for office, but expects he would take it if thought necessary.

Memoranda by Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 23rd April 1880.—The Queen has just seen Lord Hartington—and Lord Granville, who came down on the chance of seeing the Queen, who had said yesterday she would see him if Lord Hartington wished it. Leopold had previously seen Lord Hartington, and had brought to the Queen the intelligence of the impossibility of forming a Government without Mr. Gladstone, and that *he* would not serve under anyone.

Lord Hartington said that, after leaving me, he at once went to Lord Granville and told him all that had passed with me, and after consultation they decided to see Mr. Gladstone and tell him that by my desire Lord Hartington had been charged to form a Government, and to ask if he would form any part of it. Upon reflection Lord H. had thought it best *not* to tell him *what* I had said, for no one knew what the effect might be on him, and that he considered the responsibility would be too great for him to say *that*—the effect of which would probably be that Mr. Gladstone would decline altogether.

Mr. Gladstone, without saying whether he would accept or not if I sent for him, had declined to form

any part of such a Government under Lord Hartington, and that therefore feeling that no Liberal Government had any chance of stability if he remained out, for that, whatever opinion I might have formed of his conduct, undoubtedly a great portion of the public seemed not to view it in that light, he felt that there would be no other alternative but to ask me to send for Mr. Gladstone and to ask him to form a Government. Lord Hartington regretted very much not to be able to carry out my wishes and hoped that I did not think that he and Lord Granville were cowardly in not trying to undertake the Government. I entirely absolved him of this, but said, I doubted whether Mr. Gladstone forming a Government would add to its stability, to which Lord Hartington gave no answer and merely smiled. What would *he* do in the House of Commons if Mr. Gladstone accepted? He answered that he would have no difficulty in yielding the lead up to Mr. Gladstone, to which I observed that it was very unfair on him, and he replied that it was certainly not generous. It would be sure to come to him by and by, I said, upon which Lord Hartington observed, in confidence, that his brother Frederick, who was a relation,¹ had told him that he did not think Mr. Gladstone would be able to go on in the House of Commons, for that his health often broke down. Lord Hartington strongly advised me not to begin by saying that I had no confidence whatever in him, as one did not know how such a man as he was would take it, and he certainly had a great amount of popularity at the present moment amongst the people.

I then saw Lord Granville, who seemed very nervous and to whom I repeated the same as I said to Lord Hartington. He seemed much distressed at the painful position in which I was placed, but feared also that this was the only course to pursue. He then mentioned that people like Sir George Grey,

¹ Because Lord Frederick Cavendish had married Mrs. Gladstone's niece. See below, pp. 283-4.

Lord Halifax, and even Lord Grey,¹ all of whom were not at all favourable to Mr. Gladstone, thought that this would be the only course. I observed, as I had done to Lord Hartington, that I did not think that such a course would lead to the stability of any Government, and that it would strike terror abroad. This Lord Granville did not deny, and said things would be very different to what people expected. He evidently much regretted the conduct and the extraordinary violence of Mr. Gladstone, and would be delighted if he could be made a Peer, but that Mr. Gladstone would consider it "as an insult."

I asked both him and Lord Hartington to convey to Mr. Gladstone my wish to see him, as they had urged me to do so, and told them also that I should rely greatly on their controlling him and assisting me. Lord Granville said that, while it would be better that I should not express absolute want of confidence, for the reasons before mentioned, I might say to him that I had much regretted many of the expressions he had used, and that I wished facts to remain unaltered. Both he and Lord Hartington said that he had the greatest respect for me, not only as his Sovereign, but for me personally. Lord Granville kissed my hand twice and said he feared he had lost some of my confidence, but hoped to be able to regain it. I replied he certainly had done so, but that I should be very glad if he could regain it. Both seemed sincerely anxious to help me, and evidently have no great affection for Mr. Gladstone. Lord Granville also said that he did not think he would be able to go on long. Mr. Gladstone is to come at half-past 6.—V. R. & I.

[*Same day, later.*]—I saw Mr. Gladstone at quarter to 7, and told him I understood that he had received my message through Lord Hartington and Lord Granville, to which he replied in the affirmative.

I then said that, according to constitutional usage, I had applied to Lord Hartington as the Leader (which

¹ They were all eminent Whigs, and the first two had sat in Cabinets with Mr. Gladstone.

he said was quite correct), but as Lord H. and Lord Granville said they could not act without him, I wished now to know if he could form a Government? He replied that, considering the part he had taken, he felt he must not shrink from the responsibility, and that he felt he would be prepared to form a Government.

I then said that it was very important that facts should remain unaltered, and he said he felt the same, and instanced the conquest of Scinde in '43, which was acknowledged, though Sir R. Peel had particularly objected to it. I asked how would he form his Government? He said, he proposed Lord Granville for the Foreign Office. *War* I observed was very important, would not Lord Hartington do for that? He thought India was *the* next important post, and thought of him for that. For War he promised a man who understood the army. I told him also how Lord Cardwell's plan had broken down, which he seemed *not to be aware of!!* but repeated also they were not pledged to it. The obstructionists he hoped would split. The Chancellor probably Lord Selborne, but the *best for the political* exigencies would have to be chosen. I asked him if I was to understand that he would *form* a Government, not that he *would try* to form one. He said yes, the former, and asked to kiss hands.

I then said I wished to be frank and say something; which was that I hoped he would be conciliatory, as it had been a cause of pain to me to see such asperity and such strong expressions used, and I thought "peace was blessed." He replied that he considered all violence and bitterness "to belong to the *past*"; that he did not deny that in his capacity "of a private individual without responsibility he had, in dogmatising his views according to the lights given him, used very strong language." I said this was hardly right as he now came back Leader, and he replied he could *not* deny this and that he must be open to the shots that would be fired on him for that.

He would not trouble me to-morrow, but would write.—V. R. & I.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE, 24th April 1880.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and is grateful that your Majesty has given him an opportunity of expressing in writing his great sense of your Majesty's personal kindness. Lord Granville perfectly understands the wrench which the separation from those your Majesty trusted must have given, and ventures to believe that this act of self-abnegation will not only be appreciated by the country, of which there is no doubt, but that it will also be a source of satisfaction to yourself. . . .

Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Gladstone are men of extraordinary ability ; they dislike each other more than is usual among public men. Of no other politician Lord Beaconsfield would have said in public, that his conduct was worse than those who committed the Bulgarian atrocities. He has a power of saying in two words that which drives a person of Mr. Gladstone's peculiar temperament into a great state of excitement. Lord Granville was perfectly sure that, in attacking the Government, it never entered into Mr. Gladstone's head that he was opposing your Majesty, however much what he said may have been disapproved by your Majesty.

Lord Granville will call immediately on Mr. Gladstone. He is afraid from his having mentioned Mr. Childers's name as one of which he had spoken to your Majesty, that he has already sent for him. Lord Hartington, who knows the War Office and Mr. Childers better than Lord Granville does, did not seem to think the appointment objectionable. The efficiency of the army is the first point. Mr. Childers is a good administrator, and it has been remarked that, since his marriage into the Minto family, he has become very moderate in his politics.¹

¹ In 1879 Mr. Childers, who was then a widower, had married the Hon. Mrs. Gilbert Elliot, widow of a younger son of the 2nd Earl of Minto.

Confidential.

[*Same day, later.*].—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

He went immediately to Harley Street, after despatching his letter of this morning to your Majesty. But Mr. Childers had already been spoken to.

Lord Granville saw during the day several instances of Mr. Gladstone's desire to meet your Majesty's wishes.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 28th April 1880.—Another letter from Mr. Gladstone, submitting more unexpected names!¹ Mr. Mundella (one of the most violent Radicals) for President of the Board of Agriculture (not in the Cabinet), the equally violent, blind Mr. Fawcett, as Postmaster-General (not in the Cabinet).

Held a Council at 1. First, talked to the Duke of Richmond, for a short while, and then held the Council, after which the Lord Chancellor came in to speak to me, also Lord Salisbury and Sir R. Cross. I shall miss them all much, and I think they are sorry to leave me. Col. Stanley told me he was happy to say George C. had had a very satisfactory interview with Mr. Childers, and seemed much relieved. Arthur came to luncheon, having purposely come over to be with me at the Council, as Leopold could not appear, having a swollen knee.

At a little after 3, I received Mr. Gladstone. He at once began on the subject of his letter, in which he had asked to make explanations on the subject of various appointments he had submitted, and which I had not entirely sanctioned. First, as regards Lord Ripon, whose appointment to India I had finally approved yesterday evening, while expressing a doubt as to his being strong and firm enough for the post.

¹ Her Majesty had on the previous day expressed to Mr. Gladstone her regret at seeing, among the names submitted to her, those of "such very advanced Radicals as Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke."

Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues thought him quite equal to the task ; though Lord Ripon was " a bland man " he had plenty of firmness, and was prepared to go in spite of the post not being any of his seeking. Secondly, Mr. Chamberlain. I interrupted Mr. Gladstone by saying I feared the Government was becoming very Radical, to which he replied that he was only following the precedent of former Governments, when a person was selected as a representative of particular views. For instance, even in Lord Aberdeen's Government, in '52, Sir William Molesworth had been selected, at that time a very advanced Radical, but who was perfectly harmless and took little or no part. Again, Lord Palmerston had tried to secure Mr. Cobden (in which he failed) and finally took Mr. Stansfeld, then also a very extreme Liberal, who was now nothing. He said these people generally became very moderate when they were in office. Mr. Chamberlain, whom Mr. Gladstone proposes to take into the Cabinet as President of the Board of Trade, he thought I should like, as he was very pleasing and refined in feelings and manner, that he had never spoken against me or the Royal Family, or had expressed Republican views.

I admitted the truth of what Mr. Gladstone said about the precedents, and he went on to speak of Sir Charles Dilke, who was, however, only intended for an Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. His conduct and language had certainly been offensive, but he had expressed, both to Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville, his great regret for what he had said ; that he had been very young and foolish, and that he felt he had acted very wrongly. That, as regards his Republican views, they did not affect the old-established Monarchies, but only new States, like those in America, or like France, where there was no longer anyone to look to. Under these circumstances, and particularly as Sir Charles Dilke would not be brought into any contact with me, I assented to his appointment, but asked that his explanations should be given

me in writing. On my observing upon Mr. Mundella's appointment, Mr. Gladstone praised him very much, saying he was a very religious man, was much for religious education, and had never said anything offensive. Mr. Gladstone then referred to Mr. Goschen whose exclusion I had enquired about. Mr. Gladstone said this was on account of the County Franchise, on which point Mr. Goschen had expressed himself very strongly in a contrary sense to Mr. Gladstone, Lord Hartington, and others. I observed that the extension of the County Franchise seemed to me objectionable, as going too far. Mr. Gladstone replied, he thought it would have the very reverse effect, particularly in all the agricultural counties. We then talked of the Household and the Lord Chamberlain. A few other appointments were mentioned, but Mr. Gladstone could not decide upon them at present. He was very courteous throughout, very grateful for the way in which I received his proposals, and repeatedly asked me whether he did not weary me or take up my time too much.

Next saw Lord Granville, who was acting as Lord President, and said to him that I thought the Government was becoming rather Radical, to which he agreed, but remarked that he thought it was much safer to have the advanced Radicals in office than out, detached from all their surroundings. Spoke of Lord Ripon, whose appointment he defended, of the Duke of Argyll, who I heard was not well, and Lord Granville said he was much disappointed at not returning to the India Office, which he had wished, but which it was thought "would have looked too much like a reversing of the Indian policy," which they did not desire. I urged on Lord Granville to do something soon to reassure and soothe the foreign powers, who were much alarmed at the change of Government, and he said that, when he received the different Ambassadors and foreign Ministers, he intended telling them that the new Government was anxious to carry out, with the Continental Powers, the Treaty

of Berlin, and he meant to impress upon Russia, that while we wished to be on good terms with her, we could not make any concessions, which perhaps they might expect. He had also seen Count Karolyi,¹ and hoped to get an explanation from Mr. Gladstone, which would be satisfactory. We talked a little about the Court appointments, which were to be settled later. Lord Rosebery would accept nothing. Then followed the Council and many audiences.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

LONDON, 28th April [1880] (noon).— . . . Mr. Gladstone would gladly have kept the number of the Cabinet down to the point at which it was judiciously fixed² by Lord Beaconsfield on the formation of the late Government, but it has not been in his power. He has now submitted to your Majesty fourteen recommendations for the Cabinet, and has no intention of adding to the number.

Mr. Gladstone's Second Ministry.

<i>First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer</i>	. . .	W. E. GLADSTONE.
<i>Lord Chancellor</i>	. . .	LORD SELBORNE.
<i>Lord President of the Council</i>	. . .	EARL SPENCER.
<i>Lord Privy Seal</i>	. . .	DUKE OF ARGYLL.
<i>Home Secretary</i>	. . .	SIR WILLIAM V. HARCOURT.
<i>Foreign Secretary</i>	. . .	EARL GRANVILLE.
<i>Colonial Secretary</i>	. . .	EARL OF KIMBERLEY.
<i>War Secretary</i>	. . .	HUGH C. E. CHILDERS.
<i>Indian Secretary</i>	. . .	MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON.
<i>First Lord of the Admiralty</i>	. . .	EARL OF NORTHBROOK.
<i>Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster</i>	. . .	JOHN BRIGHT.
<i>President of the Board of Trade</i>	. . .	JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN.
<i>President of the Local Government Board</i>	. . .	J. G. DODSON.
<i>Chief Secretary for Ireland</i>	. . .	W. E. FORSTER.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Marquis of Hartington.
[Copy.] WINDSOR CASTLE, 28th April 1880.

MY DEAR HARTINGTON,—As a new Viceroy is to go to India on the change of Government, and as this Viceroy was a Member of the late Liberal administration, his appointment naturally assumes a political

¹ The Austrian Ambassador.

² Twelve.

character. The Queen regrets this, and commands me to convey to you her Majesty's earnest hope that no sudden reversal of policy will follow on Lord Ripon's arrival in India. Such a change would be most disastrous and would give rise to very serious troubles. . . .

Earl Granville to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

Confidential. 18 CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE, 30th April 1880.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,— . . . I now believe that those who were more anxious than I was to have Mr. Chamberlain in the Cabinet were probably right.

The Government is like bread sauce—made of two substantial elements. The few peppercorns are very obvious, and perhaps give a little flavour, but do not affect the character of the food. Dilke, Chamberlain, Fawcett, and possibly Courtney are the ablest men in the Radical Party.¹ Dilke is the strongest, with good manners, industry, and knowledge of the world. Lord Beaconsfield before he left the House of Commons told me that he thought him the only man of note below the gangway. His father was an excellent fellow, whose pores worked freely, and whose demonstrative affection for everything that was Royal or aristocratic made him the object of some laughter. His intelligent son saw the ridicule, and I suspect became a “poltron révolté.” If you scratched off the rather stout coat of Radical varnish, you would find many of the paternal feelings.

Chamberlain is not so strong as is supposed, but an admirable organiser, with pleasing manners. Fawcett has great ability, honesty, and moral courage, with crotchets, and a slight dash of the tiresome. Courtney, who has no pretensions to high office, is perhaps the ablest. He was the chief writer in *The Times*, powerful but unpopular in the Commons, the *bête noire* of Gladstone, but apparently good-humoured and well-conditioned in society.

¹ Sir Charles Dilke had become Under-Secretary for Foreign, and Mr. Courtney for Home, Affairs; Mr. Henry Fawcett, Postmaster-General.

I had a long and satisfactory conversation with Dilke on Foreign Affairs. He will bring me to-day the draft of a letter to me, explaining his supposed Republicanism. Yours sincerely, GRANVILLE.

Lady Waldegrave said Dilke and W. Harcourt had both vanity. But the first concentrated his, while the second scattered his in every direction.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 1st May 1880.—Trust there is no idea of reversing Ambassadors. It has never been done for the last 20 years.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

C. H. TERRACE, 1st May 1880.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. There had been a question about the recall of Sir A. Layard,¹ but nothing was settled. Lord Granville brought your Majesty's message to him before his colleagues last night. It was discussed at great length, and with all the deference due to your Majesty's opinion. Sir A. Layard is an old personal and political friend, and though Lord Granville agrees with the conclusion of the Cabinet, he was especially glad to state to them the objections to his removal.

There has been no removal of an Ambassador on a change of the Home Government for 20 years, and there may be some advantage in the absence of the political element. Europe has been startled by the change of administration, and the recall of Sir A. Layard might confirm the fear that England would not be faithful to the International engagements entered into by the late Government. Sir A. Layard is a strong, able man, with a knowledge of Asiatics,

¹ Sir Henry Layard was Ambassador at Constantinople, where he had been sent to carry out Lord Beaconsfield's policy. His full name was Austen Henry Layard, and before he was knighted he was frequently spoken of as Austen Layard.

and of their languages. He has stated, in a private letter, that he is ready to carry out any change of policy which might be decided on. He is an honourable man who would obey his instructions, and a new Ambassador (besides the choice of one being difficult) would have a difficulty in dealing with a state of things and a place, both of them new to him.

The answer made to these objections was that formerly it was the practice always at Paris, and sometimes at St. Petersburg and other Courts, to change your Majesty's representative upon a change of Government. The late Lord Derby recalled the Liberal Peers who had diplomatic posts, though Lord Howard de Walden saved his by changing his politics. During the last 20 years, neither the persons nor the circumstances have called for a change. The recall of Sir H. Elliot by Lord Beaconsfield, apparently based upon the complaints of his not being sufficiently alive to the interests of the Christian subjects of the Porte, bears upon the point.

It is doubted that the principal Governments of Europe desire the retention of Sir A. Layard. Germany and France do not do so. One of the Ambassadors told Lord Granville that it was the intention of Lord Salisbury to remove him.¹

Sir A. Layard in the House of Commons is remembered as being clever, but impulsive, not discreet, and seeing only one side of a question. He is thought to have shown some of these defects at Constantinople, in dealing with the Porte, and with his colleagues.

The policy of the Government is to press, in concert with Europe, for the full execution of the conditions of the Treaty of Berlin. Rightly or wrongly, they think that the late Government did

¹ Next day Lord Granville wrote to the Queen that he had had a long interview with Lord Salisbury, who had given him most useful information about Foreign Affairs, and, amongst other things, that he believed Layard's influence at Constantinople to be "worn out," and that "he had made up his mind to make other arrangements, by which Sir A. Layard would be replaced."

not do so with adequate vigour, and sufficient concert with others. A new Representative of your Majesty would have more weight with the Porte than one whom they have looked upon to be as Turkish as themselves. He would be able to establish a better understanding with his colleagues.

The charges which Sir A. Layard had suggested to the correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, to make against Mr. Gladstone, and for which he made a perfectly insufficient explanation, were mentioned. Mr. Gladstone desired that they might be entirely excluded from consideration. But they may have had some weight with some, who thought there could be no reciprocal confidence between the Government and Sir A. Layard. The retention of Sir A. Layard would cause great dissatisfaction in the Liberal Party.

The Cabinet were unanimous in expressing a humble hope that your Majesty would not insist upon the objection, which at first sight it was so natural for your Majesty to entertain.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 1st May 1880.—The Queen has received Lord Granville's letter and will write fully to-morrow.

Her *own* impression is that it would be most unwise to change Sir H. Layard *immediately*. It should be postponed, at any rate, till Europe is reassured that the new Government does not intend to upset the foreign policy of the late Government, and to *act in accordance* with Russia's views. Russia certainly *believes* she *will* have her own way.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

2nd May 1880.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He hopes that the enclosed letter from Sir Charles Dilke will be satisfactory to your Majesty.

[ENCLOSURE.]

Sir Charles Dilke to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

Private.

76 SLOANE STREET, S.W., 2nd May 1880.

DEAR LORD GRANVILLE,—When I was asked my views upon Republicanism during the recent election, I gave a public answer which formed, I hope, a complete refutation to the suggestion of disloyalty to the Crown. I said that I thought that the Republican might be the best form of Government adapted to the conditions of a country which was making, as it were, a fresh start in national life after a great convulsion, and where there would have been rival claims to a throne supposing one to have been again set up.

It would be folly, I thought, to apply such reasoning to England, where we possessed a well-established Constitutional Monarchy, and where the true constitutional theory has been so much strengthened by the illustrious occupant of the throne. The traditions and the feelings of the country were on the side of Constitutional Monarchy, and the existing order of things contained every guarantee for freedom and every possibility of reform. Believe me, etc.,
CHARLES DILKE.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 3rd May 1880.—The Queen returns Sir Charles Dilke's letter, of which she has kept a copy. It is satisfactory as regards his supposed Republican views, though the Queen does not agree with what he says regarding other countries; but he has entirely omitted any expression of regret as to the line he has taken regarding the Civil list,¹ and his intention *not* to pursue it in future. Mr. Gladstone mentioned it to the Queen first, and said that Sir C.

¹ See Second Series, vol. ii, pp. 100, 164–169, 172.

Dilke "had expressed great regret for what he had said : that he had been very young and very foolish and had been very sorry to have taken any part in it." This, as well as the explanation given about his Republican views, Mr. Gladstone repeated to the Queen, and she then asked to have these explanations in writing, both of Mr. Gladstone and she believes also of Lord Granville. The observations with regard to the Civil list are of considerable importance, as they affect the Royal Family as well as the Sovereign, on account of the votes which may at any time be brought before Parliament.

The Queen therefore hopes Sir C. Dilke will have no difficulty in adding this to his letter. The Queen thanks Lord Granville for his other letter and hopes to explain her views to-morrow respecting Sir H. Layard.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

LONDON, 3rd May 1880.—Mr. Gladstone submits his humble duty to your Majesty. The Cabinet met this day in Downing Street for the first time.

They considered the question whether Lord Ripon should execute his intention of leaving England next week, Lord Lytton having suggested a delay. They were of opinion that on the whole it was best not to postpone the departure of the new Viceroy.

They considered their position with reference to Sir Bartle Frere, and decided that they would not advise his recall from the office he now holds.

They made a partial examination of the War Finance of India, which is in a highly embarrassing if not an alarming state, as the charge is likely, from causes at present unexplained, to exceed the estimates by many millions sterling.

Mr. Gladstone took an opportunity of enforcing the obligation of the strictest secrecy to be observed by all the Members of the Cabinet in regard to all matters discussed at its meetings.

*Sir Charles Dilke to Earl Granville.*¹

[Copy.]

76 SLOANE STREET, 4th May 1880.

DEAR LORD GRANVILLE,—There was in my letter to you no reference to Civil list matters, because you yourself did not refer to them. I dealt with these, however, as you know, in a conversation I had with Mr. Gladstone in your presence. I daresay you would not care that I should go at length into my views upon the best footing upon which the Civil list might stand, as I mean not to take any further part of any kind in the matter. As regards, however, what happened in 1871, some expressions of mine were taken as attacks on her Majesty the Queen. I very fully explained, on several occasions in 1872, that nothing was further from my mind than to impute blame to her Majesty : that I never thought for a moment that my words could be so misunderstood, that I was “ heartily sorry that they were so misunderstood, and that the very fact that they were ” shows that they were wrong. Believe me, etc. etc., CHARLES W. DILKE.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 5th May 1880.—The Queen commands me to return the enclosed letter. Her Majesty accepts Sir Charles Dilke’s explanation.—HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

5th May 1880.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and trusts that the arrangement proposed as to Mr. Goschen and Sir H. Layard will meet your Majesty’s views :

Lord Granville begs to submit the name of Mr. Goschen for the post of Special Ambassador for a limited time, and without salary, to the Porte. Sir H. Layard to have leave of absence.

¹ Submitted by Lord Granville to the Queen.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 5th May 1880.

DEAR LORD GRANVILLE,—The Queen has read your despatch to Sir H. Layard of the 30th of April, in which you say that, while her Majesty's Government abstain from anything like menace, any intimation they gave would be adhered to. The Queen is anxious to know the nature of the intimation that you say may be given.

I am to remind you that you assured the Queen, through Prince Leopold, that the present Government entirely accepted accomplished facts, and did not intend a direct reversal of policy. But the Queen cannot help fearing that this intimation to the Porte may go further than is desirable. And the sentence in your despatch 187, to Sir Henry Elliot, alludes to "real pressure," respecting which the Queen would be glad to have further information. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Earl Granville to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

18 CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE, 5th May 1880.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—I lose no time in giving the explanations which the Queen desires as to my conversation with Musurus.¹

The present Government have entirely adopted, as I think they were bound to do, the Treaty of Berlin; and they believe that the non-fulfilment of the remaining conditions is a danger to Europe, and especially to Turkey.

Lord Salisbury kindly sent me the last private letter from Sir H. Layard. In it he gives the most gloomy description of the hopeless state of the Porte, which he attributes exclusively to their systematic ignoring of English advice. My object in speaking to Musurus was to prevent the Porte thinking that, because we used no menace, they could safely disregard advice. It seems to have had some effect,

¹ Turkish Ambassador.

though whether that will be permanent it is impossible to say.

The Turkish Parliament was ridiculed by the late Government, and by the Opposition, but there is a general opinion now that its convocation might be of some use.

The difficulties of the position are great. Yours sincerely, GRANVILLE.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

LONDON, 12th May 1880.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that your Majesty's advisers this day considered a communication which the Lord Chancellor had received from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and proceeded to determine the leading outlines of a Bill to settle the controversy which has arisen concerning Burials.

The Cabinet also agreed upon the basis of a limited but practical measure to obviate grievances under the Game Laws ; and of another measure relating to the Liabilities of Employers for injuries sustained by Workmen, which will be further considered by a Committee of the Cabinet.

The Cabinet also agreed upon the terms of a telegram by which Lord Kimberley will inform Sir Bartle Frere that your Majesty's Government will uphold the sovereignty of the British Crown in the Transvaal, but will be desirous to bestow upon it, at the earliest period, the gift of free institutions. He is also instructed to promote Confederation, and to avoid measures tending to advancement of the Frontiers. This telegram will be further developed in a despatch.

14th May.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty apprises your Majesty that the Cabinet this day decided, after a full consideration, that it would not be expedient to propose a renewal of the Peace Preservation Act in Ireland. One material consideration before them was that from the limitation of time between the Address to the Throne and June

1st, the renewal of the Act before its expiry would be impracticable. . . .

The Cabinet authorised the Secretary of State for War to consider of plans and proceedings with a view to the eventual abolition of Flogging in the Army, in conformity with the practice of the other European armies.

WINDSOR, 15th May.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty assures your Majesty that the utmost care will be taken to secure effective discipline in your Majesty's army, when the time for the contemplated change shall arrive, by arrangements previously well considered.

Even in the last House of Commons, the subject of corporal punishment in the army was found difficult to deal with, and it is more than doubtful whether any efforts to maintain it could in the present House be successful.

Last year Lord Hartington made a proposal, in which Mr. Gladstone concurred, that flogging might be retained for those cases only in which actual sentence of death was pronounced by a Court Martial. This plan, which would have met, as it appears, your Majesty's humane solicitude, was not accepted; and the Cabinet, who considered it yesterday, are of opinion that it could not now be hopefully revived.

As your Majesty was pleased to refer to the case of Mr. Bradlaugh,¹ Mr. Gladstone humbly takes leave to mention that Mr. Bradlaugh has notified his intention to take the Oath of Allegiance. This intention will relieve the House from any question, which might have been raised, as to passing a Statute for his admission.

Queen Victoria to the Duke of Richmond.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 21st May 1880.—It is most kind and considerate of the Duke of Richmond and Gordon

¹ See Introductory Note.

to have written so full and interesting an account of the meeting at Bridgewater House,¹ which naturally has interested her deeply.

It is most satisfactory that Lord Beaconsfield showed so much strength and vigour. Of his tact and judgment no one who knows him can think too highly.

The Queen was also very glad to see Lord Carnarvon return to his Party.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

21st May 1880.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He regrets extremely having omitted to give your Majesty any account of the debate which took place last night. He has got rusted by the six years' holiday, and hopes your Majesty will excuse him. . . .

To-day Lord de Lisle brought forward the letter of Mr. Gladstone to Count Karolyi.² Lord Granville said little about the previous speech in Midlothian, but defended the letter. Lord Salisbury made a clever and not a very judicious speech. It is early in the day to make an attack upon the foreign policy of the Government, and for the purpose he was obliged to assume many things contrary to the principles which your Majesty's Government has adopted. Lord Kimberley very clearly showed this. Protested against using irritating language against any one power, but declared positively that the Government was not Russian in its proclivities. Lord Beaconsfield followed, apparently more to support his late colleague than being very anxious to begin a premature attack. The answer of the Duke of Argyll was

¹ A similar letter of considerable length, from Lord Rowton to the Queen, is printed in *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi, ch. 16. The meeting was one of the Conservative Party in the two Houses of Parliament. Lord Beaconsfield, who was cordially received, expressed his willingness to continue to place his advice and experience at the service of the Party.

² See above, p. 81. Mr. Gladstone had written to Count Karolyi that in consequence of the Ambassador's assurances, he would "wholly banish" from his mind the "apprehensions" he had entertained of Austria's policy.

without any of the excitement or strong language which sometimes destroy the effect of his speeches.

The Members of the Government in the Lords are pleased that the debate has taken place.

Lord Granville never remembers any Opposition which did not begin too soon and too violently their attacks upon a new Government. He remembers the Prince Consort telling him that he never understood why men in opposition were so unreasonable until Sir Charles Phipps, after a six weeks' holiday, objected to everything that his Royal Highness and Col. Grey had done in his absence.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 23rd May 1880.—The Queen received Lord Granville's letter, giving an account of the debates on Thursday and Friday, at Perth yesterday, and thanks him for it. She would *not* allude to the subject on which she *has felt so deeply and strongly*, but considering the almost unparalleled violence of the language used by the present Government when in Opposition, and the crusade preached by *some* of them against her former Prime Minister who prevented war, and who not only upheld the position of this country, but raised it in the eyes of all Europe, they cannot complain of strong and bitter language being used in return.

The Queen does *not* wish to pursue this painful subject further, but she could not help observing on Lord Granville's remark. She *knows* that the present Government *will* be supported in all good and moderate measures as well as in their foreign policy if it is carried on as Lord Granville led her to expect it would be. The great misfortune has been that the Liberal Party did *not* separate themselves from Mr. Gladstone at that time—which would have been *far more patriotic* and far more for the country's good. The Queen does not wish, however, to continue this subject, as she said before.

The Queen fears the Eastern question becomes more and more complicated. She trusts Lord Granville will take care to express as strong an abhorrence of the horrible cruelties practised on the poor Mussulmans, as has formerly been expressed of those committed against the Christians.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL, 24th May 1880.

DEAR MR. GLADSTONE,—I am commanded by the Queen to express a hope that in any action that may be taken with reference to the case of Mr. Bradlaugh, care will be taken to prevent its being supposed (erroneously of course) that the Government sympathise with the opinions Mr. Bradlaugh is stated to hold. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

LONDON, 25th–26th May 1880. . . . The reproach of desiring to force Mr. Bradlaugh on the House was cast upon the Government last night by one or two Members in the heat of debate, but it is not seriously believed, the fact being that it is only with difficulty, and for fear of disparagement to justice, that Mr. Gladstone, and probably others with him, have been kept from making known in debate the loathing with which they regard certain opinions of Mr. Bradlaugh. . . .

The Marquis of Hartington to Queen Victoria.

INDIA OFFICE, 25th May 1880.—Lord Hartington presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and forwards for your Majesty's consideration the draft of a despatch which he proposes to send to Lord Ripon by the next mail.

It has been Lord Hartington's object

1. To place on record shortly a statement of the general position of affairs in Afghanistan, as they have been found on the accession to office of the present Government

2. To state what appear to be the alternative courses of policy which it is now open to your Majesty's Government to adopt, and their respective advantages or disadvantages.

3. Without strictly binding Lord Ripon's freedom of action in circumstances which cannot be foreseen, to indicate the policy which your Majesty's Government are disposed to adopt, and the objects which they have mainly in view.

The principal of these objects is the early withdrawal of the British army from Afghanistan, so soon as this can be effected with safety to the health of the troops, and consistently with engagements which have been entered into in your Majesty's name.

Their next object is the re-establishment of a settled, independent, and if possible friendly, Government in Afghanistan; and from this point of view they are somewhat disposed to regret the decision of the late Government to insist upon the separation of Candahar from Cabul. Lord Hartington has directed Lord Ripon carefully to consider the position of this question, the extent to which your Majesty's Government is pledged to the new Ruler of Candahar, and the possibility, if it should be thought desirable, of substituting some other arrangement.

Lord Hartington may add, for your Majesty's information, that the accounts which he receives from India of the condition of the native army are far from satisfactory, and that he has reason to believe that the military advisers of the Governor-General are most anxious that the strain upon these troops should not be continued much longer, and that measures should be taken to enable them to return to India at the earliest possible moment.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Marquis of Hartington.
[Copy.]

BALMORAL, 28th May 1880.

MY DEAR HARTINGTON,—I telegraphed the Queen's general approval.

The Queen is glad to see that you have left Lord Ripon free to act upon your directions or not. The Queen therefore only expresses a hope that you will not hastily decide on abandoning Candahar, if you find that the agreement with Sirdar Sher Ali is not fully concluded.—HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Telegram.*]

BALMORAL, 30th May 1880.—In making any statement with respect to Afghanistan as alluded to in your letter of 29th, I must urge on you to commit yourself to no retrograde movement. Remember what happened in the case of the Punjab, where we fought for and reinstated the young Sovereign, and had afterwards to annex it.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL, 30th May 1880.—The Queen . . . is rather uneasy at the expressions used in Mr. Goschen's letter about "*pressure*" and force. To threaten and not to act upon it was too often tried formerly, and was also a maxim of Lord Derby,¹ who was *the* most difficult and unsatisfactory Minister she or indeed anyone had to deal with—viz.: to let *people believe* what *was not intended to be done*. If pressure is ever to be used it should be *equally on both* the Greeks and the Turks. For the Queen could never consent to force being used *against* Turkey, unless in the manner above mentioned. Austria and France she feels sure, almost, would *not* join, and Russia would soon (if she is not already *secretly doing so*) rejoice at and profit by any *change* of policy which would place us in hostility with our poor old allies. The Queen is glad to see that Lord Granville has taken steps about the horrible cruelties practised on the poor Mussulmans.

¹ The Lord Derby who was Foreign Minister under Lord Beaconsfield, the 15th Earl.

He should take an early opportunity of stating publicly his abhorrence of them.

Sir H. Layard seems much hurt. He should receive some praise, for he *has* done his best, and at first with much success. Could not Lord Granville hint that these constant changes of Ambassadors from France are hardly becoming? . . .

Lord Selborne to Queen Victoria.

PORTLAND PLACE, 31st May 1880.—The Chancellor, with his humble duty to your Majesty, desires to be permitted to approach your Majesty with the expression of his deep regret, that, through ignorance of your Majesty's wish to be informed more particularly as to the details of the Bill on the subject of the law of Burial, agreed upon by the Cabinet in accordance with the announcement in your Majesty's Speech from the Throne, he should have inadvertently, and most unintentionally, omitted to communicate the substance of the provisions contained in that measure to your Majesty before it was brought into the House of Lords, as he now understands that he ought to have done.

The Chancellor now submits to your Majesty a copy of the Bill: and he desires to explain that, before drawing it up, he communicated, at the desire of the Cabinet, with the Archbishop of Canterbury: and, finding that his Grace and other members of the Episcopal Bench would probably support a measure framed in accordance with the motion of Lord Harrowby,¹ to which the House of Lords agreed in 1877, and that they would also desire the clergy to be relieved from penalties in the cases which your Majesty will find provided for by the eleventh clause of the Bill, it was considered right to frame the Bill accordingly: the proposals of the two Convocations, which are set forth in the second Schedule to the Bill,

¹ To permit Nonconformist services in churchyards. See *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi, ch. 5, and *Life of Archbishop Tait*, ch. 29.

being regarded as unobjectionable, both in principle and in detail.

The Chancellor had afterwards the satisfaction of hearing from the Archbishop that the Bill was considered by the Bishops generally to have been framed in a conciliatory spirit towards the Church : and there is reason to hope, that many of them will be prepared to assent to it on the second Reading.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Lytton.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 3rd June 1880.—The Queen Empress has to thank the Viceroy for his kind letter of the 4th May. She is much grieved but *not* surprised to see by it how much pained and hurt he is at the violent and unjust way in which he has been attacked, but she hopes he will set it down to the (in her opinion) unpardonable heat and passion of *party* which, alas ! seems to blind people, and certainly has exceeded, on the Liberal side, all limits.

The Queen entirely appreciates Lord Lytton's motives for resigning when he did. But he will hear from Lord Beaconsfield himself (of whom the Queen can never speak too highly, and whose foreign policy *was* approved by Parliament and country, and strongly abroad), that for the most unfortunate and unseemly omissions, respecting Lord Lytton's resignation and the appointment of his successor, the present Government are not to blame.

The Queen has already expressed her warm thanks to Lord Lytton for his most valuable services, and she trusts that he will not move a day sooner than is safe for himself and family to do so. . . .

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Copy—Extract.*]

5th June 1880.—The Queen cannot help feeling uneasy at the state of the House of Commons. There is such an amount of interference and meddling in

everything, that, unless it is firmly resisted, Government will soon become impossible. It would be grievous indeed and *very serious* if this democratic tendency were *not checked*, and the Queen thinks Mr. Gladstone has it in his power, by his experience and influence as well as by his large majority, to raise the tone, and not let the House of Commons become, as it were, the executive power, which is what this constant interference and constant questioning *increasingly leads to*.

If Mr. Gladstone would refuse *shortly and firmly* to answer questions of a totally unfit character for Parliament, and would desire his colleagues to do the same, he would be doing immense good to the Monarchy and Constitution. A Constitutional Sovereign *at best* has a *most difficult task*, and it *may* become *almost an impossible one*, IF things are allowed to go on as they have done of late years.

The Queen meant to mention this to Mr. Gladstone herself—as a *general rule*, and not with reference to any particular occasion—when she last saw him, but forgot it, and she thinks this *new* Parliament promises to be worse than any *in this respect*. It is the more necessary as so many new Office people like Mr. Chamberlain, Sir C. Dilke, Mr. Mundella, and others, *themselves* very guilty of such proceedings, may *not* be *aware* of the *necessity* of checking such questions or of how to answer.

The Queen is much alarmed at the state of the House of Commons of late.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

[June 1880.]—Mr. Gladstone, with his humble duty, apprises your Majesty that Lord Granville has transmitted to him a portion of a letter from your Majesty relating to the condition of the House of Commons, and its tendency to assume the functions of the Executive.

Mr. Gladstone is aware that his own observation is

unequal to dealing conclusively with this important subject; and, should it be your Majesty's desire, he will at once enlarge and rectify it by reference to his colleagues in the Cabinet. In the meantime, he humbly submits a statement of his own impressions; premising, however, that he does not include in his view the case of the "Irish Party," which is separate and in some points peculiar.

There seems to be no doubt that, within the last half century, there has been considerable invasion by the House of Commons of the province assigned by the Constitution to the Executive.

Mr. Gladstone, however, does not perceive any increase of this tendency in recent times, or in the present House of Commons, so far as the general functions of the Executive Government are concerned. Your Majesty may possibly have in view the pressure which has been exercised on the present Government in the case of Sir Bartle Frere. But—apart from the fact that this pressure represents a feeling which extends far beyond the walls of Parliament—your Majesty may probably remember that, in the early part of 1835, the House of Commons addressed the Crown against the appointment of Lord Londonderry to be Ambassador at St. Petersburg, on account, if Mr. Gladstone remembers right, of a general antecedent disapproval. This was an exercise of power going far beyond what has happened now; nor does it seem easy, in principle, to place the conduct of Sir Bartle Frere beyond that general right of challenge and censure which is unquestionably within the function of Parliament, and especially of the House of Commons.

Undoubtedly, in another branch of very great importance, there has grown up, within the last quarter of a century, a most urgent tendency in Parliament to invade the office of the Executive Government, which invests it with the sole initiative in the matter of public charge. This tendency has been manifest in all sections of political party, but

it has beyond doubt, as Mr. Gladstone thinks, been especially observable in what is termed the landed interest, and in the officers of the army. It has brought about a large increase of the public expenditure ; which, setting aside the Public Debt, as matter of obligation and not of choice, is more than double now what it was thirty years ago : large portions of the increase being undoubtedly legitimate, or even necessary, but other portions representing the power of the interests of class, rather than the urgency of public wants. This tendency weakens the Government, and lowers greatly the sense of responsibility in the House of Commons. It may even, in course of time, grow to such a height as to raise the question whether the House must not be called upon to assume a larger function in regard to the proposal of public charge than now nominally belongs to it, so that it may be seen and known to do what even now it really does, and that the Crown may not, through its Ministers, be liable to the odium which, in certain states of affairs, and of the public mind, may attend upon taxation. But that time has not yet arrived. On this very evening, however, the first motion, by Earl Percy, aimed at disturbing anew the terms of the Abolition of Purchase, to the prejudice of the nation ; and the second, by Mr. Leighton, at further lightening the liabilities of the ratepayer, by a transfer of charge to the Exchequer ; which certainly means, in a greater or a less degree, casting upon Labour burdens hitherto borne by property.

Whether this tendency is more powerful in the present House than in others which have preceded it, Mr. Gladstone will not confidently say without further experience. Your Majesty may, however, rely upon this : that, whether in regard to public charge or to other duties of the Executive, he is fully alive to the evil of encroachment by the House of Commons, and, so long as he has the honour to serve your Majesty, will steadily perform all that is in his power towards resisting it.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

C. H. T., *9th June 1880*.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs to call your Majesty's attention to the accompanying draft of a tentative despatch on the subject of the Anglo-Turkish Convention.¹

This Convention had in one sense a great success at the time of its publication. It covered the unpopularity of the concessions which were made to Russia in the Treaty of Berlin, and it had a certain effect abroad, making it believed that England was desirous to hold her own and even a little more.

It was thought that the advantages were twofold. First, that it gave us great additional military strength by the possession of Cyprus. Second, that it would enable us to introduce reforms of a regenerating character in the Asiatic provinces of the Porte. The guarantee to defend these provinces, at all times, and under all circumstances, was justly described by Lord Salisbury as a very onerous obligation.

It is now generally acknowledged that the island of Cyprus cannot be made a place of arms without an expenditure from which your Majesty's late Government shrunk, and which it is not likely any succeeding Government will propose. But Cyprus may be made, under proper government, to become rich and prosperous. It is impossible to give it back to the Turks against the wish of the inhabitants, and it does not appear to be the wish of Turkey to have it back.

We have utterly failed to introduce reforms into Asiatic Turkey, and the disinclination to use European officials seems to have increased in consequence of the extraordinary powers which the Treaty professes to give England.

The onerous character of the obligation of defence continues. It might be extremely difficult to meet it,

¹ See Second Series, vol. ii, p. 584; and for a full account of the Convention and the reasons for which it was made, *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi, ch. 8.

at a time when we might be at war with one or more powerful States. Your Majesty's late Government very prudently did not try to defend Kars, Batoum, etc., at a time when, if otherwise advisable, circumstances would have been favourable.

Your Majesty observes that the plan sketched out, while it retains Cyprus on its present, or an improved, tenure, gives, by means of a portion of the price, a practical stimulus to real reforms in Asia, and, while it relieves us from an obligation, which is accompanied by no additional strength except that which the occupation of Cyprus may be thought to give us, gives notice to Russia that we retain our full discretion to oppose any hostile designs.

It is a curious fact that the validity of [the] treaty¹ is not acknowledged by your Majesty's Government. It has never been ratified by the Sultan, excepting in a mode which Lord Salisbury declined to acknowledge.

The Cabinet are strongly in favour of the principle of this draft. Many of the Members of the House of Commons in it say that the feeling of the assembly against the Convention is very strong, and might even break out in a manner which might make the negotiation with Turkey difficult.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

BALMORAL, 10th June 1880.—The Queen has attentively read Lord Granville's letter, and the draft despatch to Mr. Goschen.

As this merely asks for his opinion on the question dealt with, and directs him to invite suggestions from the Porte, the Queen cannot object to its being sent.

But the Queen must express her decided dissent from many of the assumptions contained in Lord Granville's letter and despatch.

The Cyprus Convention was not made with the view of covering any unpopularity, but for the purpose

¹ *I.e.*, the Anglo-Turkish Convention.

of counteracting the effect produced on the populations of Asia Minor by the acquisitions of Russia, and in order to secure a position that would be of value in time of war. Far from agreeing with Lord Granville in believing Cyprus to be worthless as a place of arms, the Queen, relying on the reports of military, naval, and other officers, maintains that it will be a post of great advantage, and is glad therefore to find that the Government propose to acquire possession of the island on a more secure tenure than that which has hitherto existed.

It may be true that the interference of our Consular agents has not produced the benefits that were expected, though a very short time has elapsed since the Convention was concluded. But the maintenance of our power depends upon our right to insist on reforms, and it would be unwise totally to abandon this means of influencing the natives of Asia Minor.

So also the withdrawal of the promise of any support to the Turks if attacked by the Russians should be very carefully considered, and the Queen must repeat she will not consent to the abandonment of Turkey, if assailed by her powerful enemy.

No doubt Lord Granville is right in stating that the acquisition of Cyprus caused a good effect abroad, where it induced all to believe that England was desirous to hold her own.

The Queen sincerely trusts that this is the desire of her present Government, and that they, equally with their predecessors, will uphold the high position which this country has attained.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 11th June 1880.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his two reports and for his two longer letters, on his financial proposals and in answer to her remarks to Lord Granville, which she is the more thankful for as she knows how much his time must be taken up.

With respect to the first, the Queen had meant to have made remarks but forgot, or rather did *not* know on which day they were to be brought forward. She regrets the additional income tax, as it presses heavily on people with small incomes—salaries, etc., and at this time will be a serious loss to the number of people whose rents have not been paid. The tax on beer she also regrets, as the poor never drink wine, and the loss of beer will be deeply felt by them. The rich classes who drink wine and who are not in any way restrained in their indulgences can well afford to pay for wine. But the poor can ill afford any additional tax on what is in many parts their only beverage.

As regards Mr. Gladstone's answer to her remarks, it is not so much with respect to subjects like the recall of Sir B. Frere (though she does think the way in which public servants in difficult and distant posts, both civil and military, are attacked and abused at home when under most trying circumstances and in great difficulties, is very shameful, ungenerous, and mischievous in its results) that she referred, but to the constant interference with private matters totally out of the province of Parliament. For instance, the Queen's letter to Lady Frere, which was simply to thank her and the ladies at Capetown for expression of sympathy in the Queen's great loss in December '78; a telegram to the Viceroy of India, praising her troops and enquiring after them, and other like personal matters of a very offensive character. A sharp rebuke on such occasions would show the impropriety of such proceedings. The other grave questions ought certainly also to be dealt with, and the Queen rejoices to hear that Mr. Gladstone is prepared to instruct his colleagues to pay the greatest attention to this important subject. It is the effect which such things have on the public which does harm and tends to lower the character of the House of Commons in Europe. The question of the Irish Home Rule obstructionists is another very serious one which the

Queen feels sure Mr. Gladstone will do his utmost to arrest.

She regrets the diminution of Sir Bartle Frere's salary, which will make his post impossible she fears.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

LONDON, 23rd June 1880.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty reports to your Majesty that this day, when the Speaker took the Chair at a quarter past twelve, Mr. Bradlaugh came to the Table and claimed to take the Oath. The Speaker read to him the Resolution of the House which forbids it. Mr. Bradlaugh asked to be heard, and no objection was taken. He then addressed the House from the Bar. His address was that of a consummate speaker. But it was an address which could not have any effect unless the House had undergone a complete revolution of mind. He challenged the legality of the act of the House, expressing hereby an opinion in which Mr. Gladstone himself, going beyond some other members of the minority, has the misfortune to lean towards agreeing with him. Mr. Labouchere, his colleague, moved hereupon that the Resolution of the House be rescinded. Mr. Gladstone, however, appealed to him to withdraw the motion, and it was withdrawn. The Speaker now again announced to Mr. Bradlaugh the Resolution of the House. Only a small minority voted against enforcing it. Mr. Bradlaugh declining to withdraw, was removed by the Serjeant-at-Arms. Having suffered this removal, he again came beyond the Bar, and entered into what was almost a corporal struggle with the Serjeant. Hereupon Sir S. Northcote moved that Mr. Bradlaugh be committed for his offence. Mr. Gladstone said that while he thought it did not belong to him, under the circumstances of the case, to advise the House, he could take no objection to the advice thus given. A motion was made, however, by a Home Ruler to adjourn the debate; which was supported only by 5 Members against 342; and had little effect except to lose half

an hour or more of the time of the House. After a short further discussion among the Irish Members, the House divided on the main question and committed Mr. Bradlaugh by a majority of 274 against 7.

Thus the affair terminated for the moment. Mr. Gladstone, however, fears that it will soon again be heard of, and that, if the constituency of Northampton thinks fit to enter into a conflict with the House of Commons, the constituency will be the winner.

Mr. Gladstone, with Lord Hartington and others of the Government, voted for the committal of Mr. Bradlaugh on the ground that his ultimate corporal resistance to the authority of the House had no relation to the establishment of his rights before either a Court of Law or his constituency, but appeared to be a measure which merely aimed at making a popular impression and which in this too much resembled, if not the Resolution of the House itself, yet most of the speeches by which it was supported.

It was recorded in some of the newspapers of to-day that when the division on the Resolution had taken place, and the numbers were about to be declared, there was an extraordinary excitement among the majority. This is strictly true; indeed it was an ecstatic transport, and exceeded anything which Mr. Gladstone remembers to have witnessed. Mr. Gladstone read in it only a witness to the dangers of the course on which the House has entered, and to its unfitness for the office which it has rashly chosen to assume. . . .

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

9th July 1880.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. Lord Lansdowne was much displeased with Mr. Forster's Land Bill¹; and almost immediately after its introduction intimated to a few of his friends in office that he could not conscientiously

¹ The Compensation for Disturbance Bill, which had been read a second time in the House of Commons in the sitting of 5th–6th July by 295 votes to 217—majority 78. See Introductory Note.

retain his connection with the Government. He is an excellent landlord, pays much attention to his Irish estates, and naturally objects to restrictions which in no case would be necessary if all landlords behaved as well as himself.

The arguments in favour of the Bill had no effect upon him, but he was persuaded at one time to postpone, till later, his resignation. It was represented to him that, not being in the Cabinet, no responsibility rested upon him until he was called upon to support the Bill in the House of Lords. But he found so many persons consulted him, that it became impossible to be sufficiently reticent, so as not to be disloyal to the Government; and yesterday he finally resigned. Mr. Gladstone could not have known it long before he had to answer the question in the House of Commons.

It is a blow to the Government, and it will make Lord Granville's position in the House of Lords very difficult, not only on this Bill, but in the general conduct of the House.

The resignation is owing to the most conscientious motives, but these somewhat hasty resignations, *à la* Carnarvon, make Government very difficult, and are not advantageous to the individual.

Lord Granville has looked upon Lord Shelburne¹ almost as a son, and has the highest opinion of his character and ability.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 10th July 1880.—The Queen felt sure Lord Lansdowne's resignation would be a great blow.

This Irish Land Bill is a great misfortune, and though it may be stated that it is only temporary and may be so intended, no one will believe it, for what is once done is not often given up; and, what is worse,

¹ The courtesy title which Lord Lansdowne had borne before his accession to the marquise.

people believe Mr. Gladstone intends it as a prelude to a similar measure in England.

Altogether the Queen thinks the state of affairs very serious, and cannot conceal from Lord Granville that she is alarmed at the Radical tendency of the Government. At the very commencement of the formation of the Government, the Queen thought everything seemed to promise well, but when Mr. Gladstone suddenly took in all these extreme Radicals, and when he took the line he has done with Bradlaugh and introduced measures like this most injudicious one, and the Game Bill,¹ etc., people have become alarmed and lose confidence. The state of the Eastern Question likewise causes great alarm, and the Queen owns she thinks things look very serious. Mr. Forster ought to have enquired more, *before* he framed such a measure, whether he was wise and prudent in recommending it. He is an honest, worthy, and clever man, but somewhat of a theorist and with but little knowledge of the world. Could it not be given up?

The Queen thought Lord Hartington very much out of spirits on Wednesday.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 16th July 1880.

DEAR LORD GRANVILLE,—As the Queen is anxious to lose no time in answering your letter, her Majesty has commanded me to write at once and explain the reasons which prevent her from addressing the Sultan in the sense you suggest.

A personal letter from the Queen must convey her own feelings and sentiments, and her Majesty therefore cannot advise the Sultan to disregard the wishes of the Turks and Albanians who are his subjects, and to hand them over to another country against their will.

This proceeding may be politically advisable, and the Queen is prepared to support her Government in carrying into effect the measures which they consider necessary.

¹ See Introductory Note.

But she cannot use her personal influence to urge the Sultan to take a step which he believes to be opposed to his honour and to his duty.

Note in Queen's handwriting :

Entirely approve. V. R. & I.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 16th July 1880.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He would not think of asking your Majesty to write any letter which did not approve itself to your Majesty's judgment. He is much obliged to your Majesty for saying that you would still be prepared to write a letter advising compliance with the demands of the Powers. He will consult the Cabinet to-morrow. He has no doubt that they will be grateful to your Majesty for your readiness to do so.

Lord Granville remembers your Majesty communicating with the Emperor of Germany during the Franco-German war. But there is nothing in the Foreign Office to show the form of such communications which your Majesty has adopted.

Lord Granville owns that his object is to make the most of your Majesty's influence in this case, because the Sultan appears to be so little aware of the dangers he is incurring, and an intimation from an unsuspected quarter would be of great value to him.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 18th July 1880.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for all his reports and letters. . . .

The Queen has been greatly shocked and disgusted at the success of Mr. Briggs's motion¹ and at the

¹ Condemning the erection of a monument to the Prince Imperial (see above, pp. 27 and 30-37) in Westminster Abbey. It was carried, as an amendment to the motion for Supply, by 162 to 147 votes, and then, as a substantive resolution, by 171 to 116.

language used to England's most faithful ally, as well as at the want of feeling and chivalry shown towards the memory of a young Prince, who *fell because* of the *cowardly desertion* of a *British* officer, and whose spotless character and high sense of honour and noble qualities would have rendered a monument to him a proud and worthy addition to Westminster Abbey, which contains many of questionable merit.

But where is chivalry and delicacy of feeling to be found in these days amongst many of the Members of Parliament? As it is, St. George's will be a fitter and safer place for this monument, which is one of the finest productions of modern art.

The Queen could have wished the Members of the Government had voted.

The Queen regrets the great delay and the great difficulties produced by the Irish Land Bill. She wishes it might be possible to remove the great objections entertained by so many in both Houses of Parliament to this measure.

The Queen, as Lord Granville will no doubt inform him, will send a telegram to the Sultan. This is in accordance with the precedent of 1878, when the Sultan appealed to her and she telegraphed in consequence to the Emperor of Russia, and received a very insolent answer.¹

Queen Victoria to the Sultan of Turkey.

[*Telegram.*]

[18th July 1880.]—The friendship which I feel for your country which has so long been the ally of England, and the proofs of personal regard which you have shown me, and which are fully reciprocated on my part, induce me to express to you my strong hope that your Majesty will even at the cost of some self-sacrifice meet the united wishes of Europe as to the complete fulfilment of the conditions of the Treaty of Berlin.

¹ See *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi, ch. 6.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 20th July 1880.—The Queen has received Lord Granville's long and interesting letter. It only confirms her anxiety; for it is *not* what Mr. Gladstone *calls* the exaggeration of the effects of the [Compensation for Disturbance] Bill which alarms her, it is the great *alarm felt by quiet* conscientious people on the Government side who look with *dismay* at the *certain fearful* results which *must* arise if this Bill were to pass. Lord Granville mentions what Mr. Gladstone says of the *discredit* of *yielding* to violent language of a *minority* and also of the *large majorities* which support the Bill. The first is an evil, no doubt, but less than doing *permanent* mischief and raising an alarming state of affairs in Ireland; and the *majorities* are the *result* (it is *well-known*) of a *fear to turn out* the Government *so soon after* it has come in; and one of the worst features of this unfortunate state of affairs *is* that so many people *vote against* their *convictions*!! This is *lamentable*, and is another instance of putting party *before* the *good* of the country. "The circumstances which may develop themselves"¹ should be courted so as to enable this measure to be got rid of.

Lord Granville may show this letter in confidence to Lord Hartington. . . .

The Queen thinks it was greatly to be regretted that the Government did *not* vote on the Prince Imperial's monument. It has left a dreadful impression. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 23rd July 1880.—A special messenger arrived from Mr. Gladstone, bringing a long letter,

¹ Lord Granville had reported Lord Hartington's opinion as being "that it would be impossible [to drop the Bill] at this stage. He is, however, far from certain that circumstances may not develop themselves, so as to enable the Government to do that which now appears undesirable and impossible."

and I quite expected it was to announce his own resignation, or that of Mr. Forster, but it was all about some technicality, relative to Mr. Dodson's re-election, he being unseated for bribery!

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 27th July 1880.—The Queen heard from Mr. Gladstone about the Eastern question, and for almost the first time he let out something *like* his "*Bulgarian outrages*." The Queen will *not* answer it, for she does *not* wish to irritate him or produce altercation, but she would wish he *should know* that *silence does not mean assent* on her part, and she deeply grieves to see us engaged on what she *must* call the wrong side. A little patience in this Eastern question and we should have avoided what may lead to a European war—for which we are *not* prepared.

This Division on the third reading¹ of this most unlucky Irish Bill is considerably reduced. The prospects in the House of Lords are undoubtedly *very hostile*. What course does Lord Granville think the Government will pursue, if they are beaten by a large majority in the House of Lords, including many Whigs?

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 27th July 1880.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. Mr. Gladstone did not tell him what he had written to your Majesty.

Lord Granville ventures to think that whatever may be the case for the future, the foreign policy of your Majesty's Government has not up to this time been a failure. Everyone seemed agreed that Turkey must come to an end if the frontier questions, and the reforms contained in the Treaty of Berlin, were not carried into effect. Lord Salisbury said it was impossible to establish the concert of Europe. But this

¹ The vote on the third reading in the House of Commons was 303 to 237, majority 66.

has been done (not without much trouble) and maintained up to the present moment. It may fail at any moment, but it is the only instrument that will save Turkey.

The news from Constantinople is a shade better. Lord Granville is truly rejoiced to learn that your Majesty's message has had some effect. It is possible that a question may be asked about it in Parliament. Lord Granville would propose to say (if your Majesty approved) that it was quite contrary to usage to produce the message, but that it was true that your Majesty, with the knowledge and full concurrence of the Cabinet, had sent a courteous message to the Sultan, expressing a firm hope that his Majesty would accede to the unanimous wishes of Europe, with regard to the fulfilment of the conditions of the Treaty of Berlin.

The second reading of Mr. Forster's Bill will be moved in the House of Lords on Monday next. The normal majority of the Opposition is about 108 exclusive of Bishops, and Lord Granville does not think that more than 50 Liberal Peers will vote for the Bill. It will be four to one.¹

Lord Grey moves the rejection of the Bill. His physical strength will hardly be equal to the task. Lord Granville was informed by the Duke of Somerset that Lord Beaconsfield wished the motion to come from the Liberal side.²

Nothing has been settled as to the result, and Mr. Gladstone has not mentioned to him yet what he will propose. But Lord Granville doubts anything violent being proposed, or agreed to.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Ripon.

[*Telegram.*]

OSBORNE, 28th July 1880.—Much distressed at sad and alarming news.³ Rely on you to maintain

¹ The actual numbers in the Division which rejected the second reading were 282 to 51—a majority of 231.

² This was the fact. See *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi, ch. 16, and below p. 128.

³ Of the British defeat at Maiwand, near Candahar, on the 27th July.

the honour and safety of the Empire. Most anxious to hear details, and how many have fallen and are wounded.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

OSBORNE, 30th July 1880.—The Queen has read Mr. Gladstone's letter ¹ of yesterday with deep regret.

The Queen's private regard for Sir Bartle Frere should not influence the public question, and indeed her acquaintance with him is not so full as Mr. Gladstone's. But the Queen has always considered it right to give her fullest support to her Governors abroad, especially in difficult and anxious moments, and must *protest* against their removal on the change of Administration or because a hostile feeling is supposed to exist against them among an extreme section of the House of Commons.

The Queen fears that the recall of Sir Bartle Frere will create an impression that Governors abroad are only to expect support at home from political allies, or from that party which nominated them to their posts.

Some expression of regret at the necessity of recalling him should appear in the telegram. The Queen *cannot* approve of this step, but will not oppose it as soon as she learns the name of the person who it is proposed should succeed Sir Bartle Frere at the Cape of Good Hope.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 2nd Aug. 1880.—Have offered the post of Assistant P. Purse and P. Secy. to Captain Bigge, as both Sir H. Ponsonby and I think no one better fitted than him. Mr. Gladstone is better,² but still feverish. Sir Wm. Jenner had been called in, and

¹ Announcing that the Cabinet had decided that, as all prospect of a policy of federation in South Africa had for the present vanished, Sir Bartle Frere should be recalled. The letter is printed in full in *Life of Gladstone*, bk. viii, ch. 2.

² He had been ill for three days, suffering from a chill.

telegraphed "no cause for alarm, but not without anxiety."

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Mr. Childers.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 2nd August 1880.

DEAR MR. CHILDERS,—It is perhaps too early to form any definite opinion on the probable consequences of the disaster near Candahar, but it is evident that more troops will be required in India for some little time at any rate.

The Queen therefore trusts that no reductions in the army are contemplated, and asks whether an increase should not be thought of. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

OSBORNE, 4th Aug. 1880.—Pray have following message sent to Viceroy, direct from here, *en clair*.

"I thank you for letting me hear all details of this terrible disaster. My heart bleeds for the loss of so many brave officers and men. Pray express my sympathy and anxiety for the wounded."

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Ripon.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 5th Aug. 1880.—The Queen thanks the Viceroy for his first letter from Simla as well as for the second of the 5th July, received on the 31st! Since he wrote the most terrible events have taken place, which were not anticipated by him in his last letter. The Queen has telegraphed to him in cypher yesterday to enquire "who is responsible for sending small detachments so far away from supports, and how is the want of knowledge of Ayub's force accounted for?"

These are *very serious* questions, for the loss of valuable lives has been the result and should *not* be risked. Besides this, the Queen Empress thinks that a certain amount of discretion and latitude should

be left to the Generals, and that they should *not* be constantly interfered with, for who *can* judge but those who are *on the spot* and who know the country? Too many and too peremptory orders from Head Quarters and from England are very dangerous.

The Queen is grieved for Lord Ripon to have this terrible anxiety, which we must all feel, at the beginning of the assumption of his Viceregal office, when all will look to him and to the Queen Empress's army to maintain the honour, dignity, and safety of her great Indian Empire, the *prestige* of which *has* suffered by what occurred at Cabul last August and again *now*.

The Queen highly approved of Viceregal honours being paid to Lord Lytton on his journey through the country, and was sorry to hear that he was unwell before leaving, and that Lord Ripon was also indisposed.

The Queen Empress concludes with every wish for the Viceroy's health and success in his arduous office.

Mrs. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 7th August [1880].

MADAM,—After receiving your Majesty's most kind telegrams I venture to express our gratitude, and to tell your Majesty that all is going on perfectly—we have every reason to think that wise nursing and rest will complete the recovery, and that I may have the blessing of seeing my husband quite well. The attack was so sudden and so sharp we were dreadfully alarmed, and no doubt time was lost just at first—so intently engaged as he was in serious duties. Your Majesty's kind injunctions did him good, and I feel so very grateful to you for them independent of the gracious kindness. We think of going to the Deanery at Windsor, as soon as my husband may move, having been kindly invited. Dr. Clark¹ is most anxious for change of air and perhaps sea air later. I hope I have not troubled your Majesty too much. I felt

¹ Afterwards Sir Andrew Clark.

I must express our thanks. I remain, Madam, your Majesty's devoted Servant, CATHERINE GLADSTONE.

Queen Victoria to Mrs. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 7th August 1880.

DEAR MRS. GLADSTONE,—I have just received your kind second letter, and am glad to hear that Mr. Gladstone is so much better. But I am sure quiet and complete rest are an absolute necessity for some time. I can well enter into your feelings of anxiety as a devoted wife, which you have always been. Ever yours sincerely, V. R. & I.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.¹

OSBORNE, 5th August 1880.

DEAR LORD BEACONSFIELD,—I cannot be entirely silent now that the *event*² has taken place. I hope you are *not* the worse? Do you EVER remember *so many* voting against the Government to whose party they belong? *I do not*. Not a soul ever dreamt I knew what was to happen, though all expected a defeat. . . .

The Premier has been very ill, but is much better, though very weak and must keep very quiet.

How terrible this news from India! I fear mistakes have been made long ago, and, besides, language used—I need not say *by whom*—which has done the great mischief. There is but *one* feeling *now*, of upholding the honour, dignity, and safety of the Indian Empire!

You may like to hear that I have just appointed *Capt. Bigge* as successor to poor Col. Pickard. I believe I could not have a better. Poor Col. Pickard had *the* highest opinion of him, Sir E. Wood also; and the way in which he has arranged the Empress's very

¹ The Queen kept up a regular correspondence with Lord Beaconsfield after his resignation. See *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi, ch. 14, where further extracts from her Majesty's letters appear.

² The crushing defeat of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill in the House of Lords.

difficult journey¹ and his intelligence, discretion, tact, and kindness have shown what he is. . . . Ever yours affectionately, V. R. & I.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

HUGHENDEN MANOR, 8th August 1880.

MADAM AND MOST BELOVED SOVEREIGN,—I had the honour and happiness of receiving your Majesty's letter on Friday evening. There was no post yesterday.

No similar incident to that which occurred in the House of Lords on Tuesday night has ever happened in this country. If myself, and all my friends and followers, had refrained from voting, the Ministry would have been still defeated, and by their own Party ! This perhaps might not have come about had a great Whig not moved the rejection : but this I had resolved upon from the first, as the principle at stake was too vast to be merely vindicated by Party.

The debate was worthy of the occasion. Almost every speech was in some sense remarkable : some of the addresses never exceeded for completeness and power. Lord Lansdowne especially exhibited qualities which marked him out as one who, in due season, might be rightly honoured by your Majesty's highest confidence. His speech, equally poignant and logical, could scarcely be surpassed for trenchant argument : voice good, delivery easy : and when you take into consideration also his youth, his social position, and his great name—and these are qualities which in public life cannot be disconnected from the individual—it was impossible not to recognise him as one whom your Majesty has a right to look to for valuable service.

The address of Lord Cairns was the most sustained effort of reasoning rhetoric that I ever listened to : quite equal, in that respect, to Mr. Gladstone's highest and happiest efforts. Though it lasted three hours, the crowded house hung on every accent, and every-

¹ To visit the scene of her son's death in Zululand.



The Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G.
1881

*From a picture by Sir John Millais, P.R.A.,
in the possession of Viscount Hambleden*



one felt, when the voice ceased, that not a point had been omitted or unanswered.

The speech of Lord Derby was most curious. It was that of an ingenious mind arguing against himself, and adopting conclusions which he intellectually despised, and all this from sheer cowardice. Lord Salisbury's reply to him was full of contemptuous vigour.

I had intended myself to have taken this opportunity of noticing, with dignity I hope, but with some completeness, the spirit and manner in which the Prime Minister had carried this Bill through the House of Commons, and his reiterated menace of civil war; but the illness of Mr. Gladstone rendered a personal criticism impossible. I, however, did succeed in impressing on the Lords that this was only a preliminary measure to a larger attack on the territorial portion of our Constitution, and I heard from several of the most powerful Whigs that they approved and adopted my view.

The affairs of India occasion me much anxiety. Your Majesty, I observe with pleasure, has received Lord Lytton in audience. He wishes to see me immediately, and I have invited him here. I shall hope, and believe, that the Ministry will be equal to the occasion. Half measures will not do. It is a struggle for the Empire, and if the scene had not been in Afghanistan it would have been somewhere else. I need not say that I shall give an unhesitating support to any adequate measure, in this respect, to [? of] your Majesty's Ministry.

I am glad to hear that your Majesty has succeeded in making Household arrangements which promise to be satisfactory, and to be conducive to your Majesty's comfort, which to me must always be a matter of interest and concern.

As to my own movements, I propose to remain in my solitude. With me the restlessness of life is over, and yet life is not dull. The past has many memories which I can recall with unflagging interest, yet none

more gracious to my thought and heart than those personal relations with your Majesty, which I ever think of with ineffable charm.

Lord Rowton arrived here last night, and would wish to remain here some little time, but business in the House of Lords will render it necessary for him soon, and I fear frequently, to leave me. All my colleagues have run away, and yet there are some most difficult measures about to be submitted to the House of Lords, which greatly interest our followers, who are bleating for their leaders. Lord Rowton is to be in Scotland at the end of the month, but I apprehend he will pay a visit to Cowes before that.

I trust your Majesty is as well as when I last had the honour of seeing my Sovereign. Those visits I know must now be rare, but I am upheld by the conviction that with your Majesty's knowledge of human nature, and quick perception of character, absence will never make your Majesty doubt the devotion of your grateful BEACONSFIELD.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

Confidential.

OSBORNE, 8th Aug. 1880.—The Queen has written a letter to Lord Granville which he may show to the Cabinet or Members of it.

She is *seriously* alarmed at the *extreme Radicals* being at all cajoled by the present Government, and she must tell Lord Granville that she thinks the moderate Members of the Government *ought* to do *all* to obtain the *support* of their *moderate Whig* supporters *instead* of courting the support of the *extreme Party*. She *knows* that the Opposition would give them *every support*, in resisting any policy which *strikes* at the *root and existence* of the Constitution and Monarchy. The Queen herself can *never* have *any confidence* in the men who encourage *reform* for the *sake of alteration* and *pulling down what exists* and what is *essential* to

the *stability* of a Constitutional Monarchy. A *Democratic Monarchy* (as described by Mr. Briggs in his address to that Communistic French Ambassador M. Challemel-Lacour, which proceedings she thinks *very objectionable*) she will not *consent to belong to*. Others must be found if that is to be, and she *thinks* we are on a dangerous and doubtful slope which may become too rapid for us to stop, when it is too late.

The Queen is all for *improvement* and *moderate reform* of *abuses*, but not merely for *alteration's* and *reform's* sake, and *not*, as Mr. Childers wrote the other day, because *the present* "House of Commons is pledged to *Administrative Reform*." This avowal from the *Secretary of War* has *alarmed* her *very much*.

The Queen thinks, from what Mrs. Gladstone and his private Secretaries write, that *Mr. G.* will require *very long rest*.

The Democratic Republic in France, which some of the new Members of the Government greatly admire, is a very dangerous thing. The Queen remembers so well the dear Prince's remarking to her, when the Empire was first established, though he was not pre-disposed in its favour, that he considered a great danger for this country to be averted when *any monarchy* was restored to that country. And this ought to make *all* the moderate Members of the Government particularly cautious.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Hartington.

OSBORNE, 8th Aug. 1880.—The Queen would be glad to hear from Lord Hartington what are the powers of the Commander-in-Chief in India, and to what extent can he act independently.

The Queen has been informed that Sir Frederick Haines has frequently been hampered by the advice or orders of civilians, and will much regret if this system continues. In the field such interference must be disastrous, and the Queen was therefore glad to perceive that Sir D. Stewart had complete power over the political agents granted to him. It is not very

clear what was the case at Candahar, as the whole information respecting the late battle has been given by the political agent, and not by the General in command.

The Queen thinks it most desirable that details of intended movements as well as of what has occurred should not be published, as they become very soon known in India, and the effect of this must be most mischievous, for it must encourage our enemies, and discourage our troops. The announcement of the "annihilation" of General Burrows' force—while it was cruel for the many poor families who had relatives there—must have had a most discouraging and pernicious effect in India.¹

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

Confidential.

HOUSE OF LORDS, 9th Aug. 1880.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He has to thank your Majesty for the letter which he has shown to Mr. Gladstone, and some of his colleagues, and still more for the confidential one your Majesty has been good enough to write to him. Lord Granville feels the great importance of the moderate Liberals not being driven away, or choosing to go away from the Party. Nothing could have so unconservative an effect. It has been a great blessing to the country, and a great support to the aristocracy, that the Liberal Party has always had so large a portion of the peers and country gentlemen identified with it; and slight concessions from them to their more advanced friends do not produce the bad effect of sudden surrenders by the Conservative Party.

¹ Lord Hartington replied on 9th August that the Commander-in-Chief in India had now undivided control of all military operations on the frontiers; Lord Lytton had interfered too much, but Lord Ripon had gone out with a determination to change the system. In regard to the publication of military details from India, Lord Hartington had given instructions that great care should be exercised. Sir Henry Ponsonby wrote on 11th August that the Queen considered this answer most satisfactory.

It cannot be denied that the Throne is extraordinarily stronger than it has been during this century. This is chiefly owing to your Majesty's personal qualities, but it has also been influenced by the general knowledge that your Majesty sympathised with large and liberal views in religion, in trade, and in education.

The difficult question is not in dealing with dangerous Bills, unsound in principle and which ought to be absolutely opposed; but in dealing with questions which, harmless in themselves, excite a great fear lest, although innocent, and even advantageous in themselves, they may lead to something which is not so.

Lord Granville is always deeply grateful for the communication of your Majesty's views.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

LONDON, 14th Aug. 1880.—Mr. Gladstone, on returning from Windsor, has it for his first and most agreeable duty to offer to your Majesty his grateful thanks for the many tokens of your Majesty's gracious and condescending kindness which he had the honour to receive both at the acuter stage of his indisposition, and since he was able to leave town.

He has derived the greatest benefit from his visit to a spot where all circumstances are so favourable to convalescence, and where, through your Majesty's gracious favour, he enjoyed such delightful opportunities for renewing, and once again deepening, his impressions of the beauty, majesty, and variety which Windsor presents to view in such rich profusion. . . .

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 18th Aug. 1880.—Just 25 years ago that we arrived in state and splendour at Paris and St. Cloud, so kindly received by the Emperor and Empress, and now! she, at Osborne, a widow, childless, and an exile! Terrible! After breakfast, went up to the dear Empress, and brought her back the

letters and parcel she had entrusted to me, when she went away, and which I carried about with me everywhere. She asked me to keep the small packet, which I was only to open after her death, and then said, would I perhaps like to open it and “*de l’avoir de mon vivant,*” which I said I would, and she undid the parcel, and took out a most splendid emerald cross, cut out of one stone, without any joins, and set at the points in fine diamonds, with two magnificent large ones at the top. It had been given her by the King of Spain when she married. When I asked her if she would not still wear it, she answered, “*non, non, jamais plus de pareilles choses,*” that it was one of the few things she had kept and reserved for the future wife of her dear son. Alas! she gives everything away now, and I think it too kind of her to have given me this precious souvenir.

19th Aug.—The Duke of Argyll, Sir H. Ponsonby, Sir J. Cowell, Janie Ely, May L., and Harriet P. dined. The Duke was very amiable, highly disapproving many things that have taken place, and trying to prevent mischief in the Cabinet. He was on the point of resigning when this Irish Disturbance Bill was first brought forward, and only consented to remain when it was modified to a certain extent. He fears a worse one for next year, for which he means to reserve his stronger action. Mr. Gladstone he thinks much shaken, and if he should not recover much more he would not be fit to go on; Mr. Gladstone had complained of feeling his head still so much, and being unable to apply himself to anything. He had lived at such high pressure that it was hardly to be wondered at if he did break down. The Duke said, that only four of the Cabinet were in favour of the Irish Disturbance Bill, which he was glad had been thrown out. Talked of Lady Burdett Coutts’ extraordinary and dreadful idea of marrying a young Mr. Bartlett, who is only 29, and she 66! It is positively distressing and ridiculous, and will do her much harm by lowering her in people’s eyes, and taking away their respect for her.

The Duke of Cambridge to Queen Victoria.

KISSINGEN, 30th Aug. 1880.— . . . I hear that a paper prepared in the Intelligence Department in London has been sent for your perusal, in which the question of withdrawing from Candahar ultimately is advocated. It is an able paper, for I have a copy of it here, but I confess I am strongly in favour of RETAINING Candahar. Should we not do so our influence in India and Central Asia must be greatly impaired, and I assure you that this is the general opinion of military men in India, including Sir Frederick Haines, I believe Lord Napier of Magdala, and all those who are not anxious to sacrifice everything at the shrine of *economy*. I believe Candahar might be made the great emporium of trade for the Persian and Central Asia regions, and a railroad to it would induce all the commerce of those countries to flow in that direction, rather than its passing, as at present, through Russia. Moreover, from Candahar we can at all times easily attain Herat, even though the Russians may have occupied Merv, which I doubt not is their intention, and in which they will succeed. I hope, therefore, that, should this matter be pressed upon you by the Government, you may feel yourself justified in warning them against any hasty conclusions or action in this respect. . . .¹

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 4th Sept. 1880.—The Queen has received Lord Granville's letters, for which she thanks him.

She has just received his telegram. The motion of Lord Redesdale is to be regretted, but the way in which the present House of Commons is allowed to

¹ On receipt of this letter the Queen directed Sir Henry Ponsonby to write to Lord Hartington, repeating the Duke's arguments, and saying, "The Queen is glad to observe that you have made no declaration on the subject of Candahar, and her Majesty trusts that you will refrain from doing so at present."

dictate and arrogate to itself the power of the executive, disregarding both the House of Lords and the Crown, OUGHT to be firmly and strongly resisted; instead of which Lord Hartington yields to this democratic cry without a word of resistance, and Mr. Forster (who shows great want of tact) even condemns the House of Lords!!

The House of Commons is becoming like one of the Assemblies in a Republic, and the Ministers *ought* in the interest of the much vaunted and admired British Constitution at least to *stand up for it*. It is becoming *very serious*, and the Ministers only weaken their own authority and their *own power* by *yielding to it*.

He and the Government must, she feels sure, share the *universal joy and relief* at General Roberts' victory and marvellous march.¹ But we must *not stop here* but *entirely* defeat Ayub Khan, and destroy his power, and Candahar must be retained.

The House of Lords has shown every disposition to be conciliatory, while the House of Commons only becomes more and more presumptuous.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

HUGHENDEN MANOR, 5th September 1880.

MADAM AND MOST BELOVED SOVEREIGN,—So long as your Majesty has men like Roberts to command your Majesty's forces, I have no fear. I believe there was an attempt to get rid of him, but it is convenient that should be forgotten. This double triumph—this march of Xenophon, and this victory of Alexander—must relieve your Majesty's mind from a burden of disquietude, and will be as balmy as the breezes of Balmoral!

I returned here last Wednesday, after a campaign of a week, which was as busy, and which seemed sometimes as critical, as any week I well remember. The private talking was far more exhausting than the public, which was not excessive. It was most difficult,

¹ On 1st September, after a march of over 300 miles from Cabul, General (afterwards Lord) Roberts routed at Candahar the forces of Ayub Khan, who fled to Herat.

and sometimes seemed impossible, to induce the Lords to agree to the second reading of the Game Bill. Had it not been for the Duke of Buccleuch, I do not think I should have succeeded, and, as he was the strongest originally against the Bill, I am doubly grateful for his aid. I was obliged to remind the Duke of Northumberland that he was a Member of the late Cabinet, which he seemed quite to have forgotten. . . .

The weather here is magnificent. I should not find finer at Cannes or on the Riviera, and one has comforts at home which even the midland ocean, with all its varied spells, classic and romantic, cannot supply. Harvest on this estate, golden and exuberant. I really begin to believe we shall get some rents.

With all duty and affection, I remain, Madam and most beloved Sovereign, your Majesty's devoted
BEACONSFIELD.

The Marquis of Hartington to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

6th Sept. 1880.—With humble duty.

In consequence of the telegram received from the Viceroy asking my view on the question of Candahar, the subject was considered by the Cabinet. Lord Granville and I stated fully your Majesty's and the Duke of Cambridge's opinions.

After a full consideration the following reply was unanimously agreed to :

“We are as anxious as ever for complete and prompt withdrawal from Candahar, and desire its reunion with Afghanistan. If Abdurrahman seems capable of undertaking its government we leave time and future arrangements for pacification entirely to you but reserve opinion on Pishin.”

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Hartington.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 7th Sept. 1880.—I have received your telegram with much surprise, as I cannot understand the necessity for the immediate announce-

ment of any decision with respect to Candahar. I cannot approve the reply to the Viceroy, and must ask for further consideration before orders are issued to the troops to retire.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 6th Sept. 1880.—I think Sir F. Roberts should receive *at once* some mark of my appreciation of his great brilliant services. I have sent him my congratulations through the Viceroy.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

LONDON, 7th Sept. 1880.—Mr. Gladstone, with his humble duty, reports to your Majesty that he has fully considered with Lord Hartington and Mr. Childers your Majesty's gracious wish with respect to Sir Frederick Roberts; and that Mr. Childers has also communicated by telegraph with the Duke of Cambridge.

It has appeared to the Ministers thus conferring together that General Stewart, who is in supreme command, and who would have been held largely responsible in case of any failure or miscarriage, could not be excluded from this consideration.

They arrived at the conclusion that Sir F. Roberts should receive the Grand Cross of the Bath, and that Lord Ripon should be authorised at once to offer him the Madras Command, shortly to fall vacant; it being understood that he must in any case quit Afghanistan on account of health.

And that General Stewart should also receive the Grand Cross of the Bath, in addition to which Mr. Childers will communicate with the Commander-in-Chief on the subject of raising him to the rank of full General.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Marquis of Hartington.

BALMORAL, 8th September 1880.

MY DEAR HARTINGTON,—The Queen has received your letter and telegram respecting the retirement from Candahar.

Her Majesty is glad to find that you do not advocate the immediate retreat of the army, and the abandonment of our positions, but that you intend to ascertain if complete tranquillity can be restored, and if the government can be handed over with the acquiescence of the people to Abdurrahman.

In the meanwhile the Queen wishes to know the opinions of the officers of the army, on the line of frontier which it is advisable to secure, and whether they consider we shall be protected if we abandon the advantages we now possess in holding Candahar. What does Lord Napier of M[agdala] say about this question? What are Sir D. Stewart's and Sir F. Roberts' opinions? Has Sir Frederick Haines or Sir E. Johnson written anything about the frontier?

To give up Candahar solely because the Members of the present Government, when in opposition and unaware of all the real causes of war, were unfavourable to the policy of their predecessors, would be a most deplorable course to follow and would lead to inevitable confusion and disaster.

The Queen is willing to admit that, notwithstanding the strong arguments in favour of its retention, it may still be desirable to hand it over to the ruler of Cabul, but her Majesty wishes to be convinced of this by the opinions of competent military commanders, and not to accept as final a decision that is only based on political and party expediency. HENRY F. PONSOMBY.

Note in the Queen's handwriting :

Quite approve. V. R. & I.

*Queen Victoria to Sir Frederick Roberts.*¹

[Copy.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 9th Sept. 1880.—The Queen Empress is anxious to express personally to Sir F.

¹ Enclosed open in a letter to the Viceroy, with leave for him to read it and then close and send it.

Roberts her high sense of the great services he has rendered to his Sovereign and country by his grand march and brilliant victory which came at a very critical time.

The Queen would wish also to thank him and all the brave officers and men under his command, and to express her deep sympathy with and anxiety for the wounded, as well as her sorrow for those of her gallant soldiers who fell for Queen and country. The fate of Lieut. McLaine has filled all with a thrill of horror!

She trusts that the health of Sir F. Roberts and his troops will continue good, and that success may attend them till the blessings of peace are restored! This is the sincere and daily prayer of the Queen Empress.

The German Crown Princess to Queen Victoria.

[Copy.]

NEUES PALAIS, 9th Sept. 1880.—We are all so delighted at General Roberts' brilliant victory, and most people in Germany seem thoroughly to appreciate it.

One thing often troubles me! What will happen if the Russians reach Merv next year? Merv is so near Herat! Do we intend to let the Russians go there? If not, *what* is being done or going to be done to prevent it? The Russians certainly will be at Merv before very long!

Would it be wise to give up Candahar under such circumstances?

Can we not arrange with the Russians and make them give a *signed* agreement of *how* far they mean to go, i.e. how far we can allow them, with a distinct understanding that to break this agreement would be war with us?

Have the Government directed all their attention to this matter, so serious and so important for the future?

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

BALMORAL CASTLE, 18th Sept. 1880.—The Queen fears Mr. Goschen is *pushing to hostilities*. She wishes Lord Granville *should know* how much she deprecates this, and that *she will not consent to war* with our *old ally Turkey*, for whom this country always stood up.

She has repeatedly stated to Lord Granville that she will *not sanction* a REVERSAL of the policy of the last few years, to which she had willingly given her consent, as she believed it to be for the *true* interests of this Empire.

We are *now* playing *into* the hands of Russia. The Queen feels particularly aggrieved, as Lord Granville assured Prince Leopold, on coming into office, that the Queen need be *under no apprehension* as to *foreign affairs*, and *asked her to tell Mr. Gladstone* that she expected there *would* be no reversal of facts!! Instead of which we have gradually gone nearer and nearer to war with Turkey. The Queen will *never consent to it*.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

WALMER CASTLE, 19th Sept. 1880.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He is extremely averse to trouble your Majesty with anything like controversial matter. But he believes your Majesty would prefer to know what he considers the state of the case. When Mr. Gladstone formed his administration, it was generally supposed that there was to be a complete reversion in foreign affairs, including a repudiation of the international engagements into which the late Government had entered. Lord Granville assured your Majesty and Prince Leopold that no such apprehensions need be entertained. Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues, instead of destroying the Berlin Treaty, were determined to do their best to carry out its provisions. They thought this might be done by the concert of Europe,

if (which of course was doubtful) that concert could be obtained.

Lord Granville believes that they have acted faithfully up to that policy. Whether it succeeds or fails, as to the first question which has been taken in hand, depends almost entirely upon the firmness which is now shown.

As to the future, Turkey is not likely to declare war against Europe ; and considerable pressure even of a material character might be exercised by Europe without going to war. There is no intention of doing anything singly.

The Opposition papers, and some foreigners who would like to see us at war with Russia, accuse your Majesty's Government of being in alliance with that Power. This is absolutely untrue. The Cabinet object to acting alone with Russia, as they object to acting alone in a matter which concerns all Europe. But Lord Granville believes they would consider it inconsistent with their duty to your Majesty to advise that under all possible contingencies this country should not join other Powers, in putting some compulsion upon the Porte, to settle questions which, if left open, would be fatal to its continuance as a Power. Lord Granville would ask Mr. Gladstone to summon a Cabinet, but he is afraid it would create alarm both here and abroad.

Lord Granville need not say how much it would aggravate the great anxiety of the present moment not to have your Majesty's full approbation.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

BALMORAL, 21st Sept. 1880.—The Queen has to acknowledge Lord Granville's two letters and has asked Sir Henry Ponsonby to answer him, as she is much pressed for time.

She will not withhold her consent *if* we do not act alone with Russia, and if war is *not* declared against Turkey.

But these two points *must* be *adhered* to or the

Queen will *not* give her consent. *No* one could rejoice more sincerely than the Queen would if Turkey could be brought to take a right view of her own dangerous position.

But she cannot but feel that the Eastern question is much larger than at first sight it appears to be, and that it embraces India as well as Turkey. Turkey has it in her power to rouse the Mussulman population against us, and the Queen fears that this is not sufficiently considered.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

BALMORAL CASTLE, 20th September 1880.

DEAR LORD BEACONSFIELD,—I meant to have written to you long ere this to thank you for your last kind and interesting letter. But I have had little time—and *little heart*; for you may well imagine *how* annoyed and anxious I am about Eastern Affairs—I mean the Turkish ones!! I am always *told* (for I write and telegraph very strongly to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs—for I *never* write except on formal *official* matters to the Prime Minister!) that they are *only carrying out the Treaty of Berlin!* I look always to *you* for ultimate help. But I take care that they *know* what *I think*.

What do *you* hear? You were so wise and did such good in the House of Lords. I can't help sending you the extract of a letter from Lord Granville about the state of Parties, as I wish to know if you think it *is so*.¹

The success of Gen. Roberts, his grand march and brilliant victory, are great blessings. But *now* WHAT is to be done? I believe I remember that your

¹ The extract from Lord Granville's letter, dated 6th September, was as follows: "The want of discipline in the two Houses is very remarkable. The Liberal Party has never been remarkable for this quality. But Sir Stafford Northcote has lost all authority over a portion of the Conservative M.P.s, while Lord Beaconsfield has no longer the same hold over the extreme Tories in the Lords; and even Mr. Parnell has none over the extreme tail of his Home Rule section, who no longer acknowledge his authority."

colleagues were *against* keeping Candahar, and Lord Lytton also; but *what* is your opinion since *Cabul* and *Cavagnari's* murder, and above all, since the *late* catastrophe?

What do you hear of the state of Parties at home? The present people are losing all confidence and respect. I feel it very keenly, and see as little of those I *cannot* unfortunately have *confidence in* as possible. Lord Spencer was here for a week; Lord Granville comes on Saturday for 10 days; and the Duke of Argyll (*who* is greatly *against* the *Radical* leanings in Home affairs) and Lord Hartington soon afterwards. Lord Dufferin is coming for 2 days to-morrow. . . .

What do you say to Lady Burdett Coutts' marriage?!!

Trusting that you are well and not lonely, Ever yours affectionately, V.R.I.

Leopold is here and as indignant and distressed as I am at the state of affairs.

This is a *very secret* letter; but I *must* hear your opinion and give vent to my feelings.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

HUGHENDEN MANOR, 22nd September 1880.

MADAM AND MOST BELOVED SOVEREIGN,—I have this moment had the happiness and honour of receiving your Majesty's gracious letter of the 20th instant.

The real cause of the dangerous malaise in Turkish affairs is that the Powers are carrying out the provisions of the *Conference*¹ of Berlin, and not of the *Congress*. The Porte could, and would, have settled the Montenegrin business, had it not been for the decision of the Conference respecting Greece, which is contrary to the decision of the Congress. All that is happening about Montenegro merely covers the Greek question. The Porte is combating Greece, and her allies, at Dulcigno, as the Russians planned to fight the Turks in Servia.

¹ See Introductory Note.

How Prince Bismarck was induced, at the Conference, to agree to an alteration of the provisions of the Congress respecting Greece perplexes me. There seems, however, no doubt that he has done so. Such a man ought never to be inadvertent, and yet inadvertence must have been the cause. Engrossed, almost absorbed, with home affairs, and prevented from being so entirely, only by the necessity of constantly watching France, he flattered himself the Porte would yield, and there was a chance of postponing the general war which he apprehends. The present confusion in France will disturb him, and others.

With respect to Afghanistan, I was of opinion, when I left your Majesty's service, that its military occupation for a time was a necessity.

Lord Granville's view of the state of parties is highly exaggerated, and quite superficial. I will draw up a note on the subject for your Majesty's use, and send it very shortly to your Majesty.

I am signally touched by your Majesty's allusion to your Majesty's confidence in myself. If devotion, political and personal, could have aided your Majesty, so far as I was concerned they were yours, Madam; but I always feel that I did not bring to your Majesty good fortune, and there must be something unlucky in a Minister who had to encounter six bad harvests. Certainly I might say, with a greater man, "I was beaten by the elements," but, at least, I did not perversely seek my Moscow. . . .

23rd Sept.— . . I replied to your Majesty's gracious letter yesterday by return of post, for I fancied that there was more than one point that it would have pleased your Majesty to hear from me on, without loss of time.

I will endeavour now to touch on those which I was obliged to omit noticing yesterday.

And, in the first place, I have put in the form of a Memorandum my view of the state of parties in Parliament and the country. I think your Majesty

may entirely depend upon it; I have no prejudices, and now, alas! great experience. It was the same even in the days of so grave and weighty a personage as Sir Robert Peel, when he led the Opposition.

I wish to make clear one of my observations on Turkish affairs. I believe that the Sultan will never yield Thessaly and Macedonia, until, or unless, his capital is in the hands of his enemies. Now he can only defend his power in those great provinces by the Albanians, who, to a great extent, inhabit them. If he sacrifices the Albanians to Montenegro, they will renounce his authority in Thessaly and Macedonia. He would settle the Montenegrin affair immediately, were it not for the decision of the Berlin Conference about Greece.

The fitful and feverish policy of the Ministers about Afghanistan has produced great evils. They should have been reserved on this great affair when they acceded to office. They were thinking too much of the English hustings, but, as they had made so many misrepresentations, they need not have been so delicate.

Next to Afghanistan, I think the greatest scrape is Lady Burdett's marriage. I thought Angela would have become classical and history, and would have been an inspiring feature in your Majesty's illustrious reign. The element of the ridiculous has now so deeply entered into her career that even her best friends can only avoid a smile by a sigh!

I grieve that your Majesty's relations with your Majesty's present Ministers are not those of entire confidence, but that is unhappily in the nature of things. It is not less to be deplored. The relations that subsisted between your Majesty and myself, when I had the honour of being your Majesty's chief servant, assisted me quite as much as they aided your Majesty. And this stands to reason. For more than forty years your Majesty has been acquainted with the secret springs of every important event that has

happened in the world, and, during that time, have been in constant communication with all the most eminent men of your Kingdoms. There must, necessarily, have accrued to a Sovereign, so placed, such a knowledge of affairs and of human character that the most gifted must profit by an intercourse with your Majesty, and the realm suffer by your Majesty's reserve.

All that I can hope, and pray, is that glory and prosperity may always attend your Majesty, whoever may be your Minister, though I shall ever count it among the charmed periods of my life, when I had that distinction.

Your Majesty is graciously pleased to ask whether I am alone. I have not seen, I may say, a human being since I returned from Westminster, a month ago ; but I have never had a dull moment. Solitude suits me, and so long as I can look at trees and books, I have always agreeable companions. Ever, Madam, with all duty and affection, your Majesty's devoted BEACONSFIELD.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL, 2nd Oct. 1880.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letter received yesterday. She is glad to see that the Government are not inclined to be carried away into any rash action with respect to the East, in which they would most assuredly not be followed or joined by other Powers. The Queen cannot, however, refrain from expressing her regret at the course taken in June, on this question, as it has tended to bring about this very serious complication. The great evil with respect to Turkey is that, from her believing, as she has not done before, that England wishes her ill, she *distrusts us* and refuses to do *anything* to satisfy England, whereas previously she trusted us and the Queen's Ambassador had *great* power there.

The Queen is very glad to hear that Mr. Gladstone

is prepared to take strong measures against the Land League which is doing such terrible mischief, and producing by Mr. Parnell's language, encouraging as it does *murder*, a state of affairs unequalled in any civilised nation. The Government must be firm and clear itself from grave suspicion on this subject.

The Queen is not easy as to the state of the Cape.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 6th Oct. 1880.—Telegrams about the new proposal respecting Smyrna. Italian Cabinet is considering it, and Minister for Foreign Affairs personally in favour of it. French Government the same. Prince Bismarck not favourable; "they had stretched a point in sending German ships to Montenegro; public opinion would not support him in hostilities against Turkey, so he can only support concert morally; he thinks Austrians will object, and that the seizure of Smyrna would have no effect."

10th Oct.—After luncheon saw poor Sir Bartle Frere, who had come to Abergeldie yesterday, and had only just arrived from the Cape. I told him how much I felt for him and how entirely I had approved of his conduct, for which he expressed great gratitude, and said he was ready to give the Government any information they might require. Both Governments had listened only to irresponsible opinions of people in no way cognisant of facts. Sir Bartle is strongly of opinion that a Royal Prince would conciliate the feelings of the Colony, which was really very loyal.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 11th Oct. 1880.—Mr. Gladstone submits his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports to your Majesty that the Irish Government have decided to take the legal proceedings, which were directed to be taken by the Cabinet at its last meeting, provided the law should be found to warrant them.¹

¹ If the Land League was held by the legal advisers of the Crown to be an illegal body, Mr. Parnell, as its Chief, was to be arrested.

It is to be regretted that the preliminary investigation should have required so long a time ; but the task imposed upon the Law Officers was very delicate, as well as highly responsible.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 14th Oct. 1880.—The Queen acknowledges Mr. Gladstone's last letter and is glad that measures are to be taken with regard to this monstrous Land League ; but they should not be delayed or the Government will be held responsible for loss of life. Not feeling sure whether Mr. Gladstone hears from all sides what passes there, she sends this extract of a letter from an influential person in Ireland, which she thinks shows the state of affairs, as well as a handbill posted up everywhere (both of which, when *done with*, she would be glad to have back), which is very treasonable.

Sir Frederick Roberts to Queen Victoria.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, SIMLA, 19th Oct. 1880.—Sir Frederick Roberts presents his dutiful respects to your Majesty, and begs to offer his most grateful thanks for your Majesty's gracious letter of the 9th September, which he received from the Marquis of Ripon on reaching Simla yesterday.

Sir Frederick Roberts feels deeply the high honour which your Majesty has conferred upon him by expressing to him personally your Majesty's satisfaction at the manner in which the service entrusted to him, and the troops under his command, had been carried out.

There is no reward which soldiers prize so much as the approval of their Sovereign, and Sir Frederick Roberts would assure your Majesty that the knowledge that their services were appreciated by their Queen-Empress and country caused all hardships and privations to be made light of.

Your Majesty's two gracious telegrams of con-

gratulation and enquiry, which the Viceroy of India transmitted to Sir Frederick Roberts in the early part of last month, were duly published to the Cabul-Candahar Field Force, all ranks of which were much gratified at having gained your Majesty's approval, and were deeply sensible of your Majesty's condescension and kindness in asking after the wounded.

It affords Sir Frederick Roberts great pleasure to inform your Majesty that the officers and men who were wounded at Candahar have, with few exceptions, done well. All the survivors but three, who are still too ill to travel, have been brought back to India.

The Marquis of Hartington to Queen Victoria.

INDIA OFFICE, 25th Oct. 1880.—Lord Hartington presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs to submit the draft of a despatch which he proposes to send to the Viceroy on the subject of the retention of Candahar. Your Majesty will observe that the despatch does not require the immediate withdrawal of the troops from that position, but it states the conclusions at which the Government have arrived on the subject of its permanent occupation.

Lord Hartington has read and considered, with as much attention as he has been able, most of what has been written on the subject both by Members of the Council, the military officers, and in the newspapers.

He admits that military men are generally, though not by any means universally, in favour of the retention of Candahar; but he feels very strongly that this is a question of so much importance that it cannot be decided on strategic grounds alone, however much consideration they may deserve.

On the other hand, the political and administrative arguments for retirement appear to Lord Hartington conclusive, and he cannot but apprehend that internal difficulties of finance and administration are likely to give the Government of India far more cause for

anxiety in the immediate future, than any which are likely to arise from foreign invasion.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Marquis of Hartington.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL, 26th October 1880.

MY DEAR HARTINGTON,—I am commanded by the Queen to return to you the enclosed copy of two telegrams forwarded to her Majesty from the India Office.

The Queen is much gratified by the telegram from Mir Ali Morad. Her Majesty, however, desires me to observe that his Highness requests that his congratulations may be communicated “to her Majesty the Queen-Empress of India.” The Viceroy in reply takes no notice of this, and simply states that they will be communicated “to her Majesty’s Government,” to whom they were not addressed. The Queen thinks that such an answer would be wrong in any part of her Dominions. But to an Eastern Prince it is uncivil as well as incorrect, and may produce a bad effect on the native mind.

It was probably an oversight on Lord Ripon’s part, but her Majesty hopes you will call his attention to this unfortunate mistake. Yours very truly,
HENRY F. PONSONBY.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

HUGHENDEN MANOR, 28th October 1880.

MADAM AND MOST BELOVED SOVEREIGN,—I will not presume to trouble your Majesty with the reasons that have physically prevented my responding to your Majesty’s gracious letter, and that also of H.R.H. Prince Leopold. The unusually severe attack of gout which I have endured has, however, brought its compensations, and gives to me a fair prospect of health during the busy time that may probably await me.

I am not a political pessimist, and certainly not a disappointed politician, for I gratefully recognise

that I have had my fair chance and share of serving my Sovereign and my country ; but with nearly half a century of experience in public life, I wish not to deny that the present condition of affairs fills me with anxiety, and even gloom.

Your Majesty may possibly not forget that, on the eve of the General Election, I addressed the constituency, through the medium of a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, and indicated the two subjects which I thought should command the attention of the country : the state of the Turkish Empire, and the condition of Ireland. In both subjects was involved the Imperial principle of your Majesty's rule.

Mine was the warning of Cassandra ! Mr. Gladstone and his friends said that I had fixed on the only two subjects in which there was neither danger nor difficulty : that European concert would secure peace, and Liberal administration would pacify Ireland. I believe that even my colleagues silently lamented that I had mistaken the spirit of the times.

The day we signed the Treaty of Berlin, Count Schouvaloff said to me (I doubt not with perfect sincerity), " Well, whatever happens, I think we have got clear of the Eastern question for the next five and twenty years." The tampering with the decision of Congress, in the form of a Supplementary Conference, really re-opened everything, was a most perilous step, and may yet involve Europe in war. As for Liberal administration in Ireland, it has taken the form of anarchy.

I have seen Lord Salisbury, and, in a few days, Lord Cairns will pay to me a short visit. I see great difficulties ahead in the impending parliamentary campaign, but I shall myself act with only one purpose—the maintenance of the settled constitution of this country, of which the authority of the Crown, and its just Prerogatives, form not the least important portion. . . .

[*Same day.*]— . . . There is a subject which much embarrasses me. Though I did not contemplate it,

and fancied I could pass half a year merely in meditation and reading, I have found it necessary to seek some relief in literary composition.

" 'Tis to create, and in creating live
A being more intense " ;

a weakness, but one which organically, it seems, I cannot resist.

I had an intention, but it failed, of publishing this work anonymously. This would have saved me from a custom which I wish never to observe, for I feel it is an act of egotism, and, in a certain degree, presumption : and that is for an author to make offerings of his works to others.

But if this be embarrassing in ordinary life, what must it be, when he has to consider this subject with reference to his relations with his Sovereign, and that, too, one of the most powerful of Sovereigns ? I confess that at times my objection to taking a step, apparently so arrogant, is sometimes overpowering. And yet, when I recall the confidence which your Majesty has deigned to bestow on me, and the kind words and thoughts with which your Majesty has illumined the most interesting years of my life, there seems to me something unnatural that I should take any step of a public nature without previously confiding it to your Majesty, or that your Majesty should learn anything about me, which might possibly interest your Majesty, from any source save myself.

The book will not be published for a month, and its appearance is not to be announced until the last moment ; but I shall possess a copy somewhat earlier, and I would pray to be allowed to send it to her, who is the Sovereign not only of my person, but of my heart. Your Majesty's devoted BEACONSFIELD.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL, 2nd November 1880.

DEAR MR. GLADSTONE,—The Queen . . . is rather anxious about the state of affairs in Ireland. She

receives many communications from persons who declare their lives are in danger, from others complaining that anarchy prevails, and from a few expressing disapproval of the Irish Executive. But from her Irish Ministers she receives no information whatever.

Would it not be right that the Lord Lieutenant or the Chief Secretary should let her Majesty know what are their opinions on the state of Ireland, and report to the Queen the proceedings they are taking? ¹
Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

The Marquis of Hartington to Queen Victoria.

INDIA OFFICE, 6th Nov. 1880.—Lord Hartington presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and with reference to Sir H. Ponsonby's telegram of the 4th instant on the subject of the Candahar despatch,² humbly begs to represent to your Majesty that the policy which he desires the Government of India to adopt is not by any means exclusively founded on the assumption that things will remain as they are at Cabul. The restoration of Candahar to the dominions of the Ameer of Cabul would no doubt, as far as can be foreseen at present, be the most desirable arrangement. But it would be too much to hope that any really satisfactory settlement of the affairs of this distracted country can be arrived at without further considerations and resolutions.

The policy of the Government is founded on the assumption that the occupation of any part of Afghanistan is unnecessary for the security of India, that no imminent danger threatens India from that quarter, and that if any danger should hereafter threaten us there, an independent Afghanistan, how-

¹ In consequence of this complaint, Lord Cowper, the Lord Lieutenant, wrote the Queen on 4th November a report in which he said: "The peculiarity of the present state of Ireland appears to Lord Cowper to be, not so much that the outrages of a bad nature are greater than they have been on former occasions, as that there is more panic on the part of landlords, agents, and well-affected people, and more ill-feeling on the part of tenants towards landlords and agents than appears ever before to have existed."

² The Queen had asked that the despatch should be delayed.

ever unruly, and however divided, will be a better protection to us than a half-subdued and discontented nation can ever become.

The renewed troubles in Cabul, if the reports should be confirmed, only prove that there is no alternative in that country between annexation and complete retirement. It would in Lord Hartington's opinion be most impolitic again to commit ourselves to the support of any native ruler. The immense force considered by the Commander-in-Chief necessary for the temporary occupation of Candahar and the communications, amounting to not less than 18,000 men, is an additional proof of the extremely onerous nature of the task to which we should be committed by annexation.

In fact, that policy is one which Lord Hartington would find it absolutely impossible to advise your Majesty to adopt. Every day of unnecessary occupation not only adds to the heavy burdens and financial difficulties of India, but adds to the risk of some event occurring which would make it more difficult to retire with credit. The Government have shown that they did not desire to act with precipitation, and they are still willing to entrust to the Government of India considerable discretion as to the time and manner of withdrawal. But it is becoming very necessary that the Viceroy and his Council should be made aware of the views of your Majesty's Ministers on this important question, and of the reasons on which they are founded, and Lord Hartington trusts that your Majesty will see no reason to delay further the despatch containing explanations upon this subject.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

BALMORAL, 7th Nov. 1880.—The Queen is extremely anxious to point out to Mr. Gladstone the immense importance of the utmost caution on the part of all the Ministers, but especially of himself, at the coming dinner in the City. There are such dangers in every

direction that a word too much might do irreparable mischief. She knows well how difficult it is in after-dinner speeches to avoid touching on dangerous ground, but she has always been in the habit of expressing her anxiety on this subject to her Ministers. She therefore earnestly warns Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues to be most careful as to what they say respecting Ireland, leaving no doubt as to their determination to maintain the law and put down the terrible spirit of lawlessness and violence, nothing to encourage the idea of war in the East, or any decided intention as to the abandonment of Candahar, which would encourage our enemies to believe us ready to give up our position in India. The Cape is also in a most serious condition. It need not prevent (as regards India) our taking any course which we may think proper, but no *decided* and irrevocable opinion should be expressed in public. It is rather unfortunate that the Ministers have to attend the dinner in the City at this moment, but it constantly happens that the Lord Mayor's dinner falls at moments of great political excitement.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Hartington.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL, 8th Nov. 1880.—The Queen had telegraphed on Saturday to Lord Hartington her reasons for thinking it inadvisable to make any announcement respecting Candahar. He will probably now have read the decypher of this telegram and will have communicated with Lord Granville.

The necessity of strengthening Abdurrahman was one of the arguments used by Lord Hartington in favour of retiring from Candahar, and therefore it was natural that the Queen should think it desirable to wait till it was ascertained what the position at Cabul was. We now learn by telegram that it is unsatisfactory : which justifies the Queen's doubts.

Another argument in favour of retiring was founded on the improbability of Russian advances for years

to come. But we now know that Russian troops are about to enter Persia for the purpose of assisting the Shah against the Kurds, and it is not probable that they will leave the country again.

The position is therefore already changed, and the immediate announcement of any intention to abandon Candahar will probably be connected with the Russian advance.

As the garrison is to winter at Candahar, the Queen cannot understand why any decision is to be hurriedly formed at what seems to her a most inopportune moment with respect to our movement in spring.

The Queen had hoped that Lord Hartington would have consulted those officers who have recently served in India and Afghanistan, especially Sir Michael Biddulph (as he promised and Lord Ripon wished him to do), who marched as far as the Helmund, and whose opinions deserve full consideration, but she fears that Lord Hartington has not been able to see him.

The Marquis of Hartington to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

INDIA OFFICE, 9th November 1880.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—My last letter has crossed her Majesty's letter to me of the 8th, and I hope may have removed some of the objections to sending the despatch.

I do not like to trouble her Majesty with a further argumentative letter on the subject; but I cannot think that the Kurdish invasion of Persia, or the Russian offer of assistance to Persia, ought to affect our policy. The most recent telegram shows that it is extremely doubtful whether the Persians have accepted Russian assistance. And if they do, I do not think that it alters the situation. We are always in a very favourable position for putting pressure on Persia from the sea-coast, and the Russians will not become more formidable to us if they involve themselves in Persian difficulties.

But the despatch is not intended necessarily for immediate publication, or to provoke our immediate

declaration of withdrawal from Candahar. The Government of India are already aware of our views and wishes on the subject, which were communicated to them in a telegram in September last; and it is impossible for the Government to recede from the policy then indicated. The despatch is nothing but an attempt to set forth, for the information of the Government of India, the grounds on which the policy is founded; and though Lord Ripon knows through the telegrams and from private letters what our views are, it is most inconvenient and irregular that he should have no official expression of them to lay before the Council.

I made enquiries with the view of seeing Sir M. Biddulph before he left for India; but finding that he was abroad, and did not intend to return home before going to India, and having his opinions on Candahar fully before me in writing, I thought it unnecessary to disturb his arrangements. The question is really more a political than a military one. Military opinions on the value of Candahar form an important element in the question, but cannot absolutely conclude it, one way or another. I have endeavoured to deal with this point in my despatch.¹ I remain, yours sincerely, HARTINGTON.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 9th Nov. 1880.—Mr. Gladstone has had the honour to receive your Majesty's letter relating to the Lord Mayor's Festival, and with his humble duty he can venture to assure your Majesty that the other Ministers who will be asked to speak on the important toasts are, together with himself, fully sensible of the delicacy, and therefore the gravity, of the occasion on which your Majesty most justly dwells. From the number of toasts and speeches usually set down, little time will remain for many of them. However this may be, it will be Mr. Gladstone's

¹ The Queen finally acquiesced in the sending of the despatch, after procuring a slight modification in its last paragraph.

endeavour and that of his colleagues to deal as prudently as may be with an occasion which perhaps they, like him, would gladly have avoided, and to describe the views and intentions of the Government, so far as it may be necessary to advert to them, within the lines already laid before your Majesty and announced as occasion has arisen to the country from the Throne and otherwise.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

IN THE TRAIN, 23rd Nov. 1880.—Finished *Jane Eyre*, which is really a wonderful book, very peculiar in parts, but so powerfully and admirably written, such a fine tone in it, such fine religious feeling, and such beautiful writing. The description of the mysterious maniac's nightly appearances awfully thrilling, Mr. Rochester's character a very remarkable one, and Jane Eyre's herself a beautiful one. The end is very touching, when Jane Eyre returns to him and finds him blind, with one hand gone from injuries during the fire in his house, which was caused by his mad wife.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 29th Nov. 1880.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. . . .

He hopes he is not taking too great a liberty in saying how glad he was to hear of your Majesty's gracious invitation to Mr. Gladstone. It is unlucky that Dr. Clark impressed so strongly upon Mr. Gladstone that he should take as much continuous rest at Hawarden, uninterrupted by journeys, as was possible. Mr. Gladstone resisted as long as he could for this reason the wish of his colleagues to have a Cabinet on the 15th.

Lord Granville remembers Mr. Gladstone once mentioning to him a feeling of delicacy he had, and a dread lest your Majesty should feel, on account of his official position, an obligation to receive him socially,

more than your Majesty would otherwise desire. But he does not think Mr. Gladstone could have been influenced in that way on the present occasion.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 29th November 1880.

DEAR LORD GRANVILLE,—It had always been the Queen's intention to invite Mr. Gladstone to Windsor on the first available day, and her Majesty was disappointed at his being obliged to decline.

He has lately been to Sandringham, which is a long journey from London.

The Queen wished to see Mr. Gladstone. But besides this, it has a bad effect on the public mind, and rumours arise that her Majesty will not invite him to Windsor. It might be as well to check false reports by inserting in the papers, when the list of the company appears on Wednesday, that Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone were unavoidably prevented from coming. Yours truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 1st December 1880.

DEAR LORD BEACONSFIELD,—I have not yet thanked you for your book, which I do now very warmly, and am reading it. Beatrice, Arthur, and Leopold are all most anxious to *get* it from you if they MIGHT ask you to give it them.

I am so glad to hear of your being so well. Could you come here next week? Would Wednesday to Friday suit you?¹ We shall be going, D.V., to Osborne the following week.

What a state of affairs in Ireland! I shall have much to say to you. . . .

I was much surprised, and I *may* say, annoyed when Mr. Gladstone proposed a peerage for Lord

¹ Lord Beaconsfield stayed at Windsor from Wednesday the 8th to Friday the 10th December.

Odo Russell *just* as if it had *never* been mentioned before,¹ and I enclose my letter on the subject. . . .

You should see Sir F. Roberts ; he is so modest, and so intelligent, and much attached to Lord Lytton, but he speaks well of Lord Ripon.

If Lord Rowton had returned I should be happy to see him here with you. Rejoicing to see you, I am, Ever yours affectionately, V. R. & I.

Lord Augustus Loftus² to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, SYDNEY, 4th December 1880.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—I received by the last mail the 5th vol. of that most interesting work *The Prince's Life*, for which I beg you to lay at the feet of her Majesty the Queen my most respectful and grateful thanks. This book contains more wisdom and knowledge, and more beautiful traits of character, than any book yet published, and it will be in years to come a shining light for future generations. Her Majesty's autograph is most precious to me, and it will be a valuable heirloom in my family.

With regard to the Federation of these Colonies, the initiative must come from themselves and the basis for such must naturally be their material interests. . . . Of course, generally speaking, every Colony must be guided by the state of civilisation and self-government to which it has attained. All the Colonies of Australia, with the exception of Western Australia, have their own Constitutional Government and their own separate Legislation. The increase of traffic and the extension of the railway must daily prove the necessity for a unification of those laws and for greater freedom of International communication.

I enclose you a speech which I lately delivered at Deniliquin in which I alluded to this subject, and

¹ The peerage had been offered, on Lord Beaconsfield's nomination, after the Berlin Congress ; and the story how it was first accepted, and then, at the Duke of Bedford's instance, declined may be read in *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi, chs. 9 and 10.

² Governor of New South Wales, formerly Ambassador at Berlin and St. Petersburg.

since then a conference has taken place at Melbourne between the Ministers of N.S. Wales, of Victoria and South Australia for a similar object ; and which is likely to lead to some favourable result, which at least will be a starting point for further gradual advances in the same direction.

This union between the Colonies will not be prejudicial but on the contrary advantageous to the Mother Country, and will strengthen the ties which bind these Colonies to England ; for there is everywhere a strong feeling of loyalty to the Queen, and of attachment to the Mother Country, and every Australian is proud of his birth as an English subject.

But I do think that a Colonial Council, or Board formed of Representatives from the several Colonies, sitting as a *Consultative* body under the Presidency of the Secretary of State, would establish some more direct link between the Colonies and the Imperial Government at home, and give considerable pleasure to these Colonies. . . .

Queen Victoria to Earl Cowper.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 5th Dec. 1880.—The Queen thanks the Viceroy for his letters, including the last received a few days ago.

She is sorry but not surprised to see how gloomily and anxiously he speaks of the state of Ireland, and how little hope he has of improvement. It is very dreadful and very disheartening, and the more one does for the Irish the more unruly and ungrateful they seem to be.

The Queen trusts that Lord Cowper will speak out very strongly to Mr. Gladstone, and that he and Mr. Forster will point out the absolute necessity of strong measures to make the law respected. Till that is effected no attempt at any land measure ought to be thought of or announced.

The Queen wishes to be remembered to Lady Cowper.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Hartington.

[Copy.]

Confidential.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 12th Dec. 1880.—The Queen is so *very* anxious about the present *very alarming* state of affairs that she cannot refrain from appealing to Lord Hartington in the *very strongest manner possible* to use *all his* influence with Mr. Gladstone and his *Whig Colleagues* to act *very strongly* and firmly at the present *very anxious moment*. The Queen gathered from Lord Hartington that Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain would have resigned IF strong measures of *coercion* had been proposed *sooner*, and that it was *considered* of importance to prevent their doing so—for fear of the few Radicals who would follow them, and *therefore* delayed the meeting of Parliament. The danger of this is NOT to be *compared* to the danger, *hourly increasing*, of allowing a state of affairs like the present in Ireland to GO ON. The law is *openly defied, disobeyed*, and such an example *may* spread to England, if it prove successful in Ireland. It MUST be put down and nothing but *boldness* and firmness will succeed. You moderate Ministers *must* be firm, and *insist* on means being used to put an end to this *dreadful* state of affairs. *Don't yield* to SATISFY Messrs. Bright and Chamberlain; *let them go: declare* you will not be parties to a *weak* and vacillating policy, which is ruining the country and bringing great discredit on the Government. The Queen does not here speak of *what SHE feels* herself, as Sovereign of the country. It is *most painful* to her, and she *has a right* to appeal to her Ministers to uphold her authority and to expect them to do so. The Queen has great confidence in Lord Hartington's loyalty and straightforwardness, and trusts she may rely equally on his *firmness* and *determination*. Lord Hartington can speak in confidence on the subject of this letter to Lord Granville and any of the Members of the Cabinet he thinks it may be of *use to do so*.

DON'T yield to *threats* of resignation from the two before-named people. *Let them go.* ALL right-minded and loyal people will support you, if you do what is right.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 15th Dec. 1880.—Saw Mr. Gladstone after tea. He looked ill but was amiable, and more impressed than I have seen him before with the gravity of the situation and the many difficulties that present themselves. He said that they had had long and anxious deliberations about the Land Bill on the one hand, and the coercive measures which would have to be taken on the other. The latter it would be absolutely necessary to propose and pass before any other measure could be brought in, but that they must simultaneously announce a land measure. There were three different parties: first, the landowners, chiefly Tories, who would hear of no change; second, to which belong Lord Monck and Lord Powerscourt, who were for considerable changes, likely to lead to expropriation, called “the three F’s,” which would not do; and third, the Land League, of course totally inadmissible. Mr. Gladstone was very lengthy in his explanations, which I cannot here enter into, but he wants to settle things once for all, irrespective of the present agitation, making provision for me to empower the Lord Lieutenant in Ireland to prevent such meetings and combinations. I asked if the Lord Lieutenant (Lord Cowper) was equal to his position. Mr. Gladstone seemed doubtful, but praised Lord Cowper’s talents. Of course the chief responsibility, excepting as to taking measures of precaution, belonged to Mr. Forster, he being in the Cabinet. Mr. Gladstone considered that the Land Law of ’70 had done great good. Lord Listowel told me just the reverse. There would be great difficulty with Parliament with the obstruction of the Irish Members.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Forster.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 25th Dec. 1880.—The Queen thanks Mr. Forster for his letter. She does *not* doubt that the Irish Government wish to do what they can to put a stop to a state of lawlessness which is quite unexampled and which brings the British Government into the greatest disrepute. But she does blame them for *not* insisting on more powers being given them long ere this, and for not taking measures earlier to prevent a state of affairs which is becoming every day more and more serious, and may spread to England and Scotland if the very strongest measures are not speedily taken.

The Queen has always had a sincere regard for Mr. Forster (though she cannot deny that his conduct while in opposition on several occasions caused her great pain, but to which she will not allude further), and she thinks it therefore but right and fair towards him that she should speak out her opinion very plainly. She thinks the proposal of the Irish Land Bill was a great mistake, and that the language then used by Mr. Forster did great harm, which of course was not his intention.

The Government has two very Radical and very dangerous Members, and the Queen thinks *one* especially most dangerous. But this would *not* signify were he not listened to and given way to; instead of that, *all* those who are *not* democratic and who do *not* wish to see the landmarks of the Constitution swept away should unite to resist him and not yield to him. When he and Mr. Bright (whose speeches against the House of Lords were as bad as possible) threatened, as she has understood from Lord Hartington they *did*, to resign, they ought to have been allowed to do so and a stand made to do what was *right* and what would have prevented the continuance of the present reign of terror in Ireland. There is to be a Cabinet very shortly, and it will be Mr.

Forster's duty to *insist* on the *immediate* suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and probably other coercive measures, and these being brought in and *pushed* strenuously through Parliament *before any attempt* at any Land Measure being brought in can *even* be thought of. Mr. Forster should *insist* on this and threaten to resign *unless it is complied with*. Nothing *else* will do *now*. Any vacillation or weakness for the sake of appearing *united* will only encourage the Irish and may lead to most disastrous consequences.

The Queen is as sincerely liberal in her views for the improvement of her Empire as anyone can be, but she is as *sincerely* and *determinedly* opposed to those advanced, and what she must call destructive, views entertained by so many who unfortunately are in the Government. If *these* prevail instead of those of the moderate, far-seeing, and loyal ones, the Queen will not remain where she is ; she *cannot* and will not be the Queen of a *democratic monarchy* ; and those who have spoken and agitated, for the sake of party and to injure their opponents, in a very radical sense must look for *another monarch* ; and she doubts [if] they will find one. The Queen has spoken *very strongly*, but she thinks the present Government are running a very dangerous course, and she *knows* that Mr. Forster would not wish to see this country follow the dreadful example of France ! The Queen thinks *very* seriously of the state of affairs and that *no one* can look back on the past seven months, and the alarming change which has taken place, with satisfaction.¹

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

OSBORNE, 26th Dec. 1880.—The Queen feels much anxiety about the Cape, and expects that the Government will take energetic measures to assert her authority in those parts of the Colony which have

¹ Mr. Forster, in his reply on 30th December, while defending his conduct on some points but stating in general terms that it would not become him to argue with the Queen, said that he had the comfort of "believing that, as regards his duty in his difficult post, his views as to what ought to be now done are in unison with those of your Majesty."

revolted. The Boers are a dangerous foe and we shall have to support Sir G. Colley strongly.

As the time for the reassembling of the Cabinet approaches, the Queen wishes to repeat her decided opinion that *no* measure of any kind should be brought forward till those of coercion and those to give power to put down the state of lawlessness in Ireland have been passed. Mr. Gladstone told the Queen that he was desirous of *announcing* a *new* Land Bill at the *same time*. But she thinks this will be *impossible except* in the *most general terms*, without entering into details. For it would only look like weakness; and nothing, as Mr. Gladstone himself said to the Queen, *can* satisfy the Land Leaguers. Moreover, Lord Kenmare (and others share his opinion) says that the *land* is a *mere pretext*. "It is sedition and revolution. The Land has nothing to do with it."

The state of affairs is very *serious*, and the language used by Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain on some recent occasions is totally at variance with their position in the Cabinet, and calculated to encourage the Irish.

Mr. Gladstone should tell them so, and they should take an early opportunity of doing away with the impression caused thereby. It is often said (and Mr. Gladstone himself said so when the present Government was formed) that Radicals in office are seldom dangerous. But that is when they are not *allowed* to *influence* the views of others or to use language which none of their colleagues can approve.

The Queen cannot help sometimes remembering the day when Mr. Gladstone was sworn in at Claremont in 1841 (40 years ago) on the formation of Sir R. Peel's Conservative Government! *That* was an admirable Government! How few remain of those who formed it now!¹

¹ In reply Mr. Gladstone wrote that he was "deeply touched by the appeal your Majesty is pleased to make to the recollection of distant and less anxious times," and assured her that, "so far as he can presume to forecast the probable conduct of the Cabinet, there will be nothing in it to aggravate your Majesty's solicitude." The Queen wrote a somewhat similar letter the next day to Lord Granville.

Lady Emily Russell to Queen Victoria.

BRITISH EMBASSY, BERLIN, 27th December 1880.

MADAM,—Your Majesty has been graciously pleased to add to the many great favours, for which we are already indebted, the high honour of a Peerage, and I venture once more to address your Majesty, to express the *deep* sense of our life-long obligations for this valued and precious mark of your Majesty's gracious goodwill towards my husband, for which we shall be ever most deeply grateful. The title is not yet settled, as we are still waiting for the Duke of Bedford's decision and to hear from him what name he proposes to select for us.¹

We have had the honour of seeing the Crown Princess here several times since her Imperial Highness's return from Wiesbaden, and thought her looking well, though complaining of rheumatic pains in the shoulders. We also dined alone with their Imperial Highnesses the other evening, and saw the Crown Prince and Crown Princess for the first time at their Palace again since their sad loss, which naturally comes back doubly to the Princess on her sad return to the Palace here where everything reminds her so of poor dear Prince Waldemar, and of his last fatal illness, and where every day her Imperial Highness feels to miss him more and more. It is very touching to hear her talk of him and look at the empty place at the table.

One feels it is a comfort that her Imperial Highness will have so much to think of, in the preparation for Prince William's² marriage, that it will distract her thoughts a little during the first return here after all her Imperial Highness has gone through; and Prince William's engagement to Princess Victoria³ is a

¹ Lord Odo Russell was gazetted Baron Ampthill on 11th March 1881. He died in 1884, but Lady Ampthill survived till 1927.

² Afterwards the Emperor William II.

³ Daughter of the Duke of Augustenburg (claimant in the sixties to the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. See Second Series, vol. i, pp. 57, 118, 230, 247). She died at Doorn in 1921.

source of great happiness and comfort to both their Imperial Highnesses, who look forward with much pleasure to seeing Prince William settle, and married, to a Princess they are so fond of, and who has certainly won over even those who were opposed to the marriage here, where at first it was unpopular.

The Crown Prince honoured me with a visit when he first arrived in Berlin, and Odo saw his Imperial Highness out shooting in the Grünewald, when he was graciously invited by the Emperor to join the *chasse* prepared for the King of Saxony and Prince George. We were both struck by his Imperial Highness not looking very well, and everyone thinks him rather low and out of sorts, and noticed that at the *Jagdfrühstück* in the wood, when the Emperor and the King were more than ever cheerful and gracious, the Crown Prince seemed lost in thought, and took no part in the general conversation which was very lively and interesting. Those who know the Crown Prince well think that he is worried and pained to see the Emperor so completely under the influence of Prince Bismarck, whose policy in regard to home questions and Imperial matters he does not approve of; and he fears that the public will hold his Imperial father responsible for the arbitrary and unconstitutional proceedings which the Chancellor delights in.

The *initiated* know that the Emperor, since the horrible attempts of 1878,¹ has allowed Prince Bismarck to have his own way in *everything*; and the great Chancellor revels in the absolute power he has acquired and does as he pleases. He lives in the country and governs the German Empire without even taking the trouble to consult the Emperor about his plans, who only learns what is being done from the documents to which his signature is necessary, and which his Majesty signs without questions or hesitation. Never has a subject been granted so much irresponsible power

¹ In that year the Emperor was on two occasions shot at, and once seriously wounded, by Socialists. See Second Series, vol. ii, pp. 586 and 626-7.

from his Sovereign, and never has a Minister inspired a nation with more abject individual, as well as general, terror before. No wonder, then, that the Crown Prince should be worried at a state of things which he has not more personal power or influence to remedy than anyone else in Prussia, whilst Prince Bismarck lives and terrorises over Germany from Friedrichsruhe with the Emperor's tacit and cheerful consent.

Bismarck has gradually appointed a Ministry of Clerks out of the Government Offices, who do as they are told by him, and he has so terrified the Bundesrath, by threatening to resign whenever they disagreed with him, that they now vote entirely in obedience to his instructions. He now expects that at the next general election he will, by careful management, obtain the absolute majority he requires to carry through his new taxation and commercial policy.

If Bismarck should ever die suddenly from indigestion, which his doctors fear and predict, the difficulty of reforming the general abuses which his personal administration has created will be great, and will impose a hard and ungrateful task on the Sovereign, who will have to find and appoint the Ministers capable of re-establishing constitutionalism in Prussia. . . .

Again venturing to thank your Majesty for all the gracious favour bestowed on us, I am, Madam, your Majesty's most obedient humble Servant, EMILY RUSSELL.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 31st Dec. 1880.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and prefaces his report of the proceedings of the Cabinet to-day with offering to your Majesty his fervent good wishes on the occasion of the New Year for your Majesty's health and happiness, during its continuance and through many future years.

The Cabinet has this afternoon considered the question of a Land Bill for Ireland, and has determined to proceed upon the basis of the Land Act of 1870, by an attempt in good faith to supply some practical defects and to strengthen it where it is weak. While endeavouring to provide stricter checks against the abuse of power, they will endeavour to avoid all tampering with the basis of property in land and all attempts to reconstruct society by more ambitious plans.

Their measure will, so far as Mr. Gladstone can judge, be in every way considerable, but will not introduce novel principles as distinct from new rules.

Mr. Gladstone does not recollect ever to have known two successive decisions taken by a Government of a graver nature than those of yesterday¹ and to-day. Driven by a moral necessity they could not deny they have resolved on strong measures of repression. It is too probable that these may from different motives be opposed by an overwhelming majority of the Irish Members. Great delay and obstruction to the business of Parliament are not the most serious of the consequences to which Mr. Gladstone thinks it right to look forward. Measures for the preservation of life and property, that is to say for the most elementary among all the purposes of society, will, under a representative system, be carried, for the first time, by English and Scotch votes, in defiance of the voice of Ireland. It is impossible not to apprehend that this state of the facts may act unfavourably on Irish feeling, and on the relations of Ireland to the other two kingdoms of your Majesty.

The Cabinet might have been tempted to seek some compensation for risk and mischief in this direction by a Land Bill framed so as to meet Irish feeling and demand. They have, in lieu of this, most rightly, as Mr. Gladstone thinks, decided in substance

¹ Mr. Gladstone had already reported to the Queen the Cabinet's decision on the previous day to propose repressive measures.

to renounce all thought of replacing themselves in Irish favour through doubtful means, and to found their measure upon real remedies adequately applied to real wants, without reference to the expectations formed in heat and excitement, and fostered and inflamed by men who seek only to use them for ulterior purposes.

The Cabinet is inclined to enter upon a third branch of Irish policy and to recommend measures for the promotion of local self-government in Ireland. It is the result of long centralisation, and of the want of habits and traditions belonging to a different system, which has led to the deplorable exhibition now presented to us by the orderly as well as by the disorderly population of Ireland, the abject helplessness of the one vying with the misguided passion of the other.

Mr. Gladstone has desired in this report to convey in a degree his impressions, which he believes to be greatly shared by his colleagues, of the act.

The time of the Cabinet was almost wholly occupied with Ireland, and Mr. Gladstone need not trouble your Majesty at present on any other matter; except to say that after the resolutions to which Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain have been parties yesterday and to-day, and after the public correspondence in which Mr. Bright has been engaged, Mr. Gladstone will take for granted, unless he hears to the contrary, that there will be no desire on the part of your Majesty for his reverting to the subject of the speeches delivered a short time back by those Ministers respectively.



INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER III

IRELAND absorbed, during 1881, most of the attention of Queen, Ministers, and the public. The State trial in Dublin of the agrarian leaders, which began in the previous December, resulted in the disagreement of the jury. The opening of Parliament, on 7th January, showed the Ministerial programme for Ireland to be, first, the vindication of the law, and secondly, reform of the land system. The extreme Nationalist Members, headed by Mr. Parnell, protested vehemently against coercive legislation, and started, on the Address, an intensified scheme of obstruction, which was more fully developed when Mr. Forster, the Irish Secretary, introduced his Protection of Person and Property Bill, and when Mr. Gladstone proposed to postpone all other business till the Bill was disposed of. One sitting lasted twenty-two hours; another was protracted over more than forty-one hours, and was only brought to a conclusion, on 2nd February, by the intervention of the Speaker, who on his own responsibility refused to allow further debate and put the question to the vote. The Conservative Opposition supported the Speaker and the Government against the small minority of Parnellite Home Rulers. These, to the number of thirty-six, when Mr. Gladstone rose next day to move an Urgency Resolution to cope with obstruction, endeavoured one after another to prevent him from being heard; persistently disregarded the Speaker's authority (in particular, by remaining in their seats during divisions); were named, some singly, but most in a bunch; were suspended, and, refusing to obey the order of the House, were removed by the Serjeant-at-Arms. The Resolution—which gave the Speaker power to regulate procedure where the state of public business was declared urgent—was then carried; and the House at once declared a state of urgency. Mr. Forster's Bill, which empowered the Viceroy to arrest and imprison persons reasonably

suspected of treasonable or agrarian offences, was then proceeded with, but, owing to strenuous Parnellite opposition, was not read a third time (on 24th February) till the Speaker had added a power of closure to his other urgency rules. These rules had also to be used to secure the passage of the Government Bill to prohibit the possession of arms and ammunition in Ireland. One of Lord Beaconsfield's last services to his country was, in response to an appeal from the Queen, to advise his followers to support the Government in its struggle against obstruction. He died on 19th April.

The remainder of the session was chiefly occupied by the debates on the Irish Land Bill, which was based on the three "F's"—fair rents, free sales, and fixity of tenure—recommended by a Royal Commission presided over by Lord Bessborough. A Land Commission was to be created, with sub-commissioners to sit in local courts, and to fix judicial rents to last for fifteen years. The Bill, which was of extraordinary complexity, was carried through all its stages in the House of Commons by an equally extraordinary display of Parliamentary capacity by the Prime Minister; and, though it contravened the principles both of Tories and of Whigs (causing the Duke of Argyll to resign office) and was only moderately satisfactory to Irish Home Rulers, the consciousness that some legislation of the kind was inevitable secured for it the support of enormous majorities, 352 to 176 on the second reading, 200 to 14 on the third. It was even read a second time without a division in the House of Lords. But in Committee Lord Salisbury (who had been chosen Conservative Leader in the Lords after Lord Beaconsfield's death) procured the insertion of drastic amendments, and, in spite of a conciliatory spirit shown both by the Ministry and by the House of Commons, insisted on the retention of some of them when the Bill returned to the Lords. A satisfactory compromise was, however, arranged through the good offices of the Queen and the strong representations made to Lord Salisbury by peer colleagues; and the Bill became law on 22nd August.

The Irish Land League, in spite of arrests (seldom at first of national leaders) under the Protection Act, grew steadily in influence during the year and enlisted the support of many, if not most, of the country priests, and the fiery enthusiasm of Archbishop Croke. In September it held a great convention in Dublin, when Mr. Parnell advised that the work of the League should continue, but that test cases

should be taken to the new courts, with the obvious intention of nullifying the Land Act. He was denounced by Mr. Gladstone at Leeds on 7th October as an unscrupulous enemy of the State, and he in turn defied and denounced his accuser. His arrest was decided on at a Cabinet Council on 12th October, and next day, he, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Sexton, and other leaders, with such officials of the League as did not manage to escape from Ireland, were imprisoned in Kilmainham. The prisoners issued an appeal to tenants to pay no rent while their leaders were in gaol. Ministers retorted by declaring the League an illegal body and suppressing its local branches as well as the central office. Meanwhile the farmers flocked to the new courts and fresh sub-commissioners had to be appointed; and outrages and lawlessness continued.

In England there was sporadic controversy in the session and during the recess about "Free Trade" and "Fair Trade," the latter being the guise in which, owing to industrial distress, Protection had reappeared. This year flogging in the army was finally abolished.

The Transvaal Boers, who had proclaimed a Republic in the previous December, invaded Natal in January, and on 27th February inflicted a severe defeat on the British Commander and High Commissioner, Sir George Colley, who was himself killed, at Majuba Hill. An armistice was arranged by Sir Evelyn Wood, and Sir Frederick Roberts was immediately despatched to succeed Sir G. Colley; but the British Government proceeded with negotiations, which had begun in January, through the friendly help of the President of the Orange Free State, Mr. Brand, with the Boer leaders, General Joubert and Mr. Kruger. Eventually a Convention was signed by which complete self-government was given to the Transvaal, subject to acknowledgment of the suzerainty of the Queen, and to British control of foreign relations. Negotiations after defeat disquieted the Queen and public opinion at home, and severe condemnation was expressed in the Lords on 30th March; but Ministers, with the support of the Commons, persisted; and while the British in South Africa felt humiliated, the Cape Assembly expressed satisfaction at the peace. The Afrikaner Bond, in which Mr. Hofmeyr was the leading figure, was formed.

During the year the British troops withdrew entirely from Afghanistan. The withdrawal from Candahar, while supported by a large majority in the Commons, was cen-

sured by about two to one in the Lords. Abdurrahman succeeded in driving Ayub back into Persia, and brought Candahar and most of Afghanistan under his rule.

Tunis, against whose Regency France, its neighbour in Algeria, had several grievances, was invaded by French troops at the end of April. Practically no resistance was experienced, and the Bey accepted terms which amounted to a French Protectorate. In France a General Election in August increased the already considerable Republican majority ; and, when in the autumn there were native risings both in Tunis and in Algeria, public opinion forced M. Gambetta, the Republican Leader, to quit the Chair of the Chamber and assume direct responsibility for government. He formed a Ministry on 13th November. The acquisition of Tunis by the French turned the thoughts of Italy towards the Central Powers, and in November the King and Queen paid a visit to Vienna. In Russia the Nihilists succeeded, on 13th March, in assassinating the Emperor Alexander II. His son and successor, Alexander III, confronted with widespread discontent and conspiracy, turned for sympathy and advice to his great-uncle the old German Emperor, whom he met in September at Dantzic. In Germany Prince Bismarck experienced rebuffs. His Workmen's Insurance policy failed to pass into law, and the Liberal opponents of his administration received a significant accession of strength at the Reichstag elections. In Bulgaria Prince Alexander put an end to what almost amounted to anarchy by a *coup d'état*, which proved to be popular. The question of the Turco-Greek frontier was finally settled by the European Powers, Thessaly being awarded to Greece. The tranquillity of Egypt was disturbed by military revolt, of which Colonel Arabi Bey was leader. The Khedive Tewfik, though well-intentioned, was weak ; and the military party forced a change of Ministry, Riaz Pasha being succeeded by Sherif Pasha.

In the United States President Garfield, after only a few months of office, was assassinated by a disappointed place-hunter, Guiteau ; he was succeeded by the Vice-President, Mr. Chester Arthur. Two great engineering works were launched on the American Continent. In Canada Parliament authorised the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway ; and the construction of the Panama Canal was begun on 1st February by M. de Lesseps.



CHAPTER III

1881

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 1st Jan. 1881.—Another year past, and we begin one with heavy clouds. A poor Government, Ireland in a state of total lawlessness, and war at the Cape, of a very serious nature! I feel very anxious, and have no one to lean on. Thank God! my dear ones are all well, but many are gone, who were least expected to leave us, acquaintances, and faithful friends, my good Col. Pickard,¹ poor Constance Westminster,² and many a familiar face. God spare all I most love, for many a year, and help me on! I feel how sadly deficient I am, and how over-sensitive and irritable, and how uncontrollable my temper is, when annoyed and hurt. But I am so overdone, so vexed, and in such distress about my country, that that must be my excuse. I will daily pray for God's help to improve.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 1st Jan. 1881.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his two important letters which she will answer to-night or to-morrow morning.

¹ Lieut.-Col. Arthur Frederick Pickard, V.C., C.B., R.A., entered the Household in attendance on Prince Arthur (Duke of Connaught), 1867; Groom-in-waiting to Queen Victoria, 1878; and Assistant Keeper of the Privy Purse and Assistant Private Secretary, 1878. Died 1880.

² Lady Constance Leveson-Gower, youngest daughter of the 2nd Duke of Sutherland, first wife of the 1st Duke of Westminster, died in December 1880.

She thanks him for his good wishes and prays that the heavy clouds, which now surround the political horizon and her Empire, may by God's blessing be dispelled, and that Mr. Gladstone may be guided by Him to do what is right and just! She wishes him and his family a happy new year. . . .

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 3rd Jan. 1881.—Had some long conversation after dinner with Mr. Goschen. Speaking of Turkey, he said, they had all the English newspapers, both the Opposition and Government organs, and that the late Minister for Foreign Affairs, when Mr. Goschen remonstrated with him about a manifesto which had been published, rousing the fanaticism of the Mussulmans, which Mr. Gladstone considered very wrong at a moment when there were already such difficulties, Abdin Pasha replied, that Mr. Gladstone, in speaking of the Principalities, had appealed to the duties of a Christian country towards Christians. Abdin Pasha could therefore not see what harm there was in appealing to the religion of his country. This was unanswerable. To be an Ambassador for a time, Mr. Goschen considered an excellent school for statesmen. Though he had known beforehand the effect of speeches made for the English public, he had learnt much more since he had become Ambassador. When with difficulty and care a position had been raised up, and foreigners made to understand what was required, in one moment a speech at home would undo everything, and be quoted against us. This was a great misfortune, and people in England ought to bear it in mind. I said how much harm Mr. Gladstone had done by his speeches, in which Mr. Goschen quite agreed. No one, he remarked, seemed nowadays to have courage. Everyone seemed to dread unpopularity and bid for popularity.

5th Jan.—Only received the Speech¹ this morning,

¹ *I.e.* the Queen's Speech to be delivered at the opening of Parliament.

which is very wrong. In it found the announcement of the abandonment of Candahar, without my having heard a word about it, after the discussion and correspondence about the despatch to Lord Ripon, which I got modified !! Directly after breakfast I telegraphed to Mr. Gladstone to have the Speech altered, or the part about Candahar left out. All was ready for my Council, and I waiting, when Sir H. Ponsonby came to say that the Ministers, Lord Spencer and Sir Wm. Harcourt, declared they would wait till Mr. Gladstone's answer came. In vain I assured them (through Sir H. Ponsonby) that I would approve the Speech, leaving out that paragraph; they insisted on waiting. Suggested that if no answer came in time, or not a favourable one, I would have the Speech approved, but send a protest. Sir H. Ponsonby sent in a proposal which I altered and wrote. 3 o'clock passed, and still no answer came, but it at length did so at half past 3. It was not favourable, saying the matter had been agreed upon yesterday.

So I had my Memorandum given to the Ministers, and settled to hold my Council at once. After waiting 10 minutes in the drawing-room, Sir H. Ponsonby came in, saying the Ministers objected to the word "disapproval," which rather amused me. Called in Leopold, and after some difficulty, suggested altering "disapproval" to "much regrets." This seemed to settle the matter, but 20 minutes elapsed before Sir H. Ponsonby again returned, saying they objected to the last part, in which I ask for an assurance. So I said, Very well, I would not send my Memorandum through them, but straight to Mr. Gladstone, and would hold the Council. Dreadfully put out, they at length came in, after 4, including Lord Sydney. The business was hurriedly gone through, and the Speech approved. I spoke to no one, and the Ministers nearly tumbled over each other going out. My headache had got very bad. Leopold, who was with me all the time, was very helpful. I annex

the paper, which Sir H. Ponsonby is to take to Mr. Gladstone.¹

Memorandum by Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE, 5th Jan. 1881.—The Queen, in approving the Speech generally, commanded the Minister in attendance to convey to the Cabinet her disapproval of that part of the Speech referring to Candahar, and the Queen can only give her assent to the Speech on the express understanding that the Cabinet will give her an assurance that, should circumstances arise rendering the retention of Candahar desirable, the Government will not hesitate to continue to hold that position.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 7th Jan. 1881.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty reports to your Majesty that, in preference to waiting until Saturday, he has felt it to be more becoming that he should take the earliest opportunity of consulting his colleagues at once on the point arising out of the terms of the Royal Speech which your Majesty was pleased to state. He has accordingly done this to-day; and he is in a condition at once to report to your Majesty that the Cabinet entirely accepts the view of your Majesty, and humbly ensures your Majesty that, should circumstances arise rendering the retention of Candahar desirable, the Government will not hesitate to continue to hold that position.

Mr. Gladstone humbly adds the expression of his regret that your Majesty should have been subjected to any degree of trouble or annoyance in this matter. Had he been aware that your Majesty would feel any doubts on any portion of the Speech, he would have been most careful to arrange the business of the

¹ Mr. A. G. Gardiner's *Life of Sir W. Harcourt*, vol. i, contains in an appendix the memorandum drawn up by Lord Spencer and Sir W. Harcourt for Mr. Gladstone, describing this scene.

Cabinet in such a way that your Majesty should have known the precise contents of the Speech submitted with a longer time for any necessary explanations.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Beaconsfield.

OSBORNE, 9th January 1881.

DEAR LORD BEACONSFIELD,—Leopold will give you these lines and tell you *all* about the extraordinary scene here last Wednesday! He is to ask your opinion too upon a circumstance which, I am positive, has [? not] unfrequently occurred and about which Sir William Harcourt was so obstinate. . . .

Lord Lytton's speech will be most interesting. The Irish difficulties are terrible, and the war in the Transvaal dreadful. Ever yours affectionately, V.R.I.

I am well but very tired. I have finished the 2 first volumes of *Endymion* and been *much* interested by it. One chapter, where the Ritualistic clergyman discusses the Athanasian Creed with Endymion, is admirable and amused me very much.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

1 SEAMORE PLACE, 11th January 1881.

MADAM, AND MOST BELOVED SOVEREIGN,—The principle of Sir W. Harcourt, that the Speech of the Sovereign is only the Speech of the Ministers, is a principle not known to the British Constitution. It is only a piece of Parliamentary gossip.

The Speech from the Throne must be approved in Council by the Sovereign, but to be so approved, it should be previously considered by the Sovereign. Ample time ought to be secured to the Sovereign for this purpose, so that suggestions may be made, and explanations required and given.

The degree of resistance which the Crown may choose to make against any expressions which the Crown disapproves must depend upon circumstances. If, for example, there was a proposal to surrender Malta under an alleged engagement of the Treaty of Amiens, the Sovereign would, in all probability, be

supported by the nation in resisting such a counsel. The unfortunate state of parties at this moment limits the power of the Throne, but that is no reason why the constitutional prerogative of the Crown should be treated as non-existing. Even under the present circumstances, your Majesty has a right, which it would be wise always to exercise, to express your Majesty's opinion on every point of the policy of your Ministers, and to require and receive explanations.

Last night, Lord Lytton made his *début*¹ in the House of Lords, and at once mounted to the first rank of present Parliamentary orators. This is a most important adhesion to our debating bench. The Duke of Argyll had expected from the new peer, who had never addressed either House of Parliament, a personal and egotistical address, and of a florid character. His Grace was much disappointed. He had to reply to an admirably practical address on the surrender of Candahar (which never must be surrendered); and this in a tone severely chaste, and in the best style of Parliamentary debating. The Ministers had so depreciated and underrated Lord Lytton, that this success was to me proportionately gratifying. They have found their master, and the moment we are in possession of the Afghan papers, we shall return to the great controversy.

I think it right to state that there are instances in which the Speech from the Throne has been altered after it was approved in Council, but, so far as my experience can guide me, they were always instances in which news from abroad or the Colonies had affected the statements of fact. Then no change was made without obtaining the previous sanction of the Sovereign, and if the Cabinet could not be assembled, the Prime Minister took the responsibility of the change. . . . Your Majesty's devoted BEACONSFIELD.

¹ He had succeeded to the peerage in 1873, but had since been serving abroad as Minister at Lisbon and as Viceroy of India. He had been created an Earl in 1880.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 10th January 1881.

DEAR MR. GLADSTONE,—The Queen asks . . . what can be done as regards Obstruction in the House of Commons ? ¹

Her Majesty imagines that, as this cannot be considered a Party question, you will consult the leaders of the Opposition in order to secure their support.

The Queen feels so much the useless loss of time and the wearing out of statesmen, that she wishes she could see some way of helping you in this matter.

[*Same Date.*].—The Queen hopes that all the Ministers will keep her Majesty well informed on any subject of interest connected with their departments.—HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Hartington.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 16th Jan. 1881.—The Queen thanks Lord Hartington for his letter and wishes to express her satisfaction at his speech. It has done great good and given some hope and reassurance to so many who are so alarmed at the apparent apathy and indifference of the Government.

Continue in that course ; be firm and let party be SECONDARY to the great and *vital* interests of the Empire and you will be supported by all the good, loyal, and reasonable people in and out of Parliament.

The times are so dangerous, the tendency to destroy and level so great, that it behoves every loyal statesman to hold strong and firm language.

The Queen trusts that means will be found to prevent these dreadful Irish people from succeeding in their attempts to delay the passing of the important measures of Coercion.

¹ See Introductory Note to this chapter.

Queen Victoria to the Prince of Wales.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

OSBORNE, 20th Jan. 1881.—I most earnestly protest against the Princes serving with a Naval Brigade on shore at the Cape. I strongly objected to their both going to sea, but consented on the suggestion that it was necessary for their education.¹ The proposal to send them on active service destroys the cause for my consent, and there is no reason for, but many against, their incurring danger in the South African war.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

OSBORNE, 21st Jan. 1881.—As the Address has after a fortnight been voted, I hope you will now act with great firmness and energy.

The moment is surely come to show that Mr. Parnell's outrageous language cannot be permitted. When will the long-talked-of Coercion Bill, so anxiously required by the Irish Government, be brought in?

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 22nd Jan. 1881.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that the Cabinet this day considered, among several secondary matters, the course of proceeding next week in the House of Commons, and the form in which measures for the better despatch of business should be pushed, if as is expected the occasion for making the effort should arise early next week.

The general course of opinion is towards the adoption of a modified form of *clôture*. A form has been drawn by the authorities of the House. Communications have been held to a certain extent with the regular Opposition, and they are believed to be favourable. The Cabinet are prepared to proceed

¹ See above, pp. 22-3, and below, pp. 192-3 and 197.

upon the basis of this paper, which they propose to amend in a particular point, and in a manner which they think will probably raise no difficulty. When this plan of motion is finally agreed on, Mr. Gladstone will not fail to transmit it to your Majesty.

There is little doubt that such a motion would encounter a desperate resistance, which would try the temper and mettle of the House, but would probably bring about a decisive issue, and form a preface to a better period. . . .

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 25th Jan. 1881.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his reports and is glad to see the firm stand taken by Mr. Forster in the House of Commons, and the decided line intended to be taken by Mr. Gladstone and the Government in case of obstruction.

The Conservative Opposition have shown great patriotism and a right sense of what is due to the Throne and country in supporting the Government at this most anxious moment.

The Queen hopes it may be possible to shut up Davitt. . . .

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 26th Jan. 1881.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

Mr. Parnell and other Irish Members have asked Count Karolyi to present a memorial to the Empress of Austria,¹ telling her Majesty how quiet Ireland is, that there is no reason why she should not come to hunt there, and promising her Majesty a hearty welcome. Count Karolyi informed Lord Granville of this request, and said that he proposed telling them that he was not the proper channel of communication, that they ought to address themselves to Sir H. Elliot.

¹ The Empress, wife of the Emperor Francis Joseph, had been on previous occasions to Ireland to hunt.

Lord Granville suggested to the Ambassador that the first part of his answer would be sufficient, that with reference to so extraordinary a document, it was not his business to point out to Irish Homerulers the channel through which they might address the Empress.

He agreed, has returned the memorial, saying that he was not the proper channel—but without any indication of any other mode of proceeding.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

OSBORNE, 29th Jan. 1881.—The Queen has received Lord Granville's letter, giving an account of the conduct of the "Pretender Parnell" (for such he is) with respect to the Empress of Austria, with amazement. It is *rather* too much! Lord Granville's answer was quite right. But he should let Sir H. Elliot know of it—and the Emperor should be warned of such a proceeding.

The Queen would never receive an Address from the rebellious subjects of any other country.

An Address (printed) was sent to her and to Beatrice from "*the people of the Netherlands to the people of England*" in favour of the Boers, but she does not know from whom.

The news of Sir G. Colley's repulse¹ are most distressing. Great Britain's star *is* NOT *in the ascendant since the last 6 or 7 months!*

The state of the House of Commons is most distressing. What language!

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 28th Jan. 1881.—Had a letter from Mr. Gladstone about the proposal for checking obstruction, by some new rules, upon which he had been, for some little time past, in constant communication with Sir S. Northcote, but which, he greatly regretted, the latter refused to entertain or agree to, or even to support generally. But Sir S. Northcote did not object

¹ By the Boers in Natal.

to consecutive long sittings. Am much vexed, as hitherto the Conservatives have been supporting the Government so well in this dreadful struggle. Desired Sir H. Ponsonby to try and see both Sir S. Northcote and Lord Beaconsfield and to speak to them very earnestly as to the desirability of helping Mr. Gladstone, who had expressed his anxiety to me.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 31st Jan.—1st Feb. 1881.
—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty reports to your Majesty that, at the meeting of the House to-day, [he] . . . stated that the Government would press the House to close the debate¹ on the introduction of Mr. Forster's Bill before the present sitting of the House should be allowed to close; and that they would propose the second reading of the Bill at the sitting of the House next following its introduction. . . .

The most significant incident of the debate in the evening was that Mr. Broadhurst, a working man, and one of the known representatives of his class, delivered a manly speech, highly honourable to his character, in support of the Bill.

Some time after midnight Mr. Forster retired to rest, arrangements having been made for the presence of one or more of the Ministers through the night. Lord Hartington undertakes the principal portion of the time. Mr. Gladstone much regrets that his strength does not permit him to take a more adequate share of these labours, so exhausting to the frame and mind, so perplexing in the questions which they raise, and so little in harmony with the character of a deliberative assembly. He closes this report when between one and two a.m. the adjournment had been moved and a debate of outrageous irrelevance commenced by the Irish Members.

¹ There had already been a continuous sitting of 22 hours on Tuesday—Wednesday, the 25th—26th, on a Resolution of Mr. Gladstone's giving precedence to the Bill.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

19 CURZON STREET, W., 1st February 1881.

MADAM AND MOST BELOVED SOVEREIGN,—I have seen Sir Stafford Northcote on the subject of your Majesty's letter.

I have requested him to place himself in communication, at once, with Mr. Gladstone, and say that, if Mr. Gladstone will submit to me in writing a distinct proposal, I will, subject to any necessary modification, submit it myself to a meeting of the Conservative Party and recommend them to adopt it, and support your Majesty's Government.

I deeply deplore the anxiety which your Majesty must at this moment feel, and should be more than happy, even in the slightest degree, to alleviate it. Your Majesty's grateful and devoted BEACONSFIELD.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 1st Feb. [1881] (11 p.m.).—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty reports to your Majesty that for the last twenty-four hours the debate has been maintained, principally by the Irish Members, sometimes on the main question, more frequently on motions of adjournment; sometimes rising to the level of mediocrity, and more often grovelling amidst mere trash in unbounded profusion. The event most noticeable has been a very manly speech from Mr. Bradlaugh, who stated that he was resolutely opposed to the measure of the Government, but he was yet more resolutely opposed to the conduct of the party of Mr. Parnell, which was destructive of all Parliamentary government and of all popular freedom.

Mr. Gladstone has been occupied during much of the day in communications with the Speaker, with his colleagues, and with Sir Stafford Northcote on the situation of the House of Commons itself and of public business in the House of Commons.

The Speaker has made up his mind that if, as is almost certain, the debate is obstructively maintained

through a second night, he will in the morning, about nine o'clock, take the opinion of the House on the question whether the debate should then at once be closed, and the main question decided. At the same time he will ask for the instructions of the House for future guidance, thus making a strong appeal to the leaders of the House, and especially to the Government.¹

This being so, the Government have determined on their own responsibility to propose a Resolution constituting a state of urgency and investing the Speaker with nearly absolute powers over procedure during its continuance. They have framed the Resolution, to the best of their knowledge, so as to obviate any objections likely to be taken on the part of the regular Opposition. They have placed it in Sir Stafford Northcote's hands in the hope of his support, but they may not have definitive information on this matter until the time for action is really at hand, when he hopes both parties may cordially unite in the support of the Chair, and in a necessary measure of self-defence.

2nd Feb.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty, and thanks your Majesty for the gracious care in respect to his health and strength shown in the letter he has last had the honour to receive. Unhappily, the pressure of his morning business is such that, unless the work of the previous evening were cleared during the night, he would not find it possible to prepare himself for the general communications of the day. He is indeed but too well disposed to spare himself during the short period of work that yet remains to him, and he will feel encouraged in doing this by your Majesty's kindness.

The Wednesday sitting has been taken up with a motion on adjournment of a purely obstructive character.

The Irish Party of Mr. Parnell intend to question

¹ This proposed action of the Speaker was duly carried out. See Introductory Note.

the proceedings of Mr. Speaker taken this morning. They endeavoured to bring on the discussion at once, but this was not permitted by order. It was after this failure that the motion for adjournment was produced and factitious reasons found for it.

Mr. Gladstone has the honour to enclose a copy in print of the plan he is to propose to-morrow evening. It will not be carried without effort and perhaps delay. Mr. Gladstone has not had any assurance of the support of Sir S. Northcote who, it is said, will propose some amendments.

The Opposition gave a most unequivocal support to-day to the Government in resisting the adjournment : and Sir S. Northcote expressed his intention to sustain the recent and very important decisions of the Chair.

When the House adjourns to-day, it will, out of the last fifty hours, have sat for forty-seven and a half.

3rd-4th Feb.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty has to report to your Majesty on the most extraordinary night known in Parliament certainly for fifty years, and probably for a much longer time.

It was Mr. Gladstone's duty, at half past four, to proceed with the notices he had given for setting up an extraordinary power in the Speaker, on occasions of urgency, to expedite the business of the House.

Before he rose, it had been announced by Sir William Harcourt that Davitt had to-day been arrested. This announcement was, perhaps unhappily, received with a tempest of cheering, which appears to have exasperated past all bearing some of the Parnell Members.

Accordingly Mr. Dillon, supposed to be one of the most sincere, but also of the most violent and excitable, rose in the middle of Mr. Gladstone's first sentence, and remained obstinately standing up, without attempting to speak to order, and in despite of the Speaker who required him to sit down. For this conduct he was named under the Order of 28th February 1880. Mr. Gladstone then moved that he be dis-

charged from the service of the House for the rest of the sitting. A division took place which, from the great numbers on the side of the majority, occupied a long time. Authority having thus been obtained, Mr. Dillon was required to withdraw : and on his refusal was removed with a show of force by the Serjeant.

Mr. Gladstone then resumed his broken sentence : but had barely finished it when Mr. Parnell rose and moved that he be no longer heard. The extreme brutishness of such a proceeding, when taken without any kind of Parliamentary reason, enabled the Speaker to treat it as an offence outright ; and the same process as had taken place in the case of Mr. Dillon was repeated, first with Mr. Parnell, and then with Mr. Finigan.

But, as each of these divisions occupied about five and twenty minutes, spent chiefly in rather stifling lobbies, this operation was torture to the majority. At this rate it would have taken eighteen hours to dispose of the 35 or 36 persons who represented the force of Mr. Parnell.

Fortunately, however, the tactics of the Party were so suicidal as to relieve the House from this embarrassment. From the second division onwards, a body of twenty-six or twenty-seven determined that in sheer contumacy they would neither vote in the lobbies, not yet quit the House : which, on every occasion of a division, the Speaker orders that all Members shall do.

On the first time of their acting thus, the Speaker reported it to the House. But there was no list of the offenders, and at first there was much doubt as to the manner of treating them. However, Mr. Gladstone had given a general notice that it could not be borne ; and a method was soon suggested. On the next occasion of a division, the Speaker addressed them and required them to leave their places, which they refused to do. Upon this the whole batch of them were named, probably to their great surprise :

Mr. Gladstone made one motion dispensing them all from the service of the House for the evening. Their case was thus disposed of by a single division; and all were removed by the Serjeant.

A few more cases were disposed of singly; at last even Tellers could not be found: and before nine o'clock the total of suspended Members, removed from the precincts of the House, had risen to 35 or 36. The back of obstruction was now fairly broken.

Mr. Gladstone now proceeded to propose his Resolutions. The debate upon them was conducted in the ordinary manner. So great was the change, that it seemed like another Parliament. Mr. Gladstone at once accepted and incorporated some of the modifications proposed by Sir Stafford Northcote. The rest were debated; and were accommodated, except one, which, on a division, the Government carried by 234 to 151. Ultimately soon after two a.m. the Resolutions were carried without division and amidst the liveliest expressions of general satisfaction.

Mr. Gladstone cannot conclude without expressing his strong sense of the immense public service which has been rendered by the Speaker¹ on this occasion. His firmness in mind, his suavity in manner, his unwearied patience, his incomparable temper under a thousand provocations, have rendered possible a really important result which, without these qualities on his part, must have remained unattainable.

To-morrow Mr. Parnell and his friends will, it is believed, return: but they will return to a House in which it is hoped that they will find their opportunities of mischief effectually curtailed.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Northbrook.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, 7th Feb. 1881.—The Queen thanks Lord Northbrook for his letter and is glad to hear that the

¹ The Hon. Henry Brand, created a G.C.B. at the close of this session, and Viscount Hampden on his retirement from the Chair in 1884.

Princes are not to be attached to a Naval Brigade. They are so young, and the only *two* sons of the Prince of Wales—the eldest moreover not regularly in the Navy (and the orders given for him were different, as Lord Northbrook will recollect, to those for his younger brother)—so that to expose their lives needlessly, and moreover in a *civil* war, would have been *wrong* in every way. Lord Northbrook will recollect that, while George *was* to go in command of boats and aloft, Albert Victor was not to do so. That in fact Lord Northbrook and many others were for many reasons at first *not* in favour of the eldest boy's going again to sea, and that it was only for his education, and his character, that it was consented to, now and on their former cruise. Lord Northbrook's predecessor and the whole Cabinet were very much against both boys going, on account of the risk which naturally there must be to a certain extent.

The Queen trusts that in future Lord Northbrook will not give any fresh orders without letting the Queen first know, so that the disagreement of opinions may not again occur.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Draft.*]

OSBORNE, 9th Feb. 1881.—The Queen has read Mr. Gladstone's Memorandum on the provisions of the forthcoming Irish Land Bill, and is satisfied that the general tendency of the measure will be in favour of amending and not of overthrowing existing laws.

The Queen understands that Mr. Gladstone does not intend the new law to interfere with contracts willingly made and adhered to between men who are satisfied with their positions; but in legislating for the cases where the parties differ the Queen trusts that nothing will be proposed subversive of the rights of property, that may be used as a precedent for future legislation in England, where the existing conditions of land tenure differ widely from those in Ireland.

The Earl of Beaconsfield to Queen Victoria.

19 CURZON STREET, W., 10th February 1881.

MADAM AND MOST BELOVED SOVEREIGN!—It made me very happy yesterday to see your Majesty's dear handwriting again, and still more so to learn that your Majesty was well satisfied with all that had been done to assist your Majesty's Government at a memorable Parliamentary crisis. The result proved that I had not misled your Majesty in my former remarks on Lord Granville's note on the state of Parties in Parliament, or as to my ability to weld into homogeneous action all sections of the Conservatives. Lord Randolph at the head of his Bashi-Bazouks,¹ and the respectable Mr. Walpole and company, who view Lord Randolph with more repugnance than they do the Fenians, equally attended the meeting at my house. I am glad to say that I can without difficulty receive two hundred Members in my rooms, which will allow me to summon meetings, as I did this, at a few hours' notice, and not be running about London to borrow a friend's house.

Sir Stafford accomplished his task admirably, so your Majesty's Opposition not only helped your Majesty's Government, and crushed the Irish rebels, but carried proposals which were generally preferred to those of the Government: all which increases our influence.

I never indulged in the hope that your Majesty would ever find time to read *Endymion*,² and I am deeply gratified that your Majesty has not only deigned to do that, but that you have not read it hastily, which I always deprecate. Your Majesty's remarks greatly interest me.

¹ See Introductory Note to Chapter II, p. 62.

² Writing on the 7th February, the Queen said: "I wish to tell you that I have just finished *Endymion* and have been much interested by it. I trace several characters. Were you not thinking of the Duchess of Manchester in Lady Montfort, and of Mr. Bright in Job Thornberry? But *who* is Endymion taken after? How is it that your hero should be a *Whig*? Did you know Carlyle?"

I do not think that the lady your Majesty mentions influenced me in the character of Lady Montfort. I would say to your Majesty, what I would admit to no one else, that I think there are features of Lady Palmerston in her youth in that representation, and some traits of devotion drawn from some one else.¹ Indeed, I had no intention or desire to draw any living characters. They are types, not photographs; trusting in my pictures to the various features furnished by a somewhat large and copious experience of life, and also, perhaps, to some intuitive power which calls forms into existence, imparts vitality to shadows, and invests them with appropriate expression.

In pages 261-2, second volume, I have endeavoured to convey my impression of the style of Mr. Cobden as an orator. All the rest is typical: traits, perhaps, of Mr. Bright, but the catastrophe of the family occurred literally to Mr. Potter, the Socinian Mayor of Manchester, and M.P., who, having made his fortune, sent his two sons to Oxford to make them gentlemen; but they only became Roman Catholics.

Endymion was not intended for a hero any more than M. Gil Blas by Le Sage. I did not wish him to be an interesting character: he has no imagination and very controlled passion: but he has great patience, perseverance, judgment, and tact, which qualities, with good looks, have, before this, elevated men in your Majesty's Councils. He is in fact rather a plodder, and I thought quite good enough to be a Whig.

The year after I offered the Grand Cross to Carlyle,² with your Majesty's sanction and entire approval, he expressed to Lady Marian [Alford] his wish to make my acquaintance, and accordingly that took place. It was a very successful interview, and I contemplated cultivating his society, so far as I could, for I was then your Majesty's servant, and had little time for many things that should not have been omitted. Carlyle,

¹ Presumably Lady Bradford.

² See *Life of Disraeli*, vol. v, ch. 9.

however, was in the hands of my foes, and he behaved so unnecessarily discourteously, both about the Indian Empire question, and still more about the Turkish war, writing even letters in the newspapers, that I cared not more to see him.

An original and vigorous mind and writer : but not so original as supposed, for he was an ape of Richter, and it's a question whether posterity will accept his barbarian eloquence.

On the 24th instant, the question of Candahar will be brought before the House of Lords, and we shall move a resolution on which we shall divide. Lord Lytton introduces the subject ; Lord Salisbury returns purposely for the debate.

I fear this is too long a letter, and yet I have only presumed to touch upon the subjects mentioned in your Majesty's gracious one. It is like an Address in answer to the gracious Speech from the Throne.

I hope, however, its length may be pardoned even if my precedent is not accepted, at least on the ground that it comes, with all duty and affection, from your Majesty's devoted BEACONSFIELD.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 15th Feb. 1881.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty reports to your Majesty that the Cabinet assembled to-day for the purpose of considering what communication ought to be sent to South Africa in reply to a telegram of the 13th from Sir Geo. Colley ; which transmitted an overture or message from Kruger (written Krumer in the telegram), apparently in reply to what he had heard through President Brand. Viewing the likelihood of early and sanguinary actions, Lord Kimberley had made known to Mr. Gladstone his impression that the receipt of such a telegram, at such a juncture, although its terms were inadmissible, rendered it a duty to examine the position and see whether it afforded any hope of settlement.

The result of the conversation in the Cabinet was

embodied in a telegram, which they desire to send with all possible despatch to Sir Geo. Colley. Conflict probably imminent, and much bloodshed may, they hope, be avoided by it. Mr. Gladstone has at once telegraphed in cypher to your Majesty a brief account of this telegram, and has mentioned its extreme urgency.

Queen Victoria to the Princess of Wales.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 18th February 1881.

DARLING ALIX,—Many loving thanks for your last dear letter still received at Osborne.

I am very sorry Bertie should have been sore about the boys; but I think he must have forgotten the *arrangements and conditions and instructions* respecting their going to sea. I, and even Bertie and you, only consented to their *both* going to sea for their *education and moral training*; and Eddie was specially *not* to go aloft or command a boat, as he was *not* to remain *in the Navy*. This being the case—the *Bacchante* going to the Cape, which was done in a hurry, without due consultation with me (I *disapproved*)—and feeling how valuable these two *young* lives are to the *whole nation*, I felt *bound* to protect them against useless and unnecessary exposure in a cruel *Civil War*—for so it is, the Boers being *my subjects*, and it being a rule that Princes of the Royal Family *ought not* to be mixed in it. In any other war, should in time there be one (when Georgie be older) and his ship be *obliged necessarily* to take part in it, I would *quite agree* with *Bertie*.

Pray show this to him, as I am sure he and everyone would agree in this being the *right course*.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Earl of Kimberley.

[Draft.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 20th February 1881.

DEAR LORD KIMBERLEY,—The Queen observes that Sir Hercules Robinson¹ considers a concession of

¹ Governor of Cape Colony.

everything before a victory has been won would seriously increase our difficulties in S. Africa.

Her Majesty earnestly trusts that peace may be restored, but the Queen fears that if this is effected by any act which would appear to be a confession of weakness, such as the admission we could not take Lang's Nek, disastrous results would follow such a proceeding.—HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 28th Feb. 1881.—Fine early, then snowing a little. Dreadful news reached me when I got up. Another fearful defeat,¹ and poor Sir G. Colley killed, though at first it seemed uncertain. When I opened the telegram, I hoped it might be the news of a victory. It is too dreadful! Another Slobane and Isandlwana, though on a smaller scale, but the Governor and Commander-in-Chief killed. We are indeed unlucky. The Government proposes sending out Sir F. Roberts, as Governor of Natal and the Transvaal, and Commander-in-Chief,² in the place of poor Sir G. Colley.

Gave a dinner, in the Dining Room, in honour of William's³ wedding. Arthur led me in, and I sat between him and George C. The Band played very well during dinner. The young couple's health was first drunk, then that of the German Emperor and Empress, and lastly mine, after which the Pipers walked round the table. I talked with everyone, and then went to my room. Endless news of all kinds, letters from Lord Kimberley as to the dreadful event in the Transvaal and measures proposed. Lord Hartington spoke very strongly about the Arms Bill, and the necessity for its being pushed through.

¹ Majuba Hill. See Introductory Note.

² In reply to the telegram from Mr. Childers making this proposal, the Queen telegraphed, "Entirely approve. Had thought of this myself."

³ Prince William of Germany, afterwards the Emperor William II. See above, p. 168.

Queen Victoria to Sir Evelyn Wood.¹

WINDSOR CASTLE, 28th Feb. 1881.—Most deeply grieved and distressed at the terrible news received to-day. My heart bleeds for the many valuable lives lost. Deeply lament Sir G. Colley. Pray don't expose yourself unnecessarily, your life is precious. Saw Lady Wood on 26th. Anxious to know how wounded are doing ?

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 1st Mar. 1881.—Saw Lord Beaconsfield,² who dined last night, and I thanked him for the help his party had given the Government in this terrible moment in the House of Commons. The debate on Candahar is likely to last two days, and then there will be a Division.

2nd Mar.—Saw Sir F. Roberts, who is to leave to-morrow. He had been to Eton, to receive a sword of honour from the boys, having been at the College himself. The boys took the horses out and dragged him up to the bridge, where one of my carriages met him. He said he felt much honoured by my confidence. He was very sorry for poor Sir G. Colley, whom he knew very well, and who was an able man, but inexperienced in handling troops.

6th Mar.—A telegram from Sir E. Wood about the negotiations with the Boers. He has concluded an armistice for a week, which the Boers themselves proposed. President Brand, of the Orange Free State, sends a proposal ; I do not like peace before we have retrieved our honour. Poor Sir G. Colley was buried near the Camp on Prospect Hill.

Mr. Forster to Queen Victoria.

DUBLIN CASTLE, 7th Mar. 1881.—. . . Your Majesty may like to know how the Irish Government has dealt with the Protection Act.

¹ Who took over the command in South Africa after Sir G. Colley's death.

² The last meeting between the Queen and Lord Beaconsfield.

Lord Cowper and Mr. Forster, with the help of the chief officials here, have carefully examined into every case in which arrest has been recommended by the local Police, and have cross-examined the Sub-Inspector of the Constabulary and the Resident Magistrate of the District. The result is that warrants will be to-day issued for 40 persons.

It is a most painful and anxious duty putting men in prison without the possibility of trial, and Mr. Forster has deeply felt the responsibility; but he also feels that the men now arrested are all of them men against whom there is the most reasonable suspicion that they themselves have committed actual outrages, or worse still, have incited others to commit them.

The implication of the local land agitators in these outrages, and also the existence of secret societies, have been brought out but too clearly: and nothing can be more plain than that, without this Act, many districts would have been subject to the tyranny of the worst men in their neighbourhood.

Many of these men, however, have already fled, and Mr. Forster has still much confidence in the good effect of the Act; and having had the opportunity of seeing and testing the conduct of many of the officers of the Constabulary, Mr. Forster thinks he ought to tell your Majesty that he has formed a very favourable impression of their loyalty, courage, and ability.

The information obtained since he came to Dublin makes Mr. Forster more glad that the Arms Bill will be passed. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Kimberley.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 9th Mar. 1881 (4 p.m.).—I find that an impression prevails that we are about to make peace with the Boers on their own terms. I am sure you will agree with me that even the semblance of

any concessions after our recent defeats would have a deplorable effect.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 11th Mar. 1881.—Lt.-General Sir Henry Ponsonby . . . has cyphered to Lord Kimberley, Lord Granville, and Mr. Gladstone on the *impossibility* of listening to demands for independence or entering into terms with the Boers while they are in Natal. Several questions were asked on this subject last night. He has called Lord Granville's attention to foreign opinion. . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 12th Mar. 1881.—Mr. Gladstone submits his humble duty to your Majesty and reports that the Cabinet to-day has been occupied mainly and at considerable length with the affairs of the Transvaal.

They determined, in order to obviate misapprehension or suspicion, to desire Sir Evelyn Wood to inform the Government from what quarter the suggestion of an armistice actually proceeded.

They agreed that the proper persons to be appointed as Commissioners were Sir Hercules Robinson, Sir Evelyn Wood, and Mr. de Villiers, Chief Justice of the Cape : together with Mr. Brand of the Free State as an *amicus curiæ*, should he be willing to lend his good offices, in the spirit in which he has hitherto acted.

The Cabinet considered fully the terms of the communication to be made to the Boers by Sir Evelyn Wood. In this, which is matter of extreme urgency, they prescribe a time for the reply of the Boers, not later than the 18th : renew the promise of amnesty ; require the dispersion of the Boers to their homes ; and state the general outlines of the permanent arrangement which they would propose for the territory. These are given in what the Cabinet deem safe and general terms, which Lord Kimberley will transmit, but the extreme pressure of

time has led the Cabinet to recommend that the message should be at once transmitted to Sir Evelyn Wood. The Cabinet believe that in requiring the dispersion of the Boers to their homes they will have made the necessary provision for the vindication of your Majesty's authority so as to open the way for considering terms of pacific settlement. . . .

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Earl of Kimberley.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 12th Mar. 1881.—The Queen did not like your telegram being sent off before being submitted. She fears it looks weak and as if we were yielding to the Boers, and she even thinks Wood is going too far in this direction.

A humiliating peace would ruin our position in South Africa.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 13th Mar. 1881.—Feel quite shaken and stunned by this awful news.¹ May God protect all dear ones! Poor, poor Emperor, in spite of his failings, he was a kind and amiable man, and had been a good ruler, wishing to do the best for his country.

The Earl of Kimberley to Queen Victoria.

COLONIAL OFFICE, 17th Mar. 1881.—Lord Kimberley presents his humble duty to your Majesty and submits that the telegram of the 15th to Sir E. Wood, which he was compelled from shortness of time to send off at once, was in accordance with previous decisions, as it required a real dispersion of the Boer armed force.

The telegrams received from Sir E. Wood to-day indicate on the whole a conciliatory disposition on the part of the Boers, and Lord Kimberley trusts that a peaceful settlement may follow on terms honourable

¹ Of the murder of the Emperor Alexander of Russia.

to this country and as advantageous as the difficult nature of the questions to be dealt with will permit.

The telegram sent to-day insists on the troops remaining in the Transvaal till the final settlement, and this coupled with the retirement of the Boers from their positions will show that we have maintained an attitude befitting this country.

It is very satisfactory that the Boers accepted at once the Suzerainty of the British Crown, and, if the arrangement proceeds, Lord Kimberley hopes that the final settlement will prove really beneficial to the whole of South Africa.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Earl of Kimberley.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 22nd March 1881.

DEAR LORD KIMBERLEY,—The necessity for an immediate decision leaves the Queen no time for considering carefully the terms of the agreement between Sir Evelyn Wood and the Boers.

Her Majesty can scarcely understand them. It would appear that the Boers have obtained all they fought for, viz. independence within their borders; while we, on the other hand, although we publicly refused their demands and have sent a large army to oppose them, have now undertaken not to advance into the Transvaal with our troops, and not even to occupy the positions on the soil of Natal taken by the Boers.

If the Queen has read this telegram correctly, she feels sure that these conditions will be considered humiliating both in England and at the Cape. Her Majesty would therefore have wished for further explanations, but anxious to prevent further bloodshed and trusting that you would not have recommended her to accept the agreement if dishonourable to us, the Queen reluctantly gives you permission¹ to support the action of Sir Evelyn Wood in his negotia-

¹ This is a confirmation of a telegram sent by the Queen earlier in the day that, "as time presses," she was "unable to withhold her permission."

tions with the Boers. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

The Earl of Kimberley to Queen Victoria.

22nd Mar. 1881.—Lord Kimberley presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and submits copies of two telegrams which in pursuance of the permission which your Majesty was pleased to intimate to him by telegraph he has despatched to Sir E. Wood.

Lord Kimberley deeply regrets that your Majesty takes so unfavourable a view of the arrangement come to with the Boer leaders. It seems to him with great submission to your Majesty that the terms secure all the points of real importance to this country : the control of relations with Foreign Powers, the admission of a Resident at the Capital, with functions to be determined by the Royal Commission, the provision which is to be made by the Commission as to frontier affairs and the management of interior native affairs, and the agreement that certain portions of territory may, if thought advisable, be severed from the Transvaal, so as to prevent collision between the Boers, and the Zulus, and other powerful native tribes, on conditions so favourable to British interests in S. Africa that Lord Kimberley does not think better terms could have been made after a successful war. On the other hand, the maintenance of the garrisons in the Transvaal, pending the final settlement and the engagement of the Boers to disperse, seems to Lord Kimberley to fully guard British honour. As our troops will remain on the spot and the Boers will have dispersed to their homes the position at Lang's Nek will remain virtually in our power. Considering the great ferment of opinion in South Africa and the imminent dangers which threaten our whole position in this country, Lord Kimberley cannot but feel a sense of great relief that the war is brought to a close. He must add that he has no doubt the Boers have been largely influenced by the knowledge of the powerful forces about to be brought against them.

Lord Kimberley trusts that these explanations which he humbly submits to your Majesty's judgment may induce your Majesty to take a more favourable view of the transaction.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Earl of Kimberley.

[*Copy.*]

23rd Mar. 1881.—Your letter last night reconciled the Queen to many points of the agreement which she had not previously understood.

Still her Majesty cannot say she is entirely satisfied with the whole proceeding, though it may have been the best in the circumstances.—HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 25th Mar. 1881.—Feel anxious about Lord Beaconsfield, who has not been well for some time past, and decided to send Capt. Edwards¹ to enquire after him. The answer to this morning's telegraphic enquiry was not good. Saw Capt. Edwards, who returned quite late. Dr. Kidd, whom he went up to see, did not give a good account of Lord Beaconsfield, but hoped he would soon get over this cold.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 28th Mar.—The accounts of good Lord Beaconsfield are not very satisfactory. He is in bed and very weak. Lord Barrington said he felt very anxious about Lord Beaconsfield, as whose secretary he acts, during Lord Rowton's unfortunate absence with his sister, who is ill.²

¹ Subsequently Lieut.-Colonel Sir Fleetwood Edwards (1842–1910), G.C.V.O., K.C.B., R.A. He was appointed Assistant Privy Purse and Assistant Private Secretary to Queen Victoria in 1878, and after holding other household posts became Keeper of the Privy Purse in 1895. He served in the Household of King Edward and King George, and in 1901 was appointed Serjeant-at-Arms of the House of Lords.

² Lord Barrington was dining at Buckingham Palace and the Queen told him (confirming her opinion by a letter) that it was his duty to require Dr. Kidd to call in further medical help. See *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi, ch. 16.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Kimberley.
[*Cypher Telegram.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 31st Mar. 1881.—I sanction these Instructions but I cannot refrain from repeating how deeply I deplore giving up a territory which the Government declared they would maintain, and especially after defeats and the abandonment of Candahar, and cannot but consider it very damaging to the prestige of this Empire.

Queen Victoria to Sir William Jenner.
[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 4th April 1881.—The Queen knows that Sir William Jenner has objected to meet Dr. Kidd ; but he said yesterday, if dear Lord Beaconsfield got worse, he felt sure he would be called in.

The Queen knows how anxious Dr. Quain is to obtain Sir William Jenner's advice, and the Queen cannot but think Sir William would gain much more by waiving any little professional difficulty, than in refusing at such a moment, when one of the most valuable lives in the country, as well as one of the most valued friends the Queen has, is trembling in the balance between life and death.

If Dr. Quain asks him to go and see Lord Beaconsfield, she earnestly trusts he will go. Being the Queen's own physician, who so often used to go and see friends high and low, when the Queen asked him, and there being no journey to undertake which would cause fatigue, or risk, his not doing so, the Queen is sure, would be much felt by the country.

Sir William Jenner used always to be so kind to those who were dear or valuable to her, that she cannot think he will object further.¹

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 6th April 1881.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and

¹ Dr. Kidd was a homœopathist, but Sir William Jenner saw Lord Beaconsfield three times during this fatal illness. See below, p. 211.

with very deep concern acquaints your Majesty that the Duke of Argyll, after long consideration, finds himself compelled to require that Mr. Gladstone should place at your Majesty's feet his resignation of the office which he now holds.

Mr. Gladstone is less surprised than he is grieved at an occurrence every way so deplorable. He has long known the Duke's opinions on the subject of land tenure to be in a certain degree exceptional. The Cabinet, in considering the provisions of their Bill, have proceeded (as Mr. Gladstone humbly thinks) with moderation. They have confined it within limits much narrower than those recommended by Lord Bessborough's Commission, and by several important members of the Duke of Richmond's Commission. What the Cabinet consider to be the most stringent, as it is the most novel, provision of their Bill is based on a recommendation of the Duke of Richmond's Commission. Mr. Gladstone fears that the views of the Duke, on this particular subject, are more limited than those of the Duke of Richmond and his Conservative colleagues.

Mr. Gladstone humbly submits to your Majesty the name of Lord Carlingford, one well known to your Majesty, for the succession to the office of Privy Seal; which Lord Carlingford would take, at the present moment, with peculiar advantage to your Majesty's service.

By some scandalous breach of confidence, or other unknown cause, the provisions of the Land Bill have been prematurely made known in the *Standard* newspaper of to-day. Mr. Gladstone has summoned the Cabinet for Friday to search into this matter.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 7th April 1881.—The Queen has to acknowledge Mr. Gladstone's letter enclosing one from the Duke of Argyll tendering his resignation.

She is sorry for this, especially that it should be

on the subject of the Irish Land Bill. The Queen fears that this is not to be as moderate as she was at first led to hope. If so, it will again meet with, she fears, great opposition in the House of Lords. Can Mr. Gladstone not modify some of the clauses which, if the Duke of Argyll feels so strongly upon them, are sure to meet with strong opposition from many other Peers, Liberal as well as Conservative ?

The Queen will answer the Duke of Argyll's letter herself. She approves of Lord Carlingford to succeed him as Lord Privy Seal. She is glad that Mr. Gladstone intends to hold a Cabinet on the too frequent recurrence of the very reprehensible breaches of confidence which have led to Cabinet secrets being communicated to newspapers.

Mr. Gladstone will remember what the Queen said to him some time ago about it.

Queen Victoria to the Duke of Argyll.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 7th April 1881.

MY DEAR DUKE,—I have to-day received your letter through Mr. Gladstone, which took me by surprise—though I knew, and could only agree in, your views last year. I was in hopes from your being, *as I was told*, on the Committee of the Cabinet, which was to draw up the new Irish Land Bill, that it would be one which was moderate and *not* like last year's, and your resignation, while I can only consider it as perfectly right and conscientious, alarms me.

I have said nearly as much to Mr. Gladstone.

Pray tell me what your views and objections are, as it will be very valuable to me to know. I suppose I shall see you soon when you have to give up the Seal ? You will be an immense loss to the Government.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

WALMER CASTLE, 14th April 1881.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He has

received your Majesty's cyphered message about Tunis.¹ He had already instructed Lord Lyons to inform the French Government that it might be necessary to send vessels of war to Tunis to protect British subjects, in case of Mohammedan fanaticism breaking out. If your Majesty sends a fleet there prematurely the Italians and French will immediately do the same. It is desirable to calm Italy and France, rather than to excite them.

The whole question is difficult and delicate, and made more so by some impulsive declarations of Lord Salisbury at Berlin. Mr. Waddington addressed a despatch to London after the return of the British Plenipotentiaries, reminding Lord Salisbury of a conversation at Berlin, in which in answer to complaints about Cyprus Mr. Waddington said that Lord Salisbury had answered, "Prenez Tunis; Carthage ne doit pas rester aux barbares." He said that Lord Beaconsfield had held the same language. But Mr. Waddington desired to come from Berlin with clean hands.

Lord Salisbury wrote a despatch, the substance of which was given by the French to the Paris correspondent of the *Times* the other day, and he persuaded Mr. Waddington to cancel his first despatch (to the accuracy of which Mr. Waddington still adheres), and he wrote a despatch to Rome, which has appeared in the Italian papers. It is unfortunate that it is impossible to reconcile the different statements in these despatches with one another, or with the categorical denial given in the House of Commons by Mr. Bourke, by Lord Salisbury's desire, or with the positive assurance given to the Bey.

There are three questions connected with Tunis. The Enfida affair,² the Frontier outrages, and the protectorate of the French.

On the first the Law officers and the Chancellor

¹ See Introductory Note.

² A complicated dispute, about the claim of a French company to an estate in Tunis.

are unanimously of opinion that we have no right to interfere. On the second the assertions on both sides are contradictory, but it is probable that, although they greatly exaggerate, the French have a legitimate cause of complaint, and justification of action on their part.

The third is the crucial point. Your Majesty's present Government, like the last, admit that they have no jealousy of the legitimate influence of a great civilised country over a semi-barbarous and weak neighbour. But the question is what is legitimate influence. The French have declared that it is their desire to leave intact the individual rights of all foreign traders and residents. The question is whether they will limit themselves in this manner, and this is the point to which the attention of your Majesty's Government must be fixed.

Lord Granville doubts the French attempting to annex Tunis at present; that would be a matter involving Turkey and the guaranteeing Powers.

Your Majesty will know whether it is true, what Lord Granville has been told, that Prince Bismarck advised your Majesty's late Government to take Egypt, and the French to take Tunis.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 19th April 1881.—Received the sad news that dear Lord Beaconsfield had passed away. I am most terribly shocked and grieved, for dear Lord Beaconsfield was one of my best, most devoted, and kindest of friends, as well as wisest of counsellors. His loss is irreparable to me and the country. To lose such a pillar of strength, at such a moment, is dreadful! Just this day year, Lord Beaconsfield left Windsor, having resigned, which he felt so much, and so did I, but I was full of hope he might be my Minister again. Received a most affecting letter from Lord Barrington. The end was a blessed one,¹

¹ "Without suffering, quite calmly as if in sleep" telegraphed Lord Rowton.

but oh! that it should have come. Have asked Lord Rowton to come here as soon as he can, and he will do so to-morrow.

Dean Stanley to Queen Victoria.

DEANERY, WESTMINSTER, 19th April 1881.

MADAM,—I was on the point of writing to tell your Majesty of our Easter plans, when this sad news reached me from Curzon Street. After all our anxieties, the end came upon me as a surprise. It is a close worthy of the wonderful life; the long struggle, the intense interest of the people, the tragical fitness of the moment of the termination of that long political career. I dare not think of the shock which it will bring to your Majesty, to be bereft of so faithful and powerful a friend. I saw Lord Rowton this morning. He was about worn out with watching. He, or Lord Barrington, has no doubt described to your Majesty the striking appearance of Lord Beaconsfield, when at the last he raised himself as if to make one of his great speeches—and then bowed down and passed away. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 20th April 1881.—Saw Sir Wm. Jenner, who is greatly grieved and shocked at dear Lord Beaconsfield's death. He saw him three times. Reading the newspapers, which are full of details of the last sad hours, and of Lord Beaconsfield's eventful life, also nice articles. Saw Lord Rowton after tea. He remained some time with me. We were both much upset, and he was frequently unable to proceed from emotion. He gave me many details and went over the beginning of the illness. He had never had much hope, and had felt sure he would not live long. Lord Beaconsfield had often been very unwell, when obliged to speak, and again and again, while in office, had been seriously indisposed. The journey to Berlin had no doubt tried him very much.

Lord Rowton then showed me the Will and the

headings of it. The wording, respecting the papers, is very kind towards me and shows the greatest confidence in Lord Rowton. As regards the funeral, Lord Beaconsfield expresses his wish for it to be private, and that he should be laid near his wife at Hughenden. He was asked, what if the Queen should wish Westminster Abbey ? and he was silent. But I at once said, I did not wish it, but thought he should be buried at Hughenden, as he had desired. A monument could always be placed in Westminster Abbey. Lord Rowton said, this at once settled the matter. Lord Beaconsfield had been quite aware that he was dying ; he had no fear of death, though he would have liked to live longer. As for the party, nothing was known, and it was very sad that Lord Beaconsfield, who had intended, had he recovered, to give up the Leadership, should not have himself handed it over to someone else. I told Lord Rowton that, during *his* life, I wished all my letters to Lord Beaconsfield to remain in his possession. I said that I desired Leopold should represent me at the funeral.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HAWARDEN, 20th April 1881.—Mr. Gladstone . . . had fully anticipated the feelings with which your Majesty has received the sad intelligence of the death of Lord Beaconsfield. Occasions, like this, of deep and touching national interest are, in Mr. Gladstone's view, governed by general rules, entirely beyond the reach of the controversies which belong to differences between political parties.

Mr. Gladstone would not seek, nor could he earn, your Majesty's regard by dissembling the amount or character of the separation between Lord Beaconsfield and himself. But it does not in any degree blind him to the extraordinary powers of the deceased statesman, or to many remarkable qualities, in regard to which Mr. Gladstone, well aware of his own marked inferiority, can only desire to profit by a great example.

Mr. Gladstone has this afternoon a telegram from

Lord Rowton, which leads him to expect an early answer to the overture¹ he has made.

P.S.—Mr. Gladstone has received, before the post hour, the negative reply from the executors, which your Majesty had in some degree led him to anticipate.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 21st April 1881.—The Queen thanks Lord Granville for his words of sympathy. She is overwhelmed with the loss of one of the kindest, truest, and best friends and wisest counsellors she ever had—who had the welfare and comfort of his Sovereign in private affairs as entirely at heart as he had the honour and welfare of the nation.

Well may Lord Granville dread his loss,² for he did not follow the example of the late Opposition in trying to lower the Prime Minister of the day and in abusing all his acts, as alas! to the Queen's great grief many of them did.

The country have shown, and will show still more now that they have lost him, how much they owed to him. May his example be followed by the rising generation!

The Queen, on being referred to, decided that his wishes to be laid by the side of his devoted wife should be considered as sacred, and that he should rest at Hughenden, which he was so fond of.³

Lord Rowton to Queen Victoria.

19 CURZON STREET, W., 23rd April 1881 (Saturday).

—Lord Rowton with his humble duty to your Majesty.

On Thursday evening he looked on that dear face

¹ Of burial in Westminster Abbey.

² Lord Granville had written that he was afraid that "Lord Beaconsfield's death at this moment may be of great disadvantage to the House of Lords and to the Government."

³ The Queen wrote next day a somewhat similar letter about Lord Beaconsfield to Mr. Gladstone, in the course of which she said that "she rejoices to see that [Mr. Gladstone] appreciates the great qualities of the departed statesman."

for the last time ; and then all was sealed up. There lies, and will ever lie, close to that faithful heart the photograph of the Queen *he* loved ; that which your Majesty gave to him signed, two years ago, on your Majesty's birthday. . . .

The executors most carefully considered the suggestion your Majesty graciously telegraphed through Lady Ely yesterday, as to enabling some demonstration to be made of the public sorrow in London. They are advised that long and much arrangement would be necessary before the remains could pass safely through the streets, should the time of the removal be made known ; and that it would, even then, be a difficult matter to control the hundreds of thousands who would gather to do him honour. And so they have resolved that the removal shall be made by night, the time being kept quite secret. When the sun rises to-morrow the coffin will rest in the room at Hughenden where hangs the picture of his *dear Queen*. . . .

The Earl of Kimberley to Queen Victoria.

COLONIAL OFFICE, 24th April 1881.—Lord Kimberley presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has the honour to submit copy of the reply sent, with Mr. Childers' concurrence, to Sir E. Wood's three telegrams as to the Potchefstroom treachery.¹

Lord Kimberley hopes that, as this telegram is clear and explicit, Sir E. Wood will pursue a firm course.

Mr. Gladstone has seen the telegram which is herewith submitted.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Kimberley.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

25th April 1881.—I entirely approve the instructions to Sir E. Wood, but they ought to have been

¹ The garrison of Potchefstroom surrendered in ignorance of the armistice, news of which, it was alleged, was treacherously kept from them by the local Boer Commandant. Sir E. Wood demanded, and it was agreed, that the guns taken by the Boers should be surrendered and that a British garrison should reoccupy the fort.

previously sent to me. There was plenty of time and I do expect this should always be done in future. The substance, moreover, can be cyphered wherever I am.

The Earl of Kimberley to Queen Victoria.

COLONIAL OFFICE, 25th April 1881.—Lord Kimberley presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and with reference to the telegram which he had the honour to receive from your Majesty this morning humbly submits that, the terms of the telegram not having been finally determined upon till late on Saturday night, he was unable to transmit it for your Majesty's approval before sending it off. The telegram was very urgent, as the Boer leaders had arrived in Sir E. Wood's camp, and he pressed for instructions as to what he was to say to them.

Lord Kimberley also submits that the telegram was in accordance with the course already approved by your Majesty. The transmission of the substance only of a telegram may be very misleading, as much often depends upon the exact words.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

HATFIELD HOUSE, 25th April 1881.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty, respectfully submits his grateful thanks for your Majesty's kind and gracious enquiry through Lady Ely. He has been fortunate enough to keep his health completely through a period of much sorrow and anxiety.

He takes the opportunity, which otherwise he would not have had the boldness to do, of offering to your Majesty his respectful and deep-felt condolence on the overwhelming loss which your Majesty as well as the country has sustained. One of the most striking characteristics of the deceased Statesman was his sincere and intense loyalty to his Sovereign : and it was most evident to those who had the most constant opportunities of watching the workings of his mind when he was dealing with public questions.

This feeling was something far warmer and deeper than a mere official fidelity : and was in no degree affected by the accident of his political position. During the past twelve months his mind was constantly occupied by apprehension lest your Majesty should be exposed to any discomfort or embarrassment, and by anxiety that his own political action should not in any degree aggravate any difficulties your Majesty might feel. The honour of the Crown and the honour of the country were in his mind inseparable : and in comparison to them, questions of internal policy occupied a secondary rank. It is a long time since any Sovereign has lost so devoted a subject.

The last time Lord Salisbury saw him was on the occasion of a consultation held in his drawing-room by a few Opposition Peers previous to the recent discussion on the Transvaal. He was very feeble then : but his feelings were singularly roused by the mention of the case of men like Lord Hawarden, who had lost an only son in military operations which had led to nothing—except what Lord Beaconsfield considered a disastrous surrender. “If I could only give expression to the indignation I feel,” he said in a hopeless tone, “but it is of no use.” The Peers who were present on that occasion had come to his room very reluctantly, for they felt he was not fit for business : but he insisted on their coming. He could not bear to be absent when a matter affecting the national honour was being discussed.

Lord Salisbury humbly craves your Majesty’s forgiveness for having written so much.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, 26th April 1881.—The Queen was deeply moved on receiving Lord Salisbury’s beautiful letter, which it did her good to read and which she had been longing for. She is *quite* overwhelmed with this dreadful loss, irreparable to the country and Europe, to his many friends, and above all to herself ! His

devotion, unselfishness, and kindness she can *never*, *never* forget ; her gratitude is everlasting as well as her regret to have lost *one* whose dear memory will ever live in her heart which has suffered and lost much. In or out of office she could turn to dear Lord Beaconsfield for advice and help, and while he lived she felt he would never refuse this to her ! The Queen can think of little else and the bitter tears will flow again and again. At this very moment he is being laid to rest in his own loved home, and the respect and true love and sorrow of the nation at large will be far more in unison with his feelings than the gloomy pomp of a so-called public funeral and the dismal dreariness of a grave in the great Metropolitan Abbey.

The Queen claims from Lord Salisbury, whom he was very fond of, that loyal devotion, and that ability and love for the honour of his country and his Sovereign which she knows he possesses in so eminent a degree and which is so much needed now ! The universality of sorrow and appreciation of the great kind man we have all lost is very gratifying to those who like herself loved and honoured him as a dear friend and looked on his great and noble character with admiration !

May his example animate all his followers to strive and follow it !

The Queen hopes soon to see Lord Salisbury.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 30th April 1881.—After an early luncheon, started with Beatrice and J. Ely, in an open landau, for Hughenden. We drove past Cliveden, and changed horses at a small inn, just outside the gates. Lord C. FitzRoy, who had driven on before, met us here, and rode by the carriage. We went through Sir P. Rose's¹ place, and came suddenly upon Hughenden Church, of which the position is very pretty. Lord Rowton and the Vicar and his

¹ Disraeli's friend, man of business, and executor.

wife, Mrs. Blagden, met us at the gate ; we went into the church, which is pretty, rather like Whippingham, only shorter and wider. The flowers still remained, as at the funeral. Then we walked round to the vault, which had been opened purposely for me to see. There, in a small space, is dear Lord Beaconsfield's coffin, covered with wreaths and flowers, next to his wife's, and there are others of his family also buried there. Could hardly realise it all, it seemed too sad, and so cheerless. I placed a wreath of china flowers. Now the vault is to be finally closed, and not used again.

We got into the carriage and drove up to the house. All was just the same as when, two and a half years ago, dear Lord Beaconsfield received us there, such a sad contrast ! Went into the library and drawing-room, where hangs my picture, all, all the same, only he not there ! Took tea in the library, where I had sat with my kind friend, and where he had given me a long account of a very stormy Cabinet he had had, when he had expected several of the Ministers would resign. I seemed to hear his voice, and the impassioned, eager way he described everything. Lord Rowton took us to Lord Beaconsfield's little sitting-room, and I took a souvenir away with me, a little Oriental dagger he had brought back from Constantinople in the year 30. In going away spoke to his faithful and devoted valet.

The afternoon was showery and windy. Drove back through High Wycombe, a pretty, curious town, where a good many people had come out, and through Lord Carrington's Park, Wycombe Abbey ; was a far quicker and more direct way.

Queen Victoria to Sir Stafford Northcote.

[Copy.]

Confidential.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 15th May 1881.—The Queen sends a letter which she received, or rather Lady Ely

received, from the Duke of Richmond.¹ She is anxious to say, that *she* will look on Sir Stafford Northcote as the Leader of the great Conservative Party, though it may not be necessary to *announce* this *now*, and she wished that Sir Stafford, who is so old and kind a friend, should *know* this.

The Queen *knows* that she can rely on Sir Stafford's loyalty and devotion to the throne and country, and to *her* personally.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 17th May 1881.—Saw Lord Granville, and talked over most of the topics of the day, but with no satisfactory result. He lamented over things, shrugged his shoulders, but is weak as water, regretted the French attack on, and apparent seizure of, Tunis, but only trying to put the blame on Lord Salisbury, hinting that nothing could well be said, on account of Cyprus.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 23rd May 1881.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty, tenders to your Majesty his hearty congratulations on the return of your Majesty's birthday to-morrow : congratulations, he presumes to assure your Majesty, in no way weakened by his regrets that he should be himself the instrument from time to time of so greatly burdening your Majesty's time and mind with his communications. He earnestly hopes, with the entire country, that your Majesty's life may be prolonged through many and happy years.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 25th May 1881.—The Queen has to thank Mr. Gladstone for a very kind letter on

¹ Describing the meeting of Conservative Peers which on 9th May elected Lord Salisbury as their Leader in the House of Lords. There was no single Leader of the whole party till Lord Salisbury, on her Majesty's summons, formed a Ministry in 1885.

the occasion of her now somewhat ancient birthday. The affectionate loyalty of her subjects is very gratifying to her. Her constant object, which only increases with years, is the welfare, prosperity, honour, and glory of her dear country.

But the work and anxiety weigh heavily on her, unsustained by the strong arm and loving advice of him who now nineteen and a half years ago was taken to a higher and better world !

The Earl of Kimberley to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

25th May 1881.—With humble duty to your Majesty :

Robinson and De Villiers recommend that no part of the Transvaal should be retained as British territory, on the ground that we shall have half the rebel population in the parts retained and dissatisfied Transvaal alongside, and that by giving up the whole we shall increase the chance of settlement of other questions.

Wood dissents, fearing trouble between Boers and natives, and pointing out the military objections to present frontier. Lord Kimberley proposes, with the concurrence of both Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Childers, to answer as follows : " We have carefully considered your and Wood's telegrams of 22nd and 23rd as to the Transvaal boundary and we agree with you and De Villiers that, for reasons stated in your telegram, no part of the Transvaal should be retained as British territory against the will of the Boers, powers being reserved to British Resident, as you propose, with respect to the frontier disputes and on condition that the Boers fully recognise the independence of Swaziland and boundaries of Swaziland and Zululand as lately defined under the authority of her Majesty's Government."

If your Majesty approves, Lord Kimberley would hope to be informed by telegraph, as Sir H. Robinson presses for an early decision.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Kimberley.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

26th May 1881.—I cannot understand the necessity for such haste in deciding a question which demands calm deliberation. Why abandon proposal which by your telegram No. 4767 of 17th March was considered to be as advantageous to Boers as to us, and so more than ever sacrifice the interests of our loyal friends and natives who in any case must suffer considerably by our cession of the Transvaal? Is not that portion of territory suggested to be retained in above-named telegram considered more loyal than any other?

To what district do Robinson and Villiers refer as containing half the rebel population?

Should we desert our friends for the sake of a few discontented Boers within our borders, which must ever be the case as long as we hold any territory in South Africa?

Can so grave a question be settled without the consent of the Cabinet?

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 29th May 1881.—Letters from Lord Kimberley and Mr. Gladstone. After considering my remonstrance, they still determined to disregard my opinion. Feel very indignant. Telegraphed and wrote strongly. I can do no more, but feel utterly disgusted and disheartened.

8th June.—Saw a Dr. Reid¹ from Ellon, who has the very highest testimonials, having taken very high honours at Aberdeen and studied for 2 years at Vienna: he also practised for a short time in London

¹ Afterwards Sir James Reid, Bt., K.C.B. He joined at Windsor on July 10th. The Queen notes: "Sir William brought in Dr. Reid, whom I like." He was Resident Physician to the Queen for the rest of her life, and remained in the Household of King Edward and King George, having become Physician-in-Ordinary in 1889.

and is now helping his father at Ellon, who has been doctor there for many years. He is willing to come for a time or permanently in Dr. Marshall's place.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 15th June 1881.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letters of yesterday and the day before. She is glad that measures are being taken to bring this monstrous language of the Irish Rebel Fenians before the United States Government, as it is *not* right, to say the very least, to allow such things to be published in a country professing friendship for Great Britain and on friendly terms with her. It is worse than the *Freiheit*¹; as the incitement to assassination is more *positively* directed against *persons whose names are given*. Why should the Prince of Wales be particularly pointed out and not herself, or is the Queen *also* condemned? In *America generally* she is a *great favourite*, she knows. The Prince of Wales' people should be warned and he himself to be careful (which he is not) into what company he goes. Mr. Gladstone, the Queen trusts, will also be careful. The doubts about the *Dotterel* and the boast of O'Donovan Rossa, as well as the tacit agreement of Mr. Parnell in their horrible ideas and practices, taken together with what happened at Liverpool, are very disagreeable circumstances; as even if they are *not* true they will keep us in constant anxiety.

The Queen is also very glad to see that instructions are to be given to warn the people in Ireland that the troops and Constabulary will be ordered to fire upon them in case of necessity. The position of the troops was becoming not only very trying and painful to themselves but also almost ridiculous considering the

¹ A Communist journal, published in London in German, whose editor had been prosecuted for articles inciting to assassination, and had been sentenced to sixteen months' hard labour.

numbers there are now in Ireland, and calculated to give a false impression of our power and intentions. . . .

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 27th June 1881.—The Queen wishes to know if Lord Granville would like any message of advice to be sent to Prince Alexander of Bulgaria through the Grand Duke or Leopold. He wrote to the Queen lately and she would gladly help him.

The Queen heard accidentally from a friend of hers that the French were talking of Egypt as an *ultimate* object and that Bismarck encouraged it. Lord Granville said the other day to the Queen that *this* WE could *not* tolerate and she *trusts* he will take *care* that our unfortunate apparent acquiescence in the annexation of Tunis does not lead France and Europe to *believe we* shall stand *that*.

This should be *known*.

Egypt can be in *no other* hands but *ours* if it is to be taken from Turkey or rather from the Khedive.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 28th June 1881.—. . . Lord Granville thanks your Majesty, and thinks it could not have any but a good effect, if the Prince Alexander of Bulgaria could be advised to be moderate. H.R. Highness is perfectly right in thinking some revision of the constitution is desirable, and if this were done with the assent of the great National Assembly, it would not only improve the position of his Royal Highness, but would be for the advantage of the country. But it would put the Prince in the wrong, if he were to insist upon an ultimatum, by which he secures for himself nearly despotic power for a term of years. Even if he were successful in obtaining these powers, unless they were freely given by the Bulgarians, it would be difficult for him to maintain his position.

Mr. Lascelles' ¹ opinion, which of course cannot be communicated to the Prince, is that the latter, though of high character and with great charm, has not the experience or the capacity for taking the whole burden of Government upon himself. Mr. Lascelles thinks it would soon be a mass of intrigue.

Lord Granville is quite alive to what your Majesty says about French intrigues in Africa. The dual arrangement in Egypt has led to great prosperity in Egypt, and ought not to be lightly disturbed, but our proportion of influence has been diminished, and it will require great vigilance to maintain it for the future.

Queen Victoria to Sir Theodore Martin.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 16th July 1881.—The Queen is delighted at what Sir T. Martin has got for her,² and so cheaply. But she would *rather* have preferred a small water-colour picture or something *else*, from his room, than the dagger; for the *small one* with Jewels, which he always had on his table at Hughenden, and laid great store upon and brought back from the East, was *given her* when she went there on the 30th of April by Lord Rowton, and she brought it away with her and it is now *on her table*. However, it does not matter.

The MS.³ is most valuable. Please pay them and then Sir H. Ponsonby will repay Sir Theodore. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 19th July 1881.—No news on getting up, and I felt I hardly dared to ask, but just as we were going to breakfast, a letter arrived from Victoria Baillie, saying that all was over, and that that dear valued friend ⁴ had been taken. With him, how many of the traditions of the past are gone and another

¹ Afterwards Sir Frank Lascelles, and ultimately British Ambassador in Berlin.

² At the sale of Lord Beaconsfield's effects.

³ Of one of the novels.

⁴ Dean Stanley.

dreadful event added to the many in this terrible year! I could not restrain my tears, and when I went into the dear sacred Blue Room, I thought of how the dear Dean had stood by me and comforted me on that first anniversary of the 14th of December. How beautifully he spoke! I remember thanking him, and his kneeling down to kiss my hand. Dear Augusta was there too. Oh! it is all too sad. Left Windsor after 10, in a broiling heat, quite engrossed with the one grievous thought. Read the papers. Such feeling, praise, and regret expressed for the dear Dean's loss, in its way quite a national one. Some very fine articles and accounts. To think of the utter destruction and ending of that still brilliant, charming centre, is too grievous! God's will be done, but it does seem terrible. It was very pleasant on the water. Reached Osborne at half past 1.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 19th July 1881.—Mr. Gladstone, with his humble duty, offers to your Majesty his deep and cordial sympathy under the loss which your Majesty sustains in the decease of Dean Stanley.

The sentiments with which your Majesty was known to regard him, and which a man of his character would beyond others be able to appreciate, will find a fitting accompaniment in the public grief on his sudden and, as may still be said, early removal. He, who carried, according to the saying, his heart on his sleeve, had won for himself a marked place in the general affection of his countrymen; who will not readily forget either his genial and attaching disposition, his boundless generosity, or his brilliant gifts and varied accomplishments....

While there may, and must, be much diversity as to parts of the opinions of Dean Stanley, he will be long remembered as one who was capable of the deepest and widest love, and who received it in return, and who unsparingly devoted his entire life and all

his faculties, according to the best of his knowledge, towards promoting the honour of his Maker, and the welfare of mankind.

Queen Victoria to Dean Wellesley.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, 22nd July 1881.—The Queen has received the Dean's letter and could have wished to have had some conversation with him about the successor to our beloved friend, a duty and a thought too painful almost for me to contemplate, and yet for his own sake and for that of the Abbey and the Church he loved and served so well, it is necessary.

The Queen admires Canon Farrar,¹ and likes him personally, but thinks he is too vehement and violent in his expressions. His last sermons are very inferior to his former ones, and dear Dean Stanley agreed in this the last time he saw her. He has become almost like Mr. White, as to quotations, his violence about abstinence is *very* strong, and his conduct towards poor Mr. Duckworth was not charitable or kind. He is besides a strong political partisan. The Queen *owns* she would *not* like to see him in our dear friend's place.

SHE inclines *decidedly* to Dr. Butler,² as she thinks the Dean would have liked it, and next to him Lord Alwyne Compton,³ but she does not think him strong enough. Better not choose any Canon of Westminster.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 29th July 1881.—Very fine and warm. Telegrams about Affie and the arrival of his squadron. Marie, Vicky, and the others started at 2 to meet him. It was blowing. After luncheon saw Sir H. Ponsonby,

¹ Formerly Master of Marlborough and finally Dean of Canterbury.

² Headmaster of Harrow; appointed in 1886 Master of Trinity, Cambridge.

³ Then Dean of Worcester; afterwards Bishop of Ely.

and later, Lord Ampthill.¹ Talked to him, as I did also last night, of affairs, and of the great difficulties, of the painful position I was placed in, and of how badly things were going on. He said it was sad that we had so much lost our position abroad, since Mr. Gladstone had come into office. The news from India and the taking of Candahar by Ayub's forces, on the very anniversary of Maiwand, were very distressing and detrimental to our prestige.

There was no news of the ships when I drove out, but when we got down to the landing place, one could distinctly see them beyond Spithead. Capt. Balliston was there, and, the evening being so fine, and the *Alberta* lying in Osborne Bay, decided to go on board. Capt. Balliston's delight was indescribable, and he rushed off to get the barge ready. Sir H. Ponsonby and General Gardiner went with us, but there were no other officers on board, and the whole was a charming impromptu. Steamed off, with great rapidity, and were soon close to the ironclads, who looked uncommonly well, the *Hercules* bearing Alfred's flag. We could distinguish him and Henry, both standing on the deck. The *Warrior* came next, then the *Valiant*, the *Defence*, the *Hector*, and the *Repulse*. We passed quite close to, and round them, following and repassing each, on the other side, on our way back. It was a very fine sight, and a proud one for me, with my son in command.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

OSBORNE, 2nd Aug. 1881.—Would earnestly ask you to pause about Canon Barry.² Would infinitely prefer the Dean of Christ Church, for whom the Prince of Wales is also very anxious. The former has not the

¹ Lord Odo Russell had been created Lord Ampthill in March of that year.

² Formerly Principal of King's College, London; afterwards Bishop of Sydney, and at this time Canon of Westminster.

social position or superiority over others he should have.

The Dean of Christ Church would do well in many ways, for a few years at any rate.

Had asked Dean of Windsor to explain this but the letter must not have reached him.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

2nd Aug. 1881.—Your Majesty's gracious message received.

Mr. Gladstone has seen the Dean of Windsor and will forthwith sound Dean Liddell through Doctor Acland.

Queen Victoria to Dean Liddell.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, 2nd Aug. 1881.—The Queen writes a line to the Dean of Christ Church to say how earnestly she hopes he will accept Mr. Gladstone's proposal to recommend him to succeed our beloved and so deeply regretted friend, Dean Stanley. For the sake of the Church and the Abbey, and for dear Dean Stanley's sake, she trusts he will not hesitate. His views, learning, position, and friendship for our dear departed friend would make him so peculiarly fitted for the post. The Queen therefore trusts he will not refuse, if even he only holds it for a few years.

The Queen feels sure he must have been overwhelmed with grief at this irreparable loss.¹

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, 7th Aug. 1881.—The Queen has to thank Mr. Gladstone for his regular and interesting reports

¹ Dr. Liddell, while expressing the feeling that the Queen's wish was "almost a command," asked for a few days' delay before answering. Finally, on the 7th August, he refused on the score of age; he was over 70, and five years older than Dean Stanley. "The memory of Arthur Stanley," he wrote, "is to me sacred. I would do all and anything to show how I feel his irreparable loss, except to attempt to wear his mantle."

of the proceedings in the House of Commons, many of which are of a most disgraceful character. But how can you expect better from so many Members of such low and revolutionary views who are now in the House of Commons? No regulations, the Queen *fears*, will alter *this*.

As regards the amendments,¹ the Queen sincerely trusts that Mr. Gladstone will, if not *support*, at least *not* oppose as many of them as he possibly can. The House of Commons after all is only *one* out of the *three* parties in the Constitution so much boasted of, and truly respected and admired, who pass the laws intended for the good of the Empire; and it is greatly to be desired that the Government should *not* send up measures so framed, to the Upper House, that the Lords *cannot conscientiously* agree to them; some of these amendments are really a *security* to the landlords, which was *much needed*; and the Queen can only trust that Mr. Gladstone will be conciliatory and not yield to his many *very* extreme followers, and indeed even Members of his Government.

There is another subject which causes the Queen *great anxiety*, for she thinks we shall be guilty of *great injustice* and *cruelty* if we do not assist and support them. That is the report of Sir H. Robinson on the feeling of the natives. It *was* on *this very account* and because of the horrible cruelty . . . towards the natives, that Lord Carnarvon felt the Government was *forced* to annex the Transvaal; and the Queen *must* ask that the natives should be reassured that, in case of a repetition of such cruelty, *we*—the great supporters of *all* that helps to put down slavery and everything tending to crush and oppress the natives—we shall not abandon them to the tender mercies of a most merciless and cruel neighbour, and in fact oppressor.

Lastly, the Queen trusts that the answer with regard to Cyprus will be firm and unequivocal.

Mr. Gladstone *promised* the Queen when he took

¹ The Lords' Amendments to the Irish Land Bill.

office that there should be no reversal of *facts* ; but the precedent of the Transvaal is a most unfortunate one, and naturally makes the Queen apprehensive of further attempts of this nature. . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 8th Aug. 1881.—Mr. Gladstone has the honour to acknowledge, with his dutiful thanks, your Majesty's letter of yesterday.

In regard to the Lords' amendments on the Irish Land Bill, your Majesty will please to observe the remarkable fact that the opposition to the Bill from the representatives of Ireland is exceedingly slight. Out of 176 persons who voted against the second reading in the House of Commons, seven only (out of 103) were Irish Members, and a portion of the Tory Irish Members have voted for the Bill throughout on the Clauses of the greatest importance.

It is in effect by the Bill, and only by the Bill, that your Majesty's Government can hope to beat the Land League, and it would be suicidal to pass the measure in such a state as to enable the Land League to beat the Bill, and thereby to prosecute its devices against property, and against the Empire, without any effectual check : for it is quite plain that no such check is to be found in the power of the Executive, even as reinforced by the extra constitutional measures of this Session ; and it is instructive to note the contrast between the very partial success of those measures, and the rapid and complete success of the Westmeath Act, passed ten or twelve years ago.

Short of the mutilation of the Bill, your Majesty's Government have every desire to meet the House of Lords in a spirit of conciliation.

With respect to the Transvaal, it is hoped your Majesty will find the provisions on the part of the indigenous population to be judiciously framed : and as they form part of the Convention, which substitutes Suzerainty for Sovereignty, they are conditions

of that substitution, and upon their violation the Convention would fall to the ground.

Mr. Gladstone has no definite anticipation of difficulty to arise on the Cyprus vote ; but it is probable that upon this demand, or upon a succession of demands, for funds to meet the expenses of the Civil Government of the island, dissatisfaction will arise. Probably, however, the House of Commons will also attach great weight to the obligations, which have been contracted towards the population of Cyprus and otherwise, and will not look for any sudden change or precipitate declaration on a subject which, however, it regards with pain and embarrassment.

Mr. Gladstone is quite conscious of having stated to your Majesty that in his view it was the duty of an incoming Administration to accept and loyally fulfil engagements already contracted ; and, even apart from such engagements, to make as little change, as the public interests might allow, in accomplished facts. It was on this ground that they seriously endeavoured to uphold the annexation of the Transvaal, until the most painful demonstration was afforded of the feelings and intentions of the non-English white population ; and that they have taken ample time to consider their position under the Anglo-Turkish Convention, and have striven to avoid, during such consideration, any declarations which would further embarrass that position.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

11th Aug. 1881.—Butler is so far the best, and greatly wished for by late Dean. Think you should see him and feel sure difficulty could be got over. If not, Bradley¹ is best : very distinguished. Dean's great friend, and Leopold thinks very highly of him. Barry and Hornby² decidedly inferior.

¹ Master of University College, Oxford ; formerly Master of Marlborough.

² Headmaster of Eton.

*Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.*¹

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

OSBORNE, 15th Aug. 1881.—. . . Mr. Gladstone ought to have been conciliatory and should still meet the Lords, if not half, at least some, way, and show that the landlords' rights as well as tenants' are to be respected,

Lord Salisbury should also try and meet the Government. But the very unconciliatory way in which Mr. G. met the Lords' amendments was unwise and sure to cause *what* has now occurred. For the sake of the country and Sovereign this should be got over. Say so in my name. I hold both responsible.

If Mr. G. won't submit, why does he not retire and let one of his colleagues do so?

The country is to be considered and not men.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 15th–16th Aug. 1881.—Mr. Gladstone reports to your Majesty, with his humble duty, that the House of Commons has now devoted a fiftieth day to discussion of the Re-amendments, so to call them, of the Land Bill: which have formed the subject of debate until a late hour.

There were early indications of a disposition to peace on the part of the Conservative Opposition; and, in consequence, Mr. Gladstone telegraphed to your Majesty in the middle hours of the evening the brief phrase "Appearances favourable." They took some divisions, of which the principal one showed in their minority 104 and in the majority 232.

A very large part, however, of the evening was occupied by the immediate friends of Mr. Parnell, who played a game much more substantive. To every concession, and even every adjustment, in a word to every proposal of whatever amount or character, which tended to narrow the distance

¹ Who was in London on the Queen's behalf, helping to mediate between leaders and parties.

between the resolutions of the two Houses of Parliament, they offered a tenacious opposition ; and even treated the whole proceedings as illusory, on the pretext, wholly groundless as it was, that they were the pre-arranged result of a negotiation between the Government and the Opposition, or between the two Houses of Parliament. Besides assailing and vituperating, they made various proposals, which the Government was unable to accept, and which were defeated by about three to one : the minority, however, being so far reinforced by English members (perhaps under the notion of showing a firm front to the House of Lords) as to reach about ninety. The general impression produced by the proceedings of the Party was that they were laying the ground for future attempts to counteract the work of the Land Bill in Ireland. The hostility of the extreme partisans among them, and their desire to get quit of it, were never more evident. All this tends to confirm the belief that the real struggle in Ireland will be between the Land Bill and the Land League, nor does there seem to be any other power in Ireland, besides these two, that is more than mechanical and provisional.

At the last stage of the proceedings this evening the wrath of the Parnell Party overflowed upon the Government, as having mutilated the Bill and betrayed the interests of the Irish people. They could not bear the loss of the prospects afforded them within the last few days of the failure of the Bill caused by a conflict between the two Houses of Parliament.

Lord Rowton to Queen Victoria.

[*Telegram.*]

16th Aug. 1881.—Lord Rowton's duty to the Queen.

He feels no doubt that the Lords will be content with the Government concession of last night and that crisis is ended.¹

¹ This proved to be the case.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 17th Aug. 1881.—The Queen thanks Lord Granville for his letter received to-day.

It is very fortunate that at last Mr. Gladstone was conciliatory and Lord Salisbury also. But it is to be regretted that, when the amendments first went down to the House of Commons, they were met with such a very unconciliatory and contemptuous manner. Had this *not* been the case, the Queen thinks Lord Salisbury and the other Peers would have met them differently.

Mr. Gladstone has no feeling but for the House of Commons, and the *Upper House* and Opposition generally *distrust* him so very much. As it is, however, it is a great thing for the country that the Bill has passed and this collision been avoided. Let the Government only try and avoid it for the future. That high-handed dictator style of Mr. Gladstone will *not* do. Such collisions never happened in Lord Palmerston's time, nor in Lord John Russell's.

The Queen is sorry not to see Lord Granville before she goes to Scotland, but she would not think after his severe illness of proposing it to him.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 17th Aug. 1881.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letters and rejoices that the difficulties which threatened to be very serious have been surmounted, and that conciliatory conduct on both sides prevailed for the general good. The Queen trusts that this will always be the case.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

[Duplicate.]

10 DOWNING STREET, 20th Aug. 1881.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty, recommends to your

Majesty that the Speaker, on the close of the Session, should receive the Civil Grand Cross of the Bath, in acknowledgment of the great services he has rendered to the Crown and Constitution by his patience, tact, and eminent courage, during the labours of the present Session, more arduous by far for the Chair, as Mr. Gladstone can personally testify, than those of any previous year since the Reform Act.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, 21st Aug. 1881.—The Queen returns this List of Peers which she has approved, but this makes 8 since Mr. Gladstone's accession to office, and she trusts that there will be no more for some time to come.

The Queen would wish to remind Mr. Gladstone of the three gentlemen who the Prince of Wales was very anxious should receive Baronetcies.¹

The Queen was grieved and shocked to perceive, as Mr. Gladstone so strongly and justly remarks in the letter she received from him yesterday, with what bitterness, violence, and pertinacity these rebel Irishmen continue their attacks and opposition to the very last.²

It augurs ill for the future. Now that with great trouble and difficulty the Irish Land Bill has been carried through, if the Irish leaders continue their agitation and their mischievous attempt at disruption of the union, the Queen trusts great firmness and determination will be shown by the Government.

The Queen is shocked at the conduct of the French.

¹ In reply, Mr. Gladstone said that he would "forthwith proceed to consider the names of the gentlemen suggested by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, together with other like suggestions which have reached him."

² Mr. Gladstone had written that "it is impossible not to be struck with the bitter and implacable spirit which pervades the speeches" of a few of the Irish Members. He had, "upon the whole," never known a time "when those who profess to guide Irish opinion and action were either so mischievous in the ends they contemplate, or so unscrupulous in the means they choose, or so well instructed in the methods of organised action and so resolute in pursuing them."

The feeling in England is becoming very strong on the subject of the Commercial Treaty.

The Queen would have been very glad to see Mr. Gladstone before going to Scotland, but she will not propose to him to come here now, as he must be much in need of rest, as well as Mrs. Gladstone.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his full and so very regular reports of the proceedings in the House of Commons, which have interested her very much.

Queen Victoria to the Prince Leopold.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

22nd Aug. 1881.—Bradley is to be Dean, after a good deal of trouble. G[ladstone] wished for Palmer,¹ but he has been very civil about it.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 23rd Aug. 1881.—Mr. Gladstone, humbly thanking your Majesty for your Majesty's gracious letters of the 21st, has addressed letters to the Lords and Gentlemen respectively who have the offer of Peerages, to the Speaker, and to Mr. Bradley, giving effect to your Majesty's commands.

There have been *nine* persons, Mr. Gladstone believes, who have received Peerages or the offer of them since the present Administration was called to

¹ Edwin Palmer, Canon of Christ Church and Archdeacon of Oxford, brother of Lord Selborne, the Lord Chancellor; a distinguished Balliol scholar, Professor of Latin at Oxford. Mr. Gladstone had written on 17th August to Dean Wellesley, discussing the qualifications of those suggested, that in his judgment Palmer was the best man, and he continued: "If I am, in the view of the Constitution, the person responsible for the appointment, it requires strong and exceptional considerations to justify me in not sustaining this opinion by a corresponding recommendation. Still I feel that the Queen has a peculiar feeling in this case founded on strength of personal attachment; and on every ground I should in such a case go as far as possible out of my way to gratify it, if after a full consideration of the case, upon the best evidence attainable, she entertains a strong view upon the matter before us." Dean Wellesley was authorised to show this letter to the Queen.

office: three on special grounds, namely, Lord Sherbrooke, Lord Brabourne, and Lord Ampthill: with the six recently approved by your Majesty on general grounds. Mr. Gladstone has no intention of making any further recommendations for the Peerage on general grounds for some considerable time, if indeed it shall ever fall to his lot personally again to discharge this duty.

Your Majesty will, however, he is certain, not be displeased with his offering the following observations.

1. The Peers (other than Royal, Spiritual, and Representative) were, in 1833, three hundred and fifty-three, and are in 1881 four hundred and thirty-seven. There has been an increase in number of nearly a quarter: but within the same time the population of *Great Britain* has increased nearly a half.

2. Many of the creations have been cases of Scotch and Irish Peers, simply introduced into the House of Lords.

3. The higher ranks of the Peerage have undergone no corresponding increase. The Dukes, who were 21 in 1835, are 22. The Marquises were, and are, 19.

4. The virtual abolition of proxies has diminished the voting power in the House of Lords. The numbers who voted this year on the Land Bill were smaller than those who voted in 1831 on the Reform Bill. This fact appears to Mr. Gladstone to have some bearing upon the question of creations.

5. Lastly, it is remarkable that while the very large majority of the Peerages granted since 1835, and especially since the accession of William IV, have been granted on the advice of Liberal Ministers, yet such is the influence of wealth and privileged station on the human mind, that the Liberal minority in the House of Lords cannot be said to have increased, and the position of Lord Granville, as Leader of the Government in that House, has become more rather than less difficult. But it appears to be in the interest of general stability, and especially in the interest of

the House of Lords itself, that it should contain a Liberal minority in respectable numbers ; and beyond this point, so far as Mr. Gladstone knows, the ambition of no Liberal Minister has aspired to carry it.

Your Majesty will understand that these remarks are humbly offered, not as arguments, but simply as partial illustrations of a subject of great and probably growing interest. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

HOLYROOD, 25th Aug. 1881.—A bright morning, to my joy, on waking. By the time we were at breakfast, the sky clouded over, but there was wind and we all hoped it looked as if it might keep fine. Walked in the garden with Lady Southampton, and showed her the Abbey ; looking at the countless thousands of people, who covered Arthur's Seat, and all the heights. On coming in, went to the room beyond the great Gallery, leading to Queen Mary's apartments, to look at the people and volunteers streaming out past the gate. Knighted the Lord Provost—Mr. Childers, Lord Thurlow, and Sir John McNeill being in attendance. There was a little rain, but it cleared off again. Affie and Marie came to luncheon, and by that time the rain increased, and behold, whilst I was dressing, down it came ! There was a perfect sea of umbrellas. The sky became white and grey, with mist in the distance, and the ground where the march past was to take place, which could be seen from the windows, and which had partially recovered from yesterday's rain, became like a lake of muddy water, too distressing.

There was nothing for it, but to start with water-proofs and umbrellas ; but the gentlemen and servants, and all the poor volunteers, had to remain without any of these protections. We started at quarter to 4, in the open landau and four, Beatrice and Marie sitting opposite to me, Affie, Arthur, George C. and his staff, and my gentlemen, all in uniform, riding with us. As we came out of the courtyard, we first

turned to the right and inspected the cavalry, which extended some way up the Queen's Drive, then turned round again, and proceeded right down the line, to the saluting point, behind which was a large stand full of spectators. In the enclosure, below it, stood the unfortunate Archers' Guard, who were drenched, and looked very cold, the Duke of Abercorn being at their head. The marching past then began, in a sea of mud, most despairing to witness. There were 40,000 men, and such fine ones. The Highlanders looked splendid, all, with their pipers. The Duke of Sutherland was at the head of his men and Cluny McPherson at the head of his, old Davidson of Tulloch, 80 years of age, looking so handsome with his long white beard, Lord Elcho at the head of the London Scottish, which, as well as some of the other London Scotch volunteer regiments, had come on purpose. Once or twice it seemed as though the rain were going to cease, but only to come down again with renewed force. Pitilessly it came down, drifted by a high wind, on all those poor men, who nevertheless continued marching steadily along, with patient and gallant endurance. How different to the Review, 21 years ago, in bright sunshine, when dearest Mama went with me, and dearest Albert rode by my side!

At 6 we got back, coming in through the garden, and scrambled into the house by a lower passage, close to the kitchen, everyone soaked, but I only partially so, down the side from which the wind came, and while I sat in a pool of water. I had to change many under-garments. After, with great difficulty, getting a fire lit, I ran down to look after Beatrice and Marie, the latter wet through to the skin, the rain having penetrated through her waterproof. She had to have some clothes lent her, till hers could be dried. Beatrice got less wet, but I was more anxious about her, as she had a bad sore throat, and had not felt at all well this morning. I went also to see after Arthur, who had been quite wet through, and his nice new General's uniform quite spoilt by the green of the

ribbon of the Thistle coming off on to his tunic. Affie had gone back to the hotel. All the gentlemen were equally wet, but all changed at once, and none seemed to suffer from it.

Archbishop Tait to Dean Wellesley.¹

[Copy.]

ADDINGTON, 27th August 1881.

MY DEAR DEAN,—The appointment of Dr. Bradley to Westminster is, I think, good. He had not occurred to me as a likely person to suit Gladstone, but he has many qualities which fit him for carrying on the work there. He is a man of real sterling worth, of ability and of wide reading, thoroughly trustworthy, with a humble estimate of himself. Ever yours,
A. C. CANTUAR:

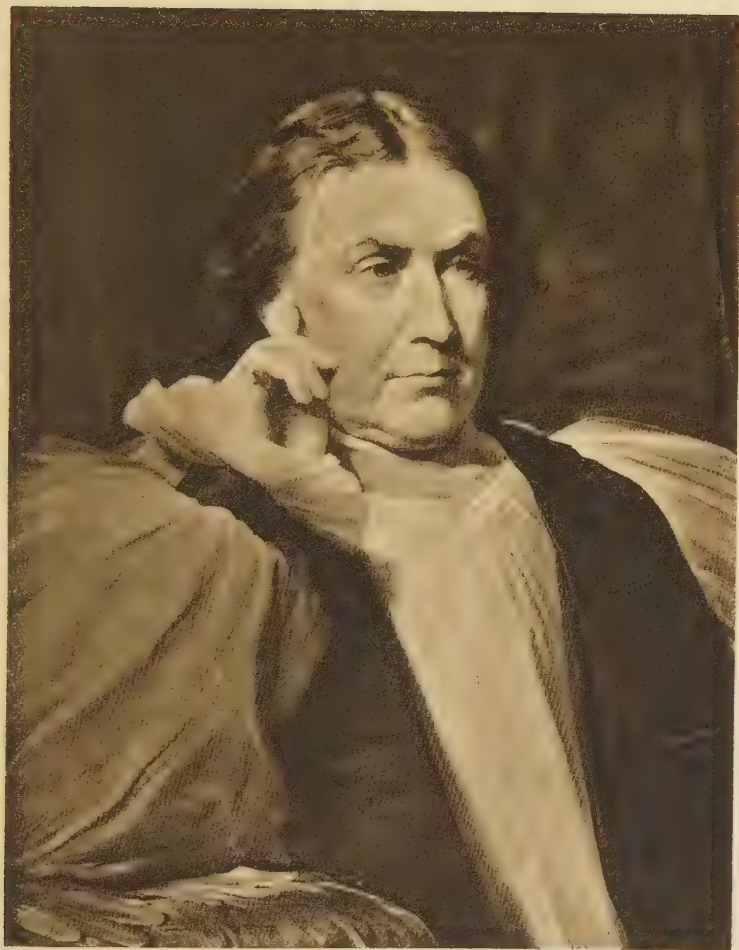
Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 20th Sept. 1881.—Heard that poor President Garfield had at last sunk under his long and cruel suffering which he had struggled against since the 2nd July.² Terribly sad—such a loss and such a grief for his poor wife. Telegraphed to her and to Mr. Lowell.

21st Sept.—Saw Lord Hartington, who arrived to-day. The state of Ireland was one of the subjects touched on in our conversation. He feared it was very bad. The news from the Transvaal is also rather threatening. Abdurrahman's success in India satisfactory. I then talked of the unfortunate difference of opinion between George C. and Mr. Childers, about Sir G. Wolseley's being made Adjutant-General, which I said would really never do. Lord Hartington feared, from George's letter to Mr. Childers, that he would object to everyone who was in favour of the present scheme, which had to be carried out. I denied this. Mr. Childers suggested

¹ Submitted by Dean Wellesley to the Queen.

² When he had been shot by Guiteau at the Washington railway station. The Queen created a new precedent by ordering the Court to go into mourning, as a mark of respect, for a week.



Archibald Campbell Tait
Archbishop of Canterbury
After a picture by George Richmond, R.A.,
at Windsor.



Sir F. Roberts being made Quarter-Master-General. This, we hoped, might answer, and Lord Hartington said, he should be very glad to retain him in England, on account of the proposed military changes in India.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

BALMORAL CASTLE, 1st Oct. 1881.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letter of the 27th.

She would gladly approve of any donation to the Association to put down the gambling at Monaco.

The news from South Africa are serious. The Queen *relies confidently* on the firmness of the Government and on their *not* yielding further. . . . We have gone as far as we could already, but *yielding now* would only be weakness and injure us seriously. . . .

The Queen has heard it repeatedly said that Mr. Gladstone meditates proposing Land Bills similar to the Irish one for Scotland and England. She has *invariably* replied she felt *sure* this was *not* the case, for he *himself* told her so. But she thinks it would be WELL if Mr. Gladstone would take an opportunity of *letting this be known*, for there are symptoms of agitation on this subject both in this country and in England, and a bad harvest might give credence to this report. . . .

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

2nd Oct.—I see you are to attend a great Banquet at Leeds. Let me express a hope that you will be very cautious not to say anything which may bind you to any particular measures. Every word is looked for and criticised, and the times are serious.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HAWARDEN, 2nd Oct. 1881.—Mr. Gladstone has had the honour to receive your Majesty's cyphered telegram of this day, and thanks your Majesty for the caution contained in it.

This visit to Leeds is not spontaneously sought

on the part of Mr. Gladstone, but is the necessary though burdensome acknowledgment of a great obligation conferred by that town upon him and his party by returning him to Parliament, without solicitation, with a vast majority, and with a full knowledge that, if elected for Midlothian and called to exercise an option, he would sit for the county.

It has unfortunately happened that, at the period appointed for redeeming this debt (and it could not longer be deferred), public affairs are by no means in an easy state.

Mr. Gladstone does not expect to enter largely upon the legislation of the future. On Transvaal affairs he will study special circumspection. There are three matters which weigh much on his mind, and on which it may be his duty to speak strongly. There is first the state of incapacity for the due transaction of business, to which the House of Commons has been reduced; secondly, the proceedings of Mr. Parnell (by no means an insignificant personage), which appear to aim manifestly at separation, probably even at hostility, between the countries; thirdly, the strange revival, under the name of Fair Trade, of those doctrines or measures of Protection, which it cost the country nearly a quarter of a century of its legislative existence to get rid of. Mr. Gladstone, presenting his humble duty to your Majesty, thinks your Majesty will understand that he may have adequate grounds for speaking plainly, which means speaking strongly, on these three points, with a view to the welfare of the Empire.

12th Oct.—Mr. Gladstone reports to your Majesty, with his humble duty, that the Cabinet met to-day and proceeded in the first place to hear Mr. Forster on the state of Ireland. He reported an improvement in certain parts of the country, but not generally. The crisis of the great conflict between the Land League and the Land Act, the two living powers in Ireland, is evidently at hand, and the Leaguers, apprehensive of the attractions of the Act, have

extended their doctrines and practices so that the question has to be decided whether Ireland shall be governed by law, or plunged into social chaos.

On the proposition of Mr. Forster, the Cabinet agreed

1. Upon the arrest of Parnell and the leaders of the Land League at the centre : also in the provinces progressively. This to be set in action forthwith.

2. Upon making arrests for speeches which may point to treason or treasonable practices.

3. Meetings of the Land League to be prohibited when dangerous to the public peace, or tending to intimidation ; at the discretion of the Irish Executive.

These resolutions, especially the first and the third, are of a very stringent character, and the Government have made it a point to ascertain the sufficiency of their grounds of action from their legal advisers in Ireland, and from the Lord Chancellor.

The Cabinet also decided that some enquiries should be made as to the possibility and policy of obtaining at this juncture aid from the sound part of society in support of the law and the Executive Government.

The Cabinet then proceeded to consider the question of the Transvaal. They decided, after a short conversation, which hardly amounted to a discussion, not to entertain any question of change in the Convention by instituting a new negotiation, but to await its ratification until the 3rd of November, when the time allowed for it expires. . . . In this decision Mr. Gladstone considers that they only occupy ground already taken by your Majesty in letters to Mr. Gladstone, and he has therefore spoken of it as a settled matter.

Mr. Forster to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

13th Oct. 1881.—Parnell is in Kilmainham.

Other arrests will follow.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 13th Oct. 1881.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty acknowledges your Majesty's letter of yesterday, and has the honour to say that this day, on receiving an address from the City of London, he spoke to a large audience in Guildhall, and after the Cabinet of yesterday felt warranted in holding more explicit language. He said your Majesty's Government would refuse (as they have refused by the telegram of yesterday) to allow any change in the Transvaal Convention; and, as the news of Mr. Parnell's arrest arrived while he was speaking, he announced it in his speech. It was received with the strongest manifestations of favour, the whole company rising to their feet with reiterated sounds of applause. Other arrests will follow; but of these it is not desired that any previous indication should be given. Indeed the Treasurer of the Land League, as Mr. Gladstone learns, yesterday escaped to England. Mr. Gladstone troubles your Majesty with these particulars in further prosecution of the partial report, on matters strictly national, which he sent from Leeds. . . .

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

GLASSALT SHIEL, 13th Oct. 1881.—Thanks for letter.

Much pleased that you are acting with vigour in Ireland, and that you are firm about the Transvaal.

Parnell's arrest a great thing.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

GLASSALT SHIEL, 14th Oct. 1881.—Had a most annoying letter from Mr. Childers, again proposing Sir G. Wolseley as Adjutant-General, and Sir F. Roberts as Quarter-Master-General. Sent off a telegram to him, saying I was surprised at this, consider-

ing he knew I disapproved of it, and that I must repeat that I did not approve of the appointment.

The Earl of Dufferin to Queen Victoria.

THERAPIA, 17th Oct. 1881.—The Earl of Dufferin presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and thinks that perhaps your Majesty might like to know a little about this place.

Lord Dufferin has now been here four months. He has seen the Sultan three times, and has been engaged in a great deal of miscellaneous business, but he does not know that there is any particular matter which it would specially interest your Majesty to hear about.

The Sultan is a very peculiar man. He is supposed not to be the son of his reputed father, but of an Armenian. He certainly looks more like an Armenian than a Turk. He is intelligent, industrious, shrewd, and very *fin*, but, with all his *finesse*, extremely *naïf* in many things, and quite ignorant of the ways of the outer world, and of the political forces which govern it. On the other hand, he is so suspicious and mistrustful that he will confide in no one, and has gathered into his own hands all the threads of the Administration. Now even if the Empire was in apple-pie order, its affairs would supply work for a dozen Ministers, but for a single man to undertake the management of the existing chaos is madness. As a consequence all business is at a standstill, and it is in vain that the Ambassadors attempt to get matters settled at the Porte or by the heads of the several departments. The Porte is a *nominis umbra*, and the Ministers are less than mere clerks. Moreover, a great part of the Sultan's time and attention is preoccupied with the intrigues and plots which go on at his own Palace. Being in continual terror of designs upon his life, he makes it a rule to surround himself with favourites who hate each other, and whose jealousies he is careful to foment; and these petty quarrels going on around him distract his thoughts from greater concerns, so

that unspeakable stagnation and confusion reign in all branches of the public service. . . .

*Mr. Forster to Sir William Harcourt.*¹

20th Oct. 1881 (4 p.m.)—Inform her Majesty that we seize the opportunity given by the Land League manifesto, and issue strong Proclamation to-day declaring the Land League illegal. I was much inclined to arrest the priest who presided at Tuesday's meeting, but am glad I did not, as his superior, the violent Archbishop, has written a letter to-day denouncing the manifesto. We propose to arrest chief local *boycotters*. I am now sanguine of success.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 23rd Oct. 1881.—Saw Sir Wm. Harcourt again. He thanked me very much for my kindness, and my book and engraving, which I had sent him. He lamented and dreaded the progress of Democracy, but admitted the country was very right and loyal. I remarked that the Government was too much afraid of the House of Commons, and answered too many questions, which he quite agreed in. He is extremely agreeable in society, full of anecdotes and information, talking a good deal, but quietly, and with a soft voice. He reminds me much of all the Harcourts, and of his grandfather, the old Archbishop of York, whom, as well as many of his uncles and aunts, I had known well. However, he somehow does not inspire me with great confidence.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

Confidential.

WALMER CASTLE, 5th Nov. 1881.— . . . Lord Granville doubts anything having been concealed from your Majesty as to what is passing in the Cabinet. From the beginning of this administration, Mr.

¹ Who was staying at Balmoral.

Gladstone has occasionally hinted to Lord Granville, as Lord Granville confidentially told your Majesty, that he considered his personal tenure of office to be short, and he once alluded to last autumn as a possible term of it. He has from time to time made allusions to difficulties which his successors might have to meet, and to fears of his doing something which might embarrass them in the future, but he has said nothing more precise to Lord Granville, and he doubts whether he has said as much to any other colleague.

The Chancellorship of the Exchequer sits loose upon him. From time to time he wishes to give it up, but he probably feels his own superiority to others in framing financial schemes of improvement, and of recommending them to the acceptance of the country. It does not add to the labours of a man who, in any case, creates work for every hour of the day, and he is probably alarmed at the difficulty of selecting one individual as an addition to the Cabinet.

By what he said at Leeds, he has excited all sorts of rumours and it is not unlikely that he will revert to the subject in private next week. But Lord Granville believes and hopes there will be nothing of a definite character.

At the beginning of last Session, Lord Granville was convinced that Mr. Gladstone's health would not enable him to go through the Session. He was not only wrong, but Mr. Gladstone said to him at the end of it, that, strange to say, he did not remember for years having felt so well at the end of a Session. . . .

The German Crown Princess to Queen Victoria.

NEUES PALAIS, POTSDAM, 5th November 1881.

MY BELOVED MAMA,— . . . I am very glad the German elections have returned so many Liberals, and I hope it will show Prince Bismarck that the

Germans are *not* all delighted with his Government, though I do not think he cares *one bit*! I wonder why he does not say straight out “as long as *I* live both the Constitution and the Crown are suspended”; because *that* is the EXACT state of the *matter*.

No doubt he is *quite patriotic* and *sincere*, and thinks it is for the good of Germany! He thinks a great central Power is necessary, and that *ONE* *will* must decide; and the STATE *be* everything and do everything, like one vast set of machinery, say, the “Inflexibles” (for instance), where the Captain alone works everything by electricity and directs the ship . . . so Prince Bismarck wishes with the pressure of his little finger to direct the *whole*, and thinks it doubly necessary for safety’s sake in case of being attacked by France or Russia!

I do *not* like this state of things—but most *Prussians* and Conservatives DO. . . . VICTORIA.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL, 14th Nov. 1881.—. . . In a letter the Queen received from Mr. Gladstone he mentions an idea of coming to some agreement, on the subject of Afghanistan, with Russia. *If* it is to be a public treaty *signed*, so that Russia can be pulled up if she recommences her intrigues, it *might possibly answer*, though the Queen doubts even that. But there must be *no* VERBAL or even *written* understanding, for *we* should keep it and the Russians would not.

The Queen feels sure that Lord Granville will, after his experience of Khiva, agree with her. *She* thinks Russia *won’t* agree to bind herself. Besides which, even if the *Government does*, the Generals never obey, and go on doing what they wish.

Extracts from the Queen’s Journal.

BALMORAL, 18th Nov. 1881.—Very shortly after tea, received a telegram in cypher from Leopold

saying: "I have proposed to Princess Helen of Waldeck, and been accepted. May I receive your consent to the engagement?" This was hardly a surprise to me, as since last autumn, when he had met the young lady, I knew he had taken a liking to her, and now they had met again at Frankfort. But the news rather upset me, and I cannot help feeling as if I were losing dear Leopold, but as H  l  ne Waldeck is said to be so good and nice, it may be a blessing to us all. Telegraphed my consent and best wishes, and then wrote to my other children.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 28th Nov.—Saw Sir H. Ponsonby, who had seen George C. at the Horse Guards, and found him quite differently disposed, being ready to accept Sir G. Wolseley,¹ on the condition of his engaging not to speak or write on military matters, and that *his* position was publicly and properly recognised. George was satisfied and pleased with the interview he had had with Sir G. Wolseley, and with the latter's assurances that he had nothing to do with those horrid articles.²

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

OSBORNE, 31st Dec. 1881.—The state of Ireland causes the Queen much painful thought and must she thinks do so to Mr. Gladstone.

Notwithstanding the official assurances that matters are improving in Ireland, the Queen continues to read in the newspapers and to hear from various sources the most distressing accounts of the disorder and anarchy that seem to prevail, and has to-day seen the copy of a manifesto signed Patrick Egan, stating that the tenants are at war with the Government and ordering them to pay no rent.

The Queen is glad to perceive that the Irish Executive have appointed new Magistrates with enlarged powers, and that the regulations about Arms

¹ As Adjutant-General.

² Articles on military reform in *The Times*.

are to be more strictly enforced, though the Queen cannot help regretting that this was not done sooner.

The Queen hopes that greater efforts may be made to arrest the agitators who have created this state of affairs, to protect her loyal subjects and to punish those who are intimidating and alarming the well-affected inhabitants.

If there are not sufficient soldiers to perform the duties required of them, let more regiments be sent. If the law is powerless to punish wrong-doers, let increased powers be sought for and at any rate let no effort be spared for putting an end to a state of affairs which is a *disgrace* to *any civilised* country.

Queen Victoria to Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone.

31st Dec. 1881.—The Queen wishes Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone a happy new year, though the clouds which overhang the political horizon are not very encouraging, and darken the opening of '82.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER IV

THE condition of Ireland, despite the imprisonment of Mr. Parnell, the suppression of the Land League, and the activity of the new Land Courts, remained gravely disorganised in the early months of 1882. The secret societies and "Captain Moonlight" terrorised the country districts; boycotting, farm-burnings, and mutilations of cattle abounded; and there were, at intervals, agrarian murders of a shocking character, for which no one was made accountable—for instance, in Connemara two of Lord Ardilaun's bailiffs were shot and thrown into Lough Mask. The landlords, alarmed by the rate of reduction shown in the judicial rents fixed by the Commissioners, held, on 3rd January, a great meeting of protest in Dublin; and, in sympathy with their views, the House of Lords, when Parliament met, set up a Committee to investigate the working of the Land Act—a proceeding condemned by the House of Commons by 303 to 235. Dublin and other Irish towns manifested their adherence to the Nationalist cause by voting the "freedom" of their municipalities, some to Mr. Parnell, some to Mr. Dillon, both prisoners in Kilmainham.

At the end of April, after a period of hesitation and confusion, a complete change was made in Irish administration. Lord Spencer, a Cabinet Minister with a reputation for firmness, was appointed Viceroy, and it was decided to supersede the Protection Act, which suspended *Habeas Corpus*, by a Bill taking the ordinary law as a basis, but materially strengthening it against crime. The question of arrears of rent, in many cases a formidable amount, had become acute, now that the Commissioners' reductions implied that the old rents were decidedly too high. Mr. Parnell contrived to let Ministers know that, if this question were dealt with satisfactorily, he would be disposed, on release from prison, to assist in putting down crime and outrage. Accordingly, on 2nd May, the Cabinet resolved to disregard the advice of the Chief Secretary, Mr. Forster (who resigned), and to release forthwith from Kilmainham Mr. Parnell and his colleagues. The new departure was labelled "the Kilmainham Treaty" and, though welcomed in some quarters, was generally

received with strong criticism; but before opinion had crystallised, the kaleidoscope changed once more. On 6th May, the day that the new Viceroy entered Dublin in state, the new Chief Secretary, Lord Frederick Cavendish, and the Permanent Under-Secretary, Mr. Burke, were stabbed to death by unknown assassins as they walked home together through the Phoenix Park. All the fresh hopes were dashed to the ground.

The Crimes Bill was promptly introduced on 11th May, the day of Lord Frederick's funeral at Chatsworth, and was a very stringent measure, authorising, *inter alia*, the appointment of special commissions of judges to try serious crimes without juries, and giving comprehensive powers to the police in proclaimed districts. It was bitterly resisted by the Home Rulers; its progress was marked by violent speeches, dilatory and obstructive tactics, frequent scenes and suspensions; and it was only carried after the revival of the Speaker's urgency rules of 1881. Before it became law on 12th July, the urgent necessity for some such enactment had been further demonstrated by the cold-blooded murders in June, again by unknown assassins, of Mr. Walter Bourke near Gort, and of Mr. J. H. Blake, Lord Clanricarde's agent, near Loughrea. The Arrears Bill, based on the principles of gift and compulsion, and financed mainly out of the Irish Church Fund, was duly proceeded with. It had difficulties in passing the Lords similar to those which beset the Land Bill of 1881; and they were similarly overcome.¹ Lord Spencer, with the assistance of Mr. George Trevelyan as Chief Secretary, engaged in an heroic struggle with the forces of disorder. There was disaffection, which had to be stamped out, in the Royal Irish Constabulary; and the state of the country was illustrated by the brutal massacre of a whole family of Joyces at Maamtrasna on 17th August. But the murderers of the Joyces were discovered, tried, and hanged; and evidence was obtained which secured, after many months, the trial and punishment of those who had murdered in the same district Lord Ardilaun's bailiffs. In these and other agrarian cases juries were found, as the months passed on, to do their duty, with the result that late in the year there were murderous assaults, in one instance on a judge, in another on a juror, in the streets of Dublin. Mr. Parnell countered the Government activity by procuring the formation, at a

¹ See above, p. 174.

National Conference on 17th October, of a comprehensive Irish National League to advance the Nationalist cause.

It had been intended that not Ireland, but the reform of procedure, should be the principal business before the House of Commons during the session. The Government proposed in February a whole series of new rules, beginning with the Closure; but, in view of the urgency of Irish legislation, the discussion was eventually adjourned to a special session in October and November. Then, the necessity of reform having been once more emphasised by the proceedings on the Crimes Bill, the new proposals, after prolonged sittings, were in substance passed, the Closure established as a regular part of the machinery of Parliament, the abuse of motions for adjournment and of tedious repetitions checked, and, in general, further powers for securing order conferred on the Speaker.

This was a decisive year in British relations with Egypt. During the winter and early spring, Arabi, the leader of the military revolt, became in rapid succession Under-Secretary for War, War Minister, Pasha, and practical dictator, reducing the Khedive Tewfik to a cypher. His cry was "Egypt for the Egyptians," and he seriously interfered with the operations of the English and French Controllers, with the obvious intention of throwing off the Dual Control. M. Gambetta, as French Prime Minister, prevailed upon the British Government, which was not at first disposed to active interference, to agree to a Joint Note on 8th January promising support to the Khedive. But the Gambetta Ministry fell on 27th January over a question of electoral machinery; and M. de Freycinet, who succeeded, realising that France, with Prince Bismarck on her flank, could not risk locking up her troops in Egypt, hesitated to take further action, beyond a futile Conference of the Powers at Constantinople. As the situation grew worse, and the British Government (after having played for awhile with the idea of acting through the Sultan) prepared for forcible intervention, he did indeed permit French ships to join in May in a demonstration with British ships off Alexandria. There followed, on 11th June, a riot and massacre of foreigners in the town, and several weeks of feverish work, by Arabi's orders, in getting ready for action the forts that defended the harbour and constructing fresh defences. When, however, the patience of Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour was exhausted, and he issued on 10th July an ultimatum to Arabi, the French ships sailed

away, leaving the British fleet to enforce surrender next day by bombarding and destroying the offending fortifications. For two days there was anarchy in Alexandria, and British bluejackets and marines had to protect the Khedive and restore order.

Though Mr. Bright's consistent pacifism caused him to resign office, Parliament (by 277 to 21) and public opinion supported the Government in pushing military preparations forward. So rapidly was this done, that on 13th September Sir Garnet Wolseley, attacking at dawn, captured Arabi's strong position at Tel-el-Kebir and completely defeated his army. Cairo was promptly occupied, Arabi taken prisoner, the rebellion quashed, and the Khedive's authority restored. Arabi was handed over to the Khedive to be tried for his life, but it was insisted that he should be allowed to have British counsel to defend him. This produced such scandals and delays that, after six weeks, Lord Dufferin, who had been sent on a special mission to Egypt, arranged that the proceedings should stop and that Arabi should be exiled to Ceylon. With the acquiescence of the Powers and with a comparatively mild protest from France, the Dual Control was allowed to lapse; and it was recognised that events had placed the responsibility for Egypt upon Great Britain. The news that a false prophet had appeared in the Soudan was a warning of future trouble. France turned her overseas ambitions to Madagascar, Tonquin, and the Congo, in each of which quarters she made in 1882 a distinct advance. M. Gambetta, the principal supporter in France of an Anglo-French *Entente*, died, prematurely and unexpectedly, five minutes before midnight on the last day of December. During this year Prince Bismarck's foreign policy achieved a signal success when, on 20th May, the Dual Alliance of Germany and Austria was secretly turned, by the adhesion of Italy, into a Triple Alliance.

On 2nd March Queen Victoria was shot at by a lunatic as she was driving off from Windsor station. No one was hurt, and the assailant, Maclean, was sent, after his trial, to an asylum. Her Majesty's youngest son, Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, was married in St. George's, Windsor, on 27th April to Princess Helen of Waldeck-Pyrmont. Her third son, the Duke of Connaught, was appointed to command the Brigade of Guards in the Egyptian Expeditionary Force, and served with credit throughout the campaign and at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir.



CHAPTER IV

1882

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HAWARDEN CASTLE, 2nd Jan. 1882.—Mr. Gladstone humbly thanks your Majesty for the gracious letter of good wishes on the New Year, which he has this day received, and expresses also the gratitude of his wife for your Majesty's kindness. They have special reason to remember the season with thankfulness, by reason of the birth this morning of a grand-daughter, the first child of their eldest son, and of his wife,¹ to whose grandmother, Harriet Duchess of Sutherland, your Majesty felt so warm an attachment.

Mr. Gladstone humbly prays that the year may be one of public peace and prosperity, and of unbroken health and domestic joy to your Majesty.

[*Same day.*].—Mr. Gladstone submits his humble duty and has the honour to acknowledge your Majesty's letter of the 31st on the disturbed condition of Ireland.

He largely shares in the anxiety which weighs upon your Majesty's mind, and this feeling must continue until the picture of that country ceases to present, as three of its features, first a large amount of agrarian crime, secondly a considerable number

¹ Mr. W. H. Gladstone (1840–1891), eldest son of Mr. Gladstone, married Hon. Gertrude Stuart, daughter of the 12th and last Lord Blantyre, who had himself married a daughter of Harriet Duchess of Sutherland.

of your Majesty's subjects impeded in the exercise of their rights or deterred from the performance of their duties, thirdly some hundreds of Irishmen detained in prison without trial under Executive authority alone.

But as with a patient who has been at the point of death an improvement in condition, if clear, though small, and though leaving a weary distance to be travelled before anything like health is re-established, is notwithstanding gladly recognised, so, in looking back over the recent history of Ireland, and on comparing it with the present, there is some sense of relief.

About three months ago the Government had before it a very powerful and highly organised association determined to establish if possible a general refusal of rents : and Mr. Gladstone may remind your Majesty that in the autumn of 1829 the Duke of Wellington, then Prime Minister, stated to King George IV that, if rents and tithes once came to be generally refused by the Irish people, no force whatever at the command of the Executive Government could enforce the payment. Within four years from that time, the judgment of the Duke was confirmed by facts so far as tithes were concerned : in the last autumn it was a most serious and uncertain question whether rent was to be placed in a similar position.

It is something that by a very strong line of action on the part of the Government, and by the attractive force of the Land Act, which alone made success possible, this question at least has been set aside.

The features of the case which seem, when impartially viewed, to establish more generally the fact of improvement, are the opinions of the most competent and trustworthy witnesses privately gathered from time to time ; a diminution of outrages in the first half of December as compared with December 1880, which may, Mr. Gladstone hopes,

be confirmed by the return he is expecting for the second half of the month; a diminution, in Mr. Forster's opinion, of the scale and extent of boycotting; a cessation of violent resistance to the execution of processes; and, most weighty of all, a group of verdicts of guilty given by juries in the South and West in agrarian cases which could not have been had twelve months ago, and which indicate a revived respect for the law, or a commencing detachment from the evil counsels of the League, or both. . . .

But it is undeniable that your Majesty's Government are still engaged in an intense though far from desperate struggle, in which they have great need of every aid that can be afforded them.

*The Duchess of Abercorn to the Marchioness of Ely.*¹

BARONS COURT, IRELAND, 4th January 1882.

MY DEAR LADY ELY,—The Duke has just returned from Dublin, much pleased with the success of the most important meeting ever held in Ireland.²

There were about 3,000 landowners present, and the gallery was filled with ladies, chiefly landowners also.

When my husband entered the hall the audience all rose, and cheered. He made a very good opening speech, as did also Lords Dartrey, Ardilaun, and Waterford; the latter on resuming his seat received a perfect ovation, the whole audience rising and cheering vociferously. Mr. Mahony's speech too was admirable, and full of pathos, and in language worthy of Burke; it had a great effect upon the audience. Poor little Mr. Kavanagh spoke well also, and Col. King-Harman and others, then a vote of thanks to my husband, after which *God save the Queen* was played on the organ, the audience rising and singing.

¹ Submitted by Lady Ely to the Queen.

² See Introductory Note to this chapter.

In the annals of Ireland there has never before been so large a meeting of men of high class. Most orderly and well conducted, and the utmost loyalty to the Queen and constitution shown; but the general impression was, that nearly all landowners in Ireland will be ruined by the present Land Bill. A petition was drawn up to be signed by all present, to complain of the way in which the Land Act was worked by the sub-commissioners, by which the greater part of the landlords of Ireland are likely to be ruined. It was proposed that the petition should be presented by the Duke direct to the Queen, but he and some others thought it was more respectful and constitutional to forward it through the Home Secretary.

Here is a very long story; but I thought it would interest you, and I have desired a paper to be sent to you. Believe me, dear Lady Ely, affectionately yours, L. ABERCORN.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 16th Jan. 1882.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He has received Sir H. Ponsonby's letter, expressing your Majesty's doubts as to the propriety of an official despatch being dated excepting from the Foreign Office.

There are precedents of this rule not having been observed. Lord Derby dated a public despatch from Abergeldie, and Lord Clarendon a very important one from Wiesbaden, and there is something to be said for giving the real date of a place, where the Secretary of State is, and where he has had a conversation with a Foreign Ambassador; but your Majesty's recollection is, as it always is, correct, and it is very unusual to date otherwise than from the Foreign Office. Lord Granville will for the future adhere to the old practice.

He had not observed that the date had been given from Walmer Castle to the despatch in question.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 9th–10th Feb. 1882.— . . .
Soon after five, the debate on the Address, and especially on Mr. Smyth's amendment touching the repeal of the Union, was resumed. It was continued for some time, and for the most part with considerable moderation; but, as the mover was not permitted to withdraw his amendment, Mr. Gladstone stated, on behalf of the Government, that they were most anxious for the foundation and extension of local government in Ireland, but that, before a ground could be laid for the delegation of anything larger than purely local matters to any Irish authority, it must be shown by what means, under any such plan, the supremacy of Imperial authority could be absolutely and certainly preserved. Mr. Plunket¹ complained, but without quoting any particular statement, that Mr. Gladstone's language tended to encourage a revival of the question of Home Rule in Ireland. In a thin House the amendment was rejected by 93 to 37. . . .

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

OSBORNE, 11th Feb. 1882.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his full and regular accounts of the Cabinets and few first nights of the Session. . . .

The Queen has read with much care and not without some feelings of anxiety Mr. Gladstone's remarks² on Mr. Smyth's amendment. She thinks

¹ Afterwards Lord Rathmore.

² As these remarks are frequently referred to in the following correspondence, it may be desirable to give a fuller abstract than that furnished by Mr. Gladstone himself in the previous letter. Referring to what he had said of local government in general and its immeasurable benefits, and of the manner in which Parliament was overcharged with too great a centralisation of duties, he declared that, for one, he would hail with satisfaction and delight any measure of local government for Ireland, or for any portion of the country, provided only that it satisfied this one condition, that it did not break down or impair the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. In the present, as in so many previous discussions on the same subject, the want of any definite or practical scheme, agreed upon by any considerable section

she may safely assume, after consideration of Mr. Gladstone's letter, that he had no intention to encourage the hopes of those who desire to repeal the Act of Union; but his words spoken on Mr. Smyth's demand for such repeal undoubtedly produced the effect of countenancing the Home Rule movement in some form, and will, the Queen fears, give a fresh impetus to the agitation in Ireland.

The Queen most sincerely deplores this circumstance, especially at this moment when it was most desirable that the working of the new Land Act should be calmly and carefully allowed to take its course; and she cannot help thinking it would have been more prudent to have firmly discountenanced any attempt at raising this dangerous question.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 13th Feb. 1882.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and thanks your Majesty for the free expression of opinion, on the speech made by him last Thursday, which it contains.

Nothing can be more improbable than that Mr. Gladstone should ever be called upon to advise your Majesty, as a Minister, with reference to the subject known as Home Rule in Ireland. He would not, indeed, regret to see the present most dangerous social agitation in Ireland exchanged for a discussion, or even an agitation, which would speedily bring out the differences between loyal and disloyal men, and which (in Mr. Gladstone's opinion) it would be far less difficult to manage on the part of the Empire.

The sentiments contained in Mr. Gladstone's speech on Thursday were part of a rooted creed; for he believes that local self-government is the surest

of the Irish Members themselves, added most terribly to the difficulty of any Government desirous of settling the question. The separation of Irish from Imperial questions, so frequently demanded, was rendered a thousand times more difficult, since scarcely two Irish Members were agreed as to the boundary line between them, and, until this point was settled, no practical measure could be framed or discussed.

basis of strong central institutions, and that the only limit of principle to its extension is the supremacy of the central authority. On this subject, as on some others, lessons have been learned during the past half-century. The self-government now practised in Canada, and generally viewed as safe, if not wholly unexceptionable, was regarded, in the first years of Mr. Gladstone's parliamentary life, as a thing fatal to the unity of the Empire.

Mr. Gladstone has endeavoured to set forth the same ideas on many previous occasions; in the Guildhall last October before the Corporation of London, in Midlothian, and in the House of Commons under the two last Governments, without awakening any of the apprehensions which were expressed on Thursday by Mr. Plunket.

There is a very real danger which may come above the horizon, and which Mr. Gladstone humbly desires to avert. That danger will have arisen, should a decisive majority of the representatives of Ireland unitedly demand, on behalf of their country, the adoption of some scheme of Home Rule, which Parliament should be compelled to refuse. To prevent the formation of such an Irish majority is, in Mr. Gladstone's view, a great object of Imperial policy. There was much risk of it at the beginning of the Session of 1880, when between 60 and 70 Home Rulers had been returned at the election. This majority your Majesty's Government have done their best to break up; and they have succeeded. Were they now in sweeping terms to denounce everything that may be comprised within the name "Home Rule," they would be paving the way for its reunion. It is generally agreed that such a majority would be augmented at the next general election. Mr. Gladstone can for himself only follow the course which will, as he believes, prevent its consolidation upon any basis dangerous to the Empire or the Throne. But his opinions must soon cease to be taken into account that even this

slight effort to explain them may be hardly worth your Majesty's perusal.

Yet, for the sake of clearness, Mr. Gladstone ventures further to lengthen it by two observations. The first that he is far from intending to imply that such Home Rule as prevails in Canada could be safely or properly extended to Ireland. The second that he has never intimated any disposition to allow to Ireland anything except what might properly be given (for example) to Scotland, if desired and sought by her.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

15th Feb. 1882.—The Queen thanks you for your letter about Home Rule.

She was afraid that many of the Irish people would give a meaning to your speech which you did not intend it to bear.—H. P.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 16th Feb. 1882.—Mr. Gladstone, who was to have come to see me, was ill in bed, but might have to go to the House, so I sent for Lord Granville, who came at half past 3. He had seen Mr. Gladstone, but, though trying to make out a good case for him about the Home Rule remarks, which have done great harm, Lord Granville admitted it was a great misfortune they had been made just now. He thinks the *Clôture* a very mild measure, but it will be strongly contested, and they will be beaten in the House of Lords. He confirmed what Mr. Gladstone had written, or rather hinted at, as to his retiring. Lord Granville thinks it uncertain, but it might occur at any moment, as Mr. Gladstone is anxious to retire. Lord Granville said that, in that case, he ought to do so in reality, and not repeat what he had done before.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 21st Feb. 1882.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty has to report to your Majesty a fresh development of the case of Mr. Bradlaugh,¹ which has occurred to-day. Early in the evening Mr. Labouchere moved that a new writ be issued for Northampton. The Attorney-General replied and showed by argument that the seat could not be considered vacant. There was a general disposition adverse to the motion, and it was rejected on a division by a large majority.

No one had been aware that there would be an immediate sequel to such rejection. But when the result of the division had been announced, Mr. Bradlaugh, with unshaken nerves, marched up the floor to the Table of the House, produced a New Testament, a sheet of paper with the parliamentary oath written upon it, and a pen or stylograph: he recited the words of the oath, which is short, kissed the Book, subscribed the oath with his stylograph, and deposited the sheet on the Table, where the Testament also remained.

The Speaker ordered Mr. Bradlaugh to withdraw, while he announced that he had complied with the law and would take his seat accordingly. He did this for a moment, but after a few moments obeyed the Speaker and withdrew. It was an extraordinary scene of the utmost scandal, the Resolutions and Orders of the House being flagrantly disobeyed, while Mr. Bradlaugh will without doubt allege that he has been performing a duty to his constituents according to the law.

Lord Randolph Churchill hereupon moved that the seat was vacant: and in speech contended, amid many marks of sympathy, that Mr. Bradlaugh had grossly insulted the House. He moved that a new writ be issued in consequence of the avoidance of the seat by Mr. Bradlaugh's having sat without

¹ See Introductory Note to Ch. 2, p. 62.

taking the Oath in the manner required by law. The Attorney-General pointed out that there were peculiarities in the present position of the question, and difficulties in applying the Statute to the case as it now stood, which made it inexpedient to proceed at once to any step which might be found to entail unforeseen consequences. Mr. Gladstone afterwards moved, and it was agreed, that the debate should be adjourned until the sitting of to-morrow. . . .

10 DOWNING STREET, 22nd Feb.—Mr. Gladstone reports to your Majesty, with his humble duty, that this day at two o'clock the House of Commons again took up the debate on the question of Mr. Bradlaugh and the scene of yesterday evening. There was a widely-spread desire for the expulsion of Mr. Bradlaugh from the House, and no small amount of it was directed even to his expulsion by a motion made on behalf of the Government.

Mr. Gladstone . . . gave his view of the actual situation. He admitted that the scene of last night was scandalous as well as painful, and that Mr. Bradlaugh had acted in flagrant disobedience to the orders of the House, with aggravating circumstances; nor could he be surprised if the majority who passed the Resolutions should take measures against him. But the Government had all along acted on the principle that it was not for them, who had opposed the Resolutions as impolitic, or as beyond or against the law, to devise the means for giving them effect, and to this principle he intended on the present occasion to adhere. Sir Stafford Northcote complained and protested, and proposed what he thought the mildest measure the case admitted of, namely that Mr. Bradlaugh be debarred from the precincts of the House. This motion, from such a quarter, caused surprise and disappointment to many; and Lord Randolph Churchill smartly attacked Sir Stafford Northcote for making a motion wholly inadequate from his point of view. Mr. Whitbread, who speaks with much authority, and who had

evidently desired a stronger measure, accepted that of Sir S. Northcote. An amendment in favour of expulsion was moved by Dr. Lyons, but it contained matter quite indefensible and thus failed to attract support which many were longing for an opportunity to give effect (*sic*). While the debate was proceeding, Mr. Bradlaugh, amidst universal astonishment, once more appeared upon the benches of the House, and had again to retire under a rebuke and injunction from the Speaker.

Meantime a great irritation had naturally enough possessed the House, although Mr. Labouchere explained that Mr. Bradlaugh's intention was the purely formal one of raising a case for a Court of Law. Sir Stafford Northcote consequently withdrew his mild motion, and submitted one for expulsion. Mr. Gladstone stated that such a motion was, he thought, strictly consequential, and that on that account he ought not, as one of the Ministry, to oppose it. A few Members, however, insisted on dividing both on the first question whether Sir S. Northcote's amendment should be taken, and on the main question. The first was carried, most of the Ministers and their friends present voting in the majority, by 291 against 83, the second by 297 against 80. It appears to Mr. Gladstone that Mr. Bradlaugh must have desired to bring about his own expulsion. There is now either an end of the question, or, more probably, a lull in it.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 2nd Mar. 1882.—At 4.30 left Buckingham Palace for Windsor. Just as we were driving off from the station there, the people, or rather the Eton boys, cheered, and at the same time there was the sound of what I thought was an explosion from the engine, but in another moment I saw people rushing about and a man being violently hustled, people rushing down the street. I then

realised that it was a shot, which must have been meant for me, though I was not sure, and Beatrice said nothing, the Duchess,¹ who was also in the carriage, thinking it was a joke. No one gave me a sign to lead me to believe anything amiss had happened. Brown however, when he opened the carriage, said, with a greatly perturbed face, though quite calm: "That man fired at your Majesty's carriage." Sir J. McNeill jumped out of the second carriage in a great state, hoping we were not touched, and saying the man had been caught. When we got upstairs Horatia S. rushed up to ask if we were not hurt. I pacified them, and went to Arthur and Louischen and told them what had happened. Arthur suspected something, as he saw everyone running. Sir H. Ponsonby and Lord Bridport had followed the man to the Police Station, where he was to be examined.

Took tea with Beatrice, and telegraphed to all my children and near relations. Brown came in to say that the revolver had been found loaded, and one chamber discharged. Superintendent Hayes, of the Police here, seized the man, who was wretchedly dressed, and had a very bad countenance. Sir H. Ponsonby came in to tell me more. The man will be examined to-morrow. He is well spoken, and evidently an educated man. Then came Lord Bridport, who repeated the same thing, saying that the man's intentions seemed very clear. An Eton boy had rushed up, and beaten him with an umbrella. Great excitement prevails. Nothing can exceed dearest Beatrice's courage and calmness, for she saw the whole thing, the man take aim, and fire straight into the carriage, but she never said a word, observing that I was not frightened. Telegrams began arriving in numbers, in answer to mine, and one or two sent before, to enquire if the report, which spread instantly to London and all over the world, was true. Was really not shaken or frightened,

¹ Of Roxburghe.

so different to O'Connor's attempt,¹ though [this] was infinitely more dangerous. That time I was terribly alarmed.

3rd Mar.—I slept as well as usual, and never once thought of what had occurred. Telegrams, as well as letters, pouring in to that extent that I literally spent my whole day in opening and reading them. Brown brought the revolver for me to see. It could be fired off in rapid succession with the greatest facility, quite small, but with 6 chambers. I saw the bullets. Was much relieved to hear that the missing one was found, for it proves that the object was not intimidation, but far worse. God has indeed mercifully protected me! The loyalty manifested on all sides is most touching and gratifying. Walked with Beatrice down to the Mausoleum, and here I knelt by my beloved one's tomb and offered up prayers of thanksgiving for my preservation to God our Heavenly Father. So busy, that I could not get out till past 4. Drove with Beatrice and Harriet P., purposely coming home through the town, and the boys cheered as we passed through Eton, and everyone seemed so pleased.

Sir William Harcourt to Queen Victoria.

WHITEHALL, *6th Mar.* 1882.—Secretary Sir William Vernon Harcourt presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and humbly begs leave to state that he has been requested by his Grace the Duke of Abercorn to present to your Majesty the accompanying Petition² from certain landowners and others interested in land in Ireland. This Petition is numerously signed by persons of influence and position.

As this Petition involves questions of high policy and in its allegations calls in question the Act of the Legislature of 1881, relating to land in Ireland and its administration, Sir William deemed it right to consult your Majesty's advisers in the Cabinet

¹ In 1872. See Second Series, vol. ii, pp. 197–201.

² See above, pp. 251, 257–8.

held on Saturday last as to the answer which he should humbly recommend should be returned to the said Petition.

Sir William now humbly submits to your Majesty that he should inform the Petitioners that their Petition has been laid before your Majesty, but that your Majesty's advisers, having carefully considered the same, are not able to advise your Majesty to take any action thereupon at the present time. . . .

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Sir William Harcourt.
[Copy.]

9th Mar. 1882.—Petition returned. Her Majesty fears that some of the sub-commissioners have not preserved that strict impartiality that makes judges respected.

The Queen hopes that, when the Act has had time to work, an enquiry into its effects will not be objected to. In the meantime the Queen sanctions the answer you advise.—H. P.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 24th Mar. 1882.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. The debate on Lord Redesdale's Bill for a declaration of belief in God was interesting. It was hardly sincere, as sometimes happens in discussions on religious matters; everyone wishing to get rid of the Bill, but fearful of appearing opposed to a laudable object from one point of view. Lord Shaftesbury and the Duke of Argyll (whose wife is better) spoke well. The Bishop of London¹ spoke with great liberality. Lord Lothian, like the Duke of Argyll, spoke in favour of substituting a right of affirmation, instead of an obligatory oath. Lord Granville attacked Lord Salisbury for the indecency of a letter, in which he had spoken of the personal ambition, the excessive irritability, and the overweening vanity of Mr. Gladstone. He was immensely cheered. Lord

¹ Dr. Jackson.

Salisbury touched lightly on it in reply, but came over to Lord Granville afterwards, and told him that he had not written the letter, but that he could not throw over his private secretary, Lord John Manners' son.¹ But he requested Lord Granville to mention the fact to some of his friends.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

MENTONE, 7th April 1882 (Good Friday).—Dear Leopold's birthday, his 29th. How thankful we must be that he has been preserved to us! How often has his poor young life hung on a thread, and how many bad and wearisome illnesses has he not recovered from! Though the idea of his marrying makes me anxious, still, as he has found a girl, so charming, ready to accept and love him, in spite of his ailments, I hope he may be happy and carefully watched over. Service at 11. Leopold came soon after, and I gave him my presents.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

20th April 1882.—. . . Mr. Gladstone humbly feels with your Majesty that where an individual, such as Maclean,² has probably been sane in respect to the particular act for which he is tried, an acquittal on the ground of insanity is not a satisfactory form under which to attain the end of at least disabling him from further mischief by the total loss of his personal liberty. He hopes indeed that all who understand that this forfeiture is really a forfeiture for life, may perceive the gravity of the consequences following the act. Ignorant of the law, he does not venture an opinion whether the form of proceeding in these cases might not be amended so as to avoid any possible mischief which might arise from the use of the phrase "Not guilty." On this subject

¹ Mr. Henry Manners, who in 1906 succeeded his father as 8th Duke of Rutland, and died in 1925.

² The man who shot at the Queen on the 2nd March. See above, p. 265. He was acquitted on the ground of insanity and sent to an asylum.

he will, if it meet your Majesty's approval, communicate with the authorities for the better information of his judgment ; for he is deeply impressed with the gravity of the whole subject. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 27th April 1882 (Leopold's wedding day).—This exciting day is all over, and past, like a dream, and the last, but one, of my children is married, and has left the paternal home, but not entirely, as he still keeps his rooms. It was very trying to see the dear boy, on this important day of his life, still lame and shaky, but I am thankful it is well over. I feel so much for dear Helen, but she showed unmistakably how devoted she is to him. It is a great blessing. God bless them both !

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 27th April 1882.—Mr. Gladstone, with his humbly duty, reports to your Majesty, that among the various subjects which it has been the duty of your Majesty's Government to consider at this juncture in Irish affairs, has been the question what special provision could best be made to meet the peculiar exigencies of Irish Administration.

The administration of the Life and Property Protection Act, and the regulation of all measures connected with the maintenance of the law in Ireland, require to be conducted at this time with the utmost degree of authority which can be attached to them. That is to say, they should carry the authority of a Cabinet Minister. And accordingly, during the months of last year's Session from March onwards, Mr. Forster was enabled, not without some inconvenience, to remain for the most part in Dublin, and the legislative business was transacted principally in his absence.

This year, the character of the questions, with which the House of Commons will have to deal after Whitsuntide, does not permit the repetition of the

same plan, while the need in Ireland is the same or greater, as the arrest and liberation of suspects ought both to be managed by those who can answer for them with full ministerial responsibility.

Lord Cowper, whose excellent natural gifts have been improved by much culture, has repeatedly manifested his capacity by the discerning and well-balanced views of measures relating to Ireland which he has made known to your Majesty's Government, while his loyalty and zeal for your Majesty's service leave nothing to be desired. But he has handsomely wished that his office should be at the disposal of your Majesty's advisers, in the public interest; and with a view to the attainment of the purpose which has been before described, of giving the highest authority to the Executive in Ireland, Mr. Gladstone, after ascertaining fully the views of his colleagues, now recommends a change for your Majesty's gracious consideration.

Lord Spencer, as he need hardly observe, unites to a long and successful experience in Ireland the further advantage of an intimate acquaintance gained during the last two years with all the views of his colleagues on Irish affairs. It is therefore proposed that he should again assume the Viceroyalty, retaining the position and full responsibility of a Cabinet Minister.

It is, however, uncertain whether the necessity, under which his tried ability and patriotism would be thus turned to account, will be of long duration; and likewise it is thought that the authority of his proceedings will be kept at the highest level, if he retain, at least as a temporary arrangement until the autumn, the office he now holds as President of the Council.

For the temporary discharge of the functions of this office, during Lord Spencer's absence, your Majesty's Ministers would look, as has been done on a former occasion, to the Lord Privy Seal.¹ . . .

¹ Lord Carlingford.

Mr. Gladstone cannot state too distinctly his sense of the loyalty and patriotism both of Lord Cowper and Lord Spencer in this important and delicate matter. Lord Cowper is still young as a politician and administrator, and Mr. Gladstone will much rejoice if another opportunity should at some time offer for his re-entering the service of your Majesty.

WEYBRIDGE, 29th April.—Mr. Gladstone submits his humble duty to your Majesty, and takes the opportunity of adding some lines to his letter of yesterday, that your Majesty may more precisely have in view the position, at this moment, of two branches of the Irish question: one the release of *those* among the suspects, who stand in no direct connection with crime; the other the legislative proposals which it may be the duty of your Majesty's Government to make in connection with the coming expiry of the Life and Property Protection Act.

Both these questions will be considered by the Cabinet on Monday, and (if need be) on Tuesday next. On the second of them, it will probably suffice that Mr. Gladstone should report to your Majesty as usual on the deliberations of his colleagues. But the first has this peculiarity, that, if action is to be taken, it should be taken with the utmost promptitude, and before rumour, which it is so difficult to repress, can get about.

The time has come when it is desirable, on general grounds, to reduce quietly the still very large numbers in prison. This business will form a principal part of the charge of Lord Spencer, on his assuming office in Dublin. But the matter which now presses for an important decision, affirmative or negative, affects very few; Mr. Gladstone is not indeed *certain* whether it concerns any except the three Members of Parliament¹ now and for seven months past under restraint.

Since the fundamental change of position assumed

¹ Mr. Parnell was one of them.

by these gentlemen and their friends in what may be termed coming over to the Land Act, Mr. Gladstone has noticed a considerable movement of opinion, in Parliament and in the Press, favourable to their release.

On Monday the Cabinet will have the means, through the latest information from Ireland, of estimating more accurately than can now be done some material elements of the case, as it regards the vital consideration of the peace of the country. . . .

In whichever direction the mind of the Cabinet may move on Monday, Mr. Gladstone will at once make it known to your Majesty by telegraph: and if they should think release expedient, it will be of very great consequence that the act, and most probably also the announcement to Parliament, should take effect forthwith.

At present Mr. Gladstone will only add that the arguments for release are many and pressing. If, however, it should appear that this measure would operate, as far as can be discerned, in a manner unfavourable to public security, such a consideration would at once outweigh all those arguments. Mr. Gladstone of course hopes this may not be the case. But he does not venture at the present moment to pronounce, or to form, an opinion.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 29th April 1882.

DEAR MR. GLADSTONE,—I am commanded by the Queen to let you know that her Majesty will be prepared to accept Lord Cowper's resignation and to approve of the appointment of Lord Spencer to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland.

Her Majesty will make no remark on the government of Lord Cowper, whose amiable qualities she fully recognises, but thinks with you that the chief Executive Officer in Ireland should at this crisis not only be clothed with the highest authority, but

also publicly assert that authority and exercise the powers that have been granted to him.

The Queen would have looked on the appointment of Lord Spencer as a mission to devote himself entirely to the cause of law and order in Ireland, and to the interest of the Irish people, but as he is to retain his other office to which he is eventually to return, her Majesty cannot help fearing that this will give the effect of a half-hearted measure. It can scarcely be meant that Lord Spencer can expect to restore tranquillity in Ireland in four months, nor that, anticipating failure, he should keep his office in Whitehall to fall back upon.

The Queen therefore thinks it will be looked upon as a temporary experiment and not be accepted as a thorough and earnest measure. As, however, this arrangement is recommended by you and the Cabinet, the Queen will approve of it.

The Queen trusts that nothing will be done to cast any slur on Mr. Forster, who, she is glad, retains the office of Chief Secretary. Yours very truly,
HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 1st May 1882.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports to your Majesty that the Cabinet has to-day discussed very fully the question whether upon the evidence which is now before them it would be right that the three Irish Members of Parliament now in prison should be released, and that this release should be followed by the progressive examination of other cases with a view to release; excepting cases where there is an implication with crime.

It is not possible for Mr. Gladstone to state fully to your Majesty in a report of this kind all the considerations which tend to a belief that this measure will tend to peace and security in Ireland: but he may say that an important part of the evidence, both public and private, is that which shows

that the No-Rent party are sensible of their being substantially defeated by the Land Act, and have altered essentially their views with regard to either the encouragement or at the very least the toleration of outrage.

Mr. Gladstone has the honour to announce that the Cabinet will meet again to-morrow at noon, and it is probable that he may at that meeting state to your Majesty by telegram that the Cabinet think the immediate release advisable, and anticipate from it favourable results.

He need hardly assure your Majesty that there has been nothing in the nature of a bargain or negotiation with this party, and that, while they have obtained important information, the party is absolutely ignorant of the views and intentions of the Government, except so far as the public knows them.¹

Memorandum by Mr. Gladstone.

10 DOWNING STREET, 2nd May 1882.—The Cabinet are of opinion that the time has now arrived when, with a view to the interests of law and order in Ireland, the three Members of Parliament who have been imprisoned on suspicion since last October should be immediately released: and that the list of suspects should be examined with a view to the release of all persons not believed to be associated with crimes.

They propose at once to announce to Parliament their intention to introduce, as soon as necessary business will permit, a Bill to strengthen the ordinary law in Ireland for the security of life and property,

¹ Lord Morley, in describing these proceedings in his *Life of Gladstone*, bk. viii, ch. 4, writes: "Mr. Gladstone was always impatient of any reference to 'reciprocal assurances' or 'tacit understanding' in respect of the dealings with the prisoner in Kilmainham. Still, the nature of the proceedings was plain enough. The object of the communications to which the Government were invited by Mr. Parnell through his emissary was, supposing him to be anxious to do what he could for law and order, to find out what action on the part of the Government would enable him to adopt this line." See Introductory Note to this chapter.

while reserving their discretion with regard to the Life and Property Protection Act, which, however, they do not at present think it will be possible to renew if a favourable state of affairs shall prevail in Ireland.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 2nd May 1882.—Had a telegram from Mr. Gladstone, saying that Lord Granville was coming down by special train, to ask for an immediate audience. I could not think what for. I knew there had been a long Cabinet, at which the advisability of liberating the suspects had been decided on. It had been previously settled, that Lord Spencer should go as Lord Lieutenant, retaining his present office, as it would only be temporary. I saw Lord Granville before luncheon, who was in a terrible hurry, and said he had brought a box with him from Mr. Gladstone, containing the account of the Cabinet. All except Mr. Forster have agreed to let out the three suspected M.P.'s. Mr. Forster had said he would not take the responsibility of this act and must resign. Lord Granville seemed very nervous. I *very reluctantly* had to give my consent, but said it was a great mistake and would be a triumph for the Parnellites, which Lord G. denied. He greatly regrets Mr. Forster's resignation, and said it added to Lord Spencer's difficulties. I pointed out that the result of this decision might be failure, and what would they do then? "Oh!" answered Lord Granville, "we must then be effaced!" Alas! I cannot cease regretting this consent, which I ought never to have been asked to give in such a hurry.

Mr. Forster to Queen Victoria.

IRISH OFFICE, 2nd May 1882.—Mr. W. E. Forster presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and must beg the Queen graciously to accept his resignation of the office of Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

The Cabinet has to-day finally come to the decision to order the immediate and unconditional release of Mr. Parnell and of the other two Members of Parliament now in custody under the provisions of the Protection Act, and after most anxious thought, and much weighing of the different and very serious considerations involved, Mr. Forster cannot think it right to share the responsibility of this step.

Mr. Forster must now beg the Queen to give him her gracious permission to make such explanation of his action as may seem necessary, and can only add that he leaves the service of your Majesty with the most earnest desire for the happiness of his Queen.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Forster.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 2nd May 1882.—The Queen at once telegraphed to Mr. Forster the permission he asked for, and now repeats it in writing, at the same time thanking him for his letter. She is extremely sorry that he leaves her service at this anxious moment, as she always had much faith and confidence in his honest and fearless desire to do what he could to maintain order and to try and restore peace to unhappy Ireland, which seems further than ever removed from tranquillity and absence of crime.

The Queen owns she considers the experiment about to be tried a very hazardous one.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 3rd May 1882.—The Queen has to acknowledge Mr. Gladstone's letter received this morning as well as the one accompanied by the Memorandum brought by Lord Granville yesterday.

As Mr. Gladstone was so urgent for the release of the three suspects, and believes that it will tend to do good in Ireland and help to restore peace and

order, she did not think she ought to withhold her consent to this step. But she cannot conceal from him that she considers it a very hazardous one, the more so as Mr. Forster, who must know the state of Ireland better than anyone, and in whom she has great confidence, feels bound to resign upon it.

The Queen cannot but feel that it will have the effect of a triumph to Home Rule and of great weakness. She trusts she may be mistaken as to the results of this course, but she much dreads they will not be favourable to the maintenance of authority and respect of law and order.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

3rd May 1882.—Mr. Gladstone reports to your Majesty with his humble duty that he has to-day seen the Lord Chief Justice in concert with the Attorney-General.

Concurring in what he believes to be your Majesty's view, he has strongly stated it to Lord Coleridge, and has urged that a change should be made in the form of the verdict which was passed upon Maclean, to obviate the risk of its producing dangerous misapprehensions in morbid minds, and the consequences which in such minds are apt to be engendered. Mr. Gladstone was not in any way dissatisfied with Lord Coleridge's treatment of the representation which he made.

The best advice of the most competent and learned among the Judges will be taken by him and the Attorney-General.

It appears probable that, if the form of the verdict is to be changed, an alteration of the law will be required.

Mr. Gladstone did not ask at this stage for any definitive opinion from Lord Coleridge. But it appears to him that Lord Coleridge thought that, while on the one hand the general law of murder would be difficult to change, on the other hand the narrower ground of the law of treason might be

found suitable to a change such as the recent circumstances appear to recommend.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 4th-5th Mar. (? May) 1882.
—Mr. Gladstone submits his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that, at the meeting of the House to-day, after certain questions had been answered in the sense approved by the Cabinet, Mr. Forster gave his explanation to an attentive and favourable House.

The general tone of Mr. Forster's address was in every way such as might have been confidently anticipated from his high character and close association with his late colleagues.

Mr. Forster stated that he was prepared to consent to the release of the political suspects on any one of three conditions. The first was that—so far as the three Members are concerned—they should make a public declaration of their intention to support law and order. The second would be a satisfactory condition of Ireland as to law. The third would be that fresh provisions should have been incorporated into the law in order to strengthen it.

Mr. Gladstone followed Mr. Forster with an explanation on the part of the Government. He said, as to the third condition, the Government would not have been justified in keeping gentlemen in prison without grounds of reasonable suspicion against them, simply because amendments of the law, which were judged expedient, had not yet been accomplished. As to the second condition, he agreed with Mr. Forster that they could not found the release on a satisfactory condition of Ireland as to outrage. But as to the third [? first] condition, the case was different. The Government could not ask Mr. Parnell for a public declaration of opinions which he might entertain; for this would have been to attempt something like a bargain.

Mr. Forster interposed, and said he did not advise asking for a public declaration.

Mr. Gladstone, accepting that explanation, replied that it seemed to narrow the difference between Mr. Forster and the Government to this. The Government, finding the declarations of opinion in themselves satisfactory, had no longer grounds of suspicion as to them, which warranted their further detention. The publication of these declarations, which they would desire, they must leave to those who made them.

Mr. Parnell, the person principally referred to, spoke in the debate. His words are so important that Mr. Gladstone is unwilling to cite them from memory. But, though somewhat within the scope of the written announcements in Mr. Gladstone's possession, they distinctly enough asserted that outrage was to be utterly condemned, and that, with the arrears duly settled, their desire was unequivocally to labour for putting it down.

In the debate which followed, the Irish Members, other than Tory, in general supported the Government: one of them, Mr. O'Connor Power, with great ability. Mr. Gibson¹ delivered a vehement and powerful declamation against them, heaping every accusation upon the action of the Government and not sparing the No-Rent party, or what was the No-Rent party.

These latter criticisms mark a new era; for during the last three months, while the No-Rent party were voting with the Opposition, the speakers of that party appeared to avoid most carefully any language associating Mr. Parnell and his friends with responsibility for outrage.

It is also very remarkable that this day Mr. Smith has withdrawn the notice,² which had attracted so much attention, given by him in evident connection

¹ Afterwards Lord Ashbourne, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

² A proposal to extend the Purchase Clauses of the Land Act of 1870, so as to increase peasant proprietorship in Ireland.

with his party, and has not appointed any date for its renewal.

Lord Hartington replied to Mr. Gibson in a straightforward and effective speech.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

4th May 1882.—Is it possible that Michael Davitt, known as one of the worst of the treasonable agitators, is also to be released? I cannot believe it! Three suspects were spoken of but no one else.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

5th May 1882.—Humble duty. Your Majesty's telegram of last night duly received: letters are on their way. Your Majesty will remember that M. Davitt was released by the late Administration, and the question is narrowed to the offence for which his ticket-of-leave was withdrawn.¹

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 5th May 1882.—General Sir Henry Ponsonby humbly begs leave to return Mr. Gladstone's letters.

In the new policy now adopted it may have been right to have liberated M. Davitt, but as he was undoubtedly the foremost of the No-Rent party and had been convicted by ordinary law, his release was such a very marked step that it should undoubtedly have been made known to your Majesty, and he cannot understand why this was not done.

Mr. Forster's speech was a most powerful one.

Mr. Gladstone in this letter explains that it was Mr. Parnell who intimated to the Government his readiness to support law and order in Ireland. Several of the other Irish Members repudiated this undertaking.

¹ Davitt was released on 6th May.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 6th May 1882.—At quarter to 3 left with Beatrice for Epping Forest,¹ which we reached at 4. Great crowds all along the railroad and a very great one on getting out. Arthur, Louischen, Louise, and the Lord Mayor met us. Volunteers and troops were out, and everything extremely well arranged. A great stand, full of people, and a very pretty arch had been erected. Arthur rode next my carriage, and Louise, Beatrice, and Louischen drove with me. The Lord Mayor and my two Equerries rode behind the carriage. Drove through enormous crowds, who lined the whole way, nearly 3 miles, to High Beech, where an Address was received, and read, and I declared the Park open. The sight was very brilliant. There was a temporary building in which the Lord Mayor had entertained 10,000 people at luncheon. He hurriedly dismounted, and put on his robes, before presenting the Address, which was read by the Recorder, and I read a short answer, which caused great cheering. An album with views of this fine and picturesque Park, reminding one of Burnham Beeches and Richmond Park, was presented to me, and a little girl, daughter of Sir Fowell and Victoria Buxton (herself my god-daughter), was held up to the carriage, to give me a bouquet. I shook hands with the Lady Mayoress and Mrs. Gladstone. Arthur got off and stood near the carriage till the ceremony was over, and then remounted, as did the Lord Mayor. Returned the same way. The enthusiasm was very great, and many quite poor people were out. The Park has been given to the poor of the East End, as a sort of recreation ground. Nothing but loyal expressions and kind faces did I hear and see; it was most gratifying. Got home shortly before dinner, and only had the ladies to dine with us.

¹ Which the Corporation of the City of London had been mainly instrumental in securing for the public.

Directly afterwards a telegram was received by Sir H. Ponsonby, from Lord Spencer, conveying the following shocking news: "I grieve to say the Under-Secretary Mr. Burke has been murdered, and Lord Frederick Cavendish¹ most dangerously wounded, in the Phoenix Park." This is too terrible. Mr. Forster's words, spoken only the day before yesterday, were almost prophetic. Everyone was horror-struck. I telegraphed to enquire after poor Lucy Cavendish. At midnight Janie Ely came in with a telegram, saying "All is over with Lord Frederick. Both he and Mr. Burke were stabbed with knives." Further particulars would be written. I let all my children know, and could think of nothing else. How could Mr. Gladstone and his violent Radical advisers proceed with such a policy, which inevitably has led to all this? Surely his eyes must be opened now. Heard that Victoria (Dona), Willie's wife, has a son,² and is doing well.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 7th May 1882 (2 a.m.).—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. On returning from dinner, Lord and Lady Granville found Sir William Harcourt waiting for them. His manner showed that there had been some fearful catastrophe. He had received while at Count Karolyi's two telegrams, one announcing that the Under-Secretary had been murdered and the Chief Secretary had been seriously wounded, the second that Lord Frederick had died; he did not dare to break it at once to Mr. Gladstone, but sent the latter's private secretary to break it to him on his return home. He informed Lord Hartington

¹ Second son of the 7th Duke of Devonshire, and brother of Lord Hartington, M.P. for West Riding of Yorkshire, Junior Lord of the Treasury 1873–1874, Financial Secretary to the Treasury 1880–1882. He had just been appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland in succession to Mr. Forster.

² Now the German ex-Crown Prince.

and Lady Louisa¹; the latter went to break it to the poor wife. Sir William did not know how to break it to your Majesty at that hour. Lord Granville advised him to telegraph to Sir Henry Ponsonby. Lord Granville sent a message to Lord Spencer, asking whether he wanted anybody to go over, and crossed over to Lady Frederick's² house, where he found Lord Hartington almost prostrate, Lady Louisa showing perhaps more courage than anyone. She had gradually broken it to Lady Frederick. "It was all I had, I had no one else" was her first exclamation, but she showed courage and some self-possession. Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone arrived; the blow is tremendous to him; Lord Frederick had been to him quite like a son.

Lady Muriel Egerton, Lady Louisa, and probably Neville Lyttelton will accompany Lady Frederick to Dublin, if they hear that the state of the corpse is such as to permit her to see it. Lord Hartington will go to Chatsworth, where his poor father is.

There will be a meeting of the Cabinet to-day; it is possible that Mr. Gladstone will not attend. It is likely that the Houses will adjourn to-morrow for a day.

Lord Granville begs to offer his respectful condolence to your Majesty.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 7th May 1882.—The Queen received Lord Granville's letter, just as she was intending to write to him on this awful appalling catastrophe. Her heart bleeds for poor dear Lucy Cavendish, who she now hears by a telegram from Mr. Gladstone is *not* going to Dublin, which is better; for to see the honoured remains of what is dearest to you

¹ Sister of Lord Frederick, wife of Admiral the Hon. Francis Egerton.

² Lord Frederick's wife was Lucy, second daughter of the 4th Lord Lyttelton, who married Mrs. Gladstone's sister.

on earth mangled by the assassin's ruthless hand would be too dreadful, and would haunt one for life.

The Queen feels much for Lord Hartington and his sister and brother ; but, next to Lucy, most for the poor old father.

But while the Queen does not wish to pain Lord Granville at this moment when he must himself be deeply grieving over the death of a near and dear relation, she *cannot withhold* from him that *she* considers *this* horrible event the *direct result* of what she has always considered and has stated to Mr. Gladstone and to Lord Spencer as a most fatal and hazardous step.

She *must hold those* who recommended the release of not only the three Members of Parliament, but of many other suspects, as responsible for the lives of her subjects, and calls on the Government to take such strong measures as may give her and the country security, or at least as much security as is possible, that valuable lives, high and low, will not be barbarously murdered as they have hitherto been.

Mr. Forster's words were prophetic, spoken only two days before ; that this unconditional release of these dangerous men was "an encouragement to crime." *How* right he was, last night's fearful occurrence has only proved too well.

The Queen now deeply regrets that before giving her assent—which was almost extorted from her—she did not say she wished for 24 hours' reflection ; and she must tell Lord Granville and through him Mr. Gladstone never in future to ask her to consent to measures of such magnitude at a moment's notice.

What Mr. Gladstone's feelings must be under the circumstances can be imagined.¹

¹ In reply, Lord Granville said he was "inclined to believe that the motive of these dastardly criminals was indignation, on the part of these American Irish Fenians, at what they consider the treachery of the lately imprisoned Members of Parliament, and a hope by a striking outrage to excite the anger of the people of England, and to prevent the chance of pacification of Ireland."

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 7th May 1882.—Mr. Gladstone submits his humble duty, and refers to such partial intelligence as he has been able to send to Windsor for your Majesty, in relation to the terrible catastrophe which at this moment weighs so heavily upon so many hearts.

The pressure and manifold demands of the moment, so various in kind, disable Mr. Gladstone from doing more than reporting to your Majesty such particulars as without attempting any regular order or completeness he can hastily throw together.

He received the news, together with his wife, on returning from dinner last night at the Austrian Ambassador's, not long before midnight. They went over to the house, and found Lucy had just been apprised by Lady Louisa Egerton. Lord Hartington, Lord Granville, and Mr. J. G. Talbot¹ also came there.

Lucy received the awful blow in a manner which only her noble character as a woman and a Christian could have rendered possible. Mrs. Talbot, her sister, remained with her for the night, and Mrs. Gladstone went early this morning, and will remain with her to-night.

Her demeanour astonishes Mr. Gladstone, even after all he has known of her. Your Majesty will not think it affectation in him to cite a line of poetry, which best expresses his thought :

Lift up thy love above thy misery.

But there is something that she lifts up even above her love : she says she can give away freely all her hopes and joys in his precious life, if indeed the sacrifice shall be found to avail in saving the life and peace of his fellow-creatures.

Lord Hartington determined to telegraph to his brother Edward, who is with the Duke at Chatsworth, and to go down himself after doing it. This stroke

¹ Who had married a sister of Lady Frederick Cavendish.

also will be dreadful : Mr. Gladstone has not heard the result of the communication.

Though he was slaughtered by a dagger or cutting instrument, it appears that the expression of the countenance is not altered. This is a mercy : it shows that he must have been spared bodily agony by the rapidity of death. There must be an inquest to-morrow. The remains will be carried to Chatsworth, but can hardly arrive before Tuesday morning. Lucy's first impulse was to go to Ireland : but the plan is changed and she will go to Chatsworth where he will be interred. Those who knew him in the business of the Treasury are overwhelmed with the same sorrow as the persons nearest to him. In the Chapel Royal this afternoon Mr. Helmore was as usual intoning the prayers. He made a pause in the prayer for all sorts and conditions of men at the part which refers to the afflicted : but his voice gave way, and he could hardly struggle through the remainder of the prayers in the ordinary reading. Every face in the streets seems to bear the mark of the intelligence.

It is thought from the use of cutting instruments that the crime is rather of American Irish creation than of Irish at home. It does not appear clear who was the special aim of the murderers ; Mr. Gladstone thinks with those who believe it to have been probably Mr. Burke, and Lord Frederick may have been assassinated as his companion. All this will probably [be] cleared up. What most astonishes Mr. Gladstone and most others is, that on such a day, and at such a crisis, he should have been allowed to walk all the way from the Castle to the Lodge in the Phoenix Park without being attended or watched by the police. Some think that the immediate stimulus to this Fenian crime was rage at being abandoned by the chiefs of the Land League movement, and at their apparent desertion to the cause of order.

On this subject Mr. Gladstone thinks it right to

mention to your Majesty that he has had a communication from Mr. O'Shea, M.P. from Clare, the gentleman (himself wholly unconnected with the Land League) who tendered information some little time back to Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues respecting the altered intentions of Mr. Parnell. Mr. O'Shea informs him that a circular has been prepared, and telegraphed all over Ireland, which in vehement terms denounces the assassins and entreats the people of Ireland to use their strongest efforts to bring them to justice. This circular, which Mr. O'Shea believed would also contain an earnest entreaty not to offend against the law, is signed by Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, and Mr. Davitt.

Whatever responsibility these gentlemen may previously have incurred in the toleration of outrage—and Mr. Gladstone believes that it is grave—it is manifest that they are thoroughly in earnest on this occasion.

It is impossible at this moment to forecast all the issues, but there is no doubt in Mr. Gladstone's mind that, quite apart from the horror and exterior features of the assassination, it is a large and weighty public event, which may in the counsels of the Almighty be designed to produce many important consequences.

Mr. Gladstone must add that Mr. Forster has most kindly offered to go at once to Dublin and assist Lord Spencer with information which he might lack through the death of Mr. Burke. But his journey might be misconstrued, and the offer has been gratefully declined.

Mr. Gladstone believes that the heads of the Irish Municipal bodies, and the R.C. Bishops and Clergy, will be moved to denounce this horrible assassination.

The Marquis of Hartington to Queen Victoria.

CHATSWORTH, CHESTERFIELD, 8th May 1882.—Lord Hartington with his humble duty begs to offer to your Majesty, on behalf of his father, brother, and

sister, his most grateful thanks for the gracious message of sympathy which he received from your Majesty yesterday evening. On arriving here yesterday Lord Hartington found his father as well as he could have hoped. His grief for a son whom he loved so much is terrible, but he is able to speak calmly of the dreadful event and of the circumstances which have caused it. Lord Edward, who was fortunately with him from the first, tells Lord Hartington that he has never uttered a word of reproach or bitterness against anyone except the infamous perpetrators of this and other horrible crimes. He feels that his son did right in accepting the office which he was considered competent to fill, and it is some consolation to him to think that he has died in the discharge of his duty to your Majesty and to the country.

Lord Hartington is quite unable to express to your Majesty the horror with which this event has filled him. Though his brother was generally liked and respected, there were very few who knew how honest, conscientious, pure, and true he was; and in selecting such a victim the assassins seem to have desired to make their crime the foulest and most unprovoked which it was possible to conceive. Lord Hartington cannot in his own affliction forget the other victim of their crime. He knew Mr. Burke well, and no more loyal, devoted, or courageous man ever served your Majesty.

Lord Hartington will not now attempt to think of the possible consequences of this dreadful crime; but if the universal horror and indignation which it has inspired, even in Ireland, should have any adequate and lasting results, his poor brother will not have died altogether in vain.

Lord Hartington adds a word to inform your Majesty that Lady Frederick has just arrived and, although he has not yet seen her, he is informed that she still bears her great sorrow with much courage, and that her strength has not failed.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 8th May 1882.—Mr. Gladstone reports to your Majesty, with his humble duty, that, after he had moved the immediate adjournment of the House at a quarter past four o'clock to-day, Sir Stafford Northcote seconded the motion in a very becoming manner. Mr. Forster and Mr. Lowther bore testimony to the merits especially of Mr. Burke, with whom they had had much official intercourse. Mr. Parnell expressed his horror of the crime; his conviction that it was committed by persons the most hostile to the cause of the people in connection with the land; and his regret that the Ministry was about to bring in *at once* a measure for the alteration of the criminal law, which he had hoped would be a little delayed: admitting herewith that in the state of public feeling, naturally consequent on so enormous an outrage, probably this course could not be avoided. No other speaker intervened, but Admiral Egerton was ready, had it been desired, to disclaim, on the part of the family, any desire for measures of a vindictive character.

Memorandum by Mr. Gladstone.

10 DOWNING STREET, 8th May 1882.—After communications with the Queen and with Lord Granville on the abstinence of Sir Charles Dilke from voting on the Grant for Prince Leopold's marriage, Mr. Gladstone felt that, independently of Lord Granville's report, he ought himself to see Sir Charles Dilke, but owing to the heavy pressure of business he was only able to fulfil this intention on Friday last.

Sir Charles Dilke explained at the outset that he did before the division request Mr. Chamberlain to make known to Mr. Gladstone the position in which he found himself. Mr. Gladstone believes that this message must have escaped Mr. Chamberlain's memory: if not, the blame is his own; in any case Sir Charles Dilke is exempt.

Mr. Gladstone stated his views to Sir Charles Dilke. They may be summed up in the following propositions. On account of Sir Charles Dilke's declarations and acts at an earlier time, this particular case may be treated as a stage of transition, but cannot be drawn into a precedent. Questions relating directly to the Sovereign, and involving money, are questions of importance, and still more of delicacy, and of risk : for on these questions serious opposition might entail consequences worse than defeat. This being so, it is necessary on all such subjects for the Government to rally its independent supporters to the best of its ability. But no call can be forcibly made upon the independent supporters of a Government in such a case, unless the official servants of the Crown vote uniformly and steadily for the grant proposed. The Queen is therefore entitled to require their votes : and her Majesty is believed by Mr. Gladstone to take her stand upon this unquestionable title.

It would hardly have been possible for Sir Charles Dilke, consistently with honour, to reconsider his position while any actual or probable case was pending. But there is no such case, actual or probable, at the present time. Mr. Gladstone therefore had no desire to receive any present answer from Sir Charles Dilke ; but he commended the question, as one of necessity, to Sir Charles Dilke's consideration with a view to a practical result.

Sir Charles Dilke is a man who in the future politics of this country will perhaps play a somewhat important part. It was therefore matter of great satisfaction to Mr. Gladstone, that he received the communication in the spirit which was to be desired. He stated that his difficulty arose mainly out of this fact : that whereas at the commencement of the reign the arrangements of the Civil List in general were founded on the recommendations of a Committee appointed by the representative House of Parliament, the scheme of recommendations for the Royal children had been devised in a Cabinet without

Parliamentary examination, and without any opportunity given of considering the plan as a whole.

Mr. Gladstone must in candour confess that he thinks there is much force in Sir Charles Dilke's objection to the mode of action which was chosen by Lord Palmerston's Cabinet, and for which as a Member of that Cabinet Mr. Gladstone himself is responsible. But he put it to Sir Charles Dilke, and Sir Charles Dilke appeared to agree, that now, when successive Parliaments as well as successive Cabinets have acted upon the scheme, and have nearly worked it out, the time for this objection has gone by.

Mr. Gladstone carefully avoided asking for any promise or pledge from Sir Charles Dilke: who, however, himself showed every disposition to reconsider his views, and spoke of the sort of opportunities which might be open to him, before his constituents or otherwise, for the purpose.

Mr. Gladstone feels satisfied in his own mind that the just demand of the Queen as to the rule of action will be duly met.¹

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Draft.]

9th May 1882.—The Queen has not wished to write to Mr. Gladstone and make any observations on the state of Ireland, while she knew he was still stunned and overwhelmed by the terrible blow which has shocked all the world.

She wishes now to express her earnest hope that he will make no concessions to those whose actions, speeches, and writings have produced the present state of affairs in Ireland, and who will be encouraged by weak and vacillating action to make further demands.

¹ "By way of supplement" to this Memorandum, Mr. Gladstone wrote to the Queen on 28th August that, "were a question hereafter to arise about Sir Charles Dilke's admission to the Cabinet, no difficulty would arise in connection with this subject, as Sir Charles Dilke would be quite prepared to act in concurrence with the rest of your Majesty's advisers." For Sir C. Dilke's original action about the Civil List, see Second Series, vol. ii, pp. 100, 164-70, 172, and 202-3.

The Queen deeply regrets the sudden and hurried release of so many of the suspects and still more laments that amicable communications have taken place with the Chiefs of that party, some of the members of which think Hartman justified, consider pistol shots the best of arguments and do not hesitate to denounce the loyal men who serve the Queen.

The Queen must call on her Government to protect her subjects from murder and outrage and to support those who desire to be loyal but find no response to their wishes—and thus are driven into the arms of the organisers of Secret Societies—the destruction of the peace of the country.

Lord Cowper, Mr. Forster, and Mr. Burke were united in their objection to the fatal policy which was intended as a message of conciliation to Ireland and has been responded to in so startling a manner.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 10th May 1882.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty returns his best acknowledgments to your Majesty for the kind consideration which before receiving your Majesty's letter of yesterday he had already appreciated. Mr. Gladstone will obey your Majesty's commands at half past three on Friday.

Meantime he offers one or two observations which may tend to explain anything doubtful, and to reassure your Majesty's mind.

1. Your Majesty's call for the protection of the loyal expresses that which has been the unceasing care of your Majesty's Government during and through Mr. Forster's Irish Administration. But since Mr. Forster's resignation (for he had always appeared to regard the Constabulary and police services as in a thoroughly satisfactory condition) their hands have been set free in this important particular, and they have at once proceeded to bring about the retirement of Col. Hillier, and to take other measures with a view to more efficient action.

2. Mr. Gladstone can assure your Majesty that he is not aware of any concession, great or small, made or intended to Mr. Parnell and his friends. The question of Mr. Parnell's release was a simple question of legal right, and from the moment your Majesty's Ministers were convinced that *prospectively* he was not to be reasonably suspected of crime and disorder they had no legal title to keep the prison doors closed upon him.

3. It is plain that, if he and his friends mean to promote obedience, it is the duty of Ministers to do nothing to weaken his hands when labouring for their purpose. He probably cannot afford to announce that the new policy is his, and he may assume or believe that it is the Government who have changed. It may be their duty to enter into no argument with him now and on this point, for fear of hindering a work sacred in their eyes, by whomsoever it is done : and to bear in silence reproaches which may be fatal to them, and which he will add ought to be fatal to them, if they have misjudged the interests of the country at so grave a crisis.

4. Mr. Gladstone is not surprised that your Majesty should feel some jealousy on the subject of communications which, privately in part, placed the Ministers in possession of the sentiments of Mr. Parnell as to law and order. But a Minister of the Crown has no title to refuse information tendered to him by a Member of Parliament, more especially when it was introduced by most important public facts, and when that Member of Parliament is wholly untainted by any connection, direct or indirect, with outrage or illegality.

Mr. Gladstone humbly entreats your Majesty's particular consideration of these points. . . .

Queen Victoria to Miss Burke.

[Copy.]

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 10th May 1882.

DEAR MISS BURKE,—Though not personally acquainted with you, I am anxious to express to you

again, in writing, *how deep* and sincere my sympathy is with you in this hour of terrible affliction and bereavement, and how much I deplore the loss of one who had devoted his life to the service of his Sovereign and country, so loyally, faithfully, and ably. It is impossible to express the *horror* which I, in common with the world at large, have experienced at this dreadful event of last Saturday; and while nothing can make up to you and poor Lady Frederick Cavendish the loss of a beloved brother and husband, the universal sympathy which is felt for you may, I hope, be soothing to you. Trusting that your health may not suffer, and praying that God may support you, believe me, yours sincerely, VICTORIA R. & I.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 11th May 1882.—The Queen has to acknowledge Mr. Gladstone's two letters¹ both received yesterday.

She rejoices to hear that a vigorous measure and one which will enable criminals to be tried with a chance of conviction, and which will give much greater power for the prevention of crime, is to be brought in to-day.

The whole country cries out for it and the Queen trusts it will be pushed through rapidly and energetically.

While this horrible and daring murder of two valuable and excellent men and public servants, perpetrated in a most unexampled manner, has brought the danger of the present state of Ireland and the necessity for action home to everyone, we must not forget how many lives have already been sacrificed, though their names were hardly known, and how many humble homes have been rendered

¹ The one given above, p. 293, and another describing the new Crimes Bill.

desolate, like those we have so deeply to sympathise with now.

The Queen prefers not entering into Mr. Gladstone's first letter because she fears she cannot alter the opinion she expressed to him the day before yesterday.

This must have been a very trying day at Chatsworth!¹

The Queen hopes a pension will be given to poor Miss Burke.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 11th May 1882.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

On the news from Cairo, he at once telegraphed to Lord Lyons to propose to the French Government that they should send two ironclads to Alexandria for the protection of Europeans, informing the other European Powers, in case they wished to do the same.

On his return from the grand and touching ceremony,¹ he saw M. Tissot,² who had received a telegram, which had crossed Lord Granville's, asking for the views of your Majesty's Government. These were given to this effect, that it was not the desire of your Majesty's Government to bandy backwards and forwards the responsibility of a proposal. That we were ready to consider with favour any which M. de Freycinet might make. That Lord Granville could suggest none better than the mission of three Generals, Turkish, English, and French; that he would like to support this with a *menace* of Turkish occupation, but would waive it in deference to the opinion of the French Government that a naval demonstration, insufficient in itself, might give moral support to the three Commissioners; that in present circumstances, whatever might have been the previous opinions, it seemed necessary that full support should be given to Tewfik, and that Turkey should be

¹ Lord Frederick Cavendish was buried that day at Chatsworth.

² French Ambassador.

encouraged to advise the maintenance of the *status quo* in Egypt.

12th May.—A telegram has been received from Sir E. Malet this morning giving an opinion that a naval force should not be sent unless intervention is contemplated.

There is also a report of a speech by M. de Freycinet,¹ which seems in one part to put forth a claim to predominance in Egypt, although he afterwards admits the joint predominance of England. Lord Granville will take care to make it clear that your Majesty does not admit the predominance of any other European Power. Lord Granville hopes to get an answer from Lord Lyons in the course of the day. He will see Mr. Gladstone the moment he arrives from London. His inclination is to make more use of the other Powers.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

Confidential.

BALMORAL CASTLE, 21st May 1882.—The Queen has not written to Mr. Gladstone about it as yet, but does so to Lord Granville and can later write to Mr. Gladstone if it is thought desirable. It is on the subject of the Bill for the *prevention* of Crime, as she so greatly dreads any modification of the stringent parts, and she thinks the mixing up of the *Arrears Bill* with it is a great mistake. On *this* one there is *great* difference of opinion, while on the *other*, excepting amongst the Home Rulers and extreme Radicals (which she knows, *most unfortunately* for the country, Mr. Gladstone leans to), there is no difference of opinion. The Queen *calls* on Lord Granville and all those who *wish* to see this dreadful state of affairs put down, and the evil doers punished, to *resist any attempt to give way* on these important points. Mr. Gladstone

¹ French Prime Minister.

unfortunately lives *still* (even after his nephew and dear friend has been murdered) under the delusion that these dreadful Home Rulers and rebels are to be trusted, *and are well* disposed—even praising Mr. Sexton!! and she *fears*, backed as he will be by his *evil genius* Mr. Chamberlain, that he may retract, and yield and change and weaken the Bill. The Queen cannot *too strongly warn* against this contingency, which *she* expects the rest of the Cabinet to *resist*, as it *is* their *bounden duty* to do.¹ The Queen regrets, however, to say she finds (unlike almost *any* other Government) no readiness, especially not in Mr. Gladstone, to *listen* to her views and *warnings*, which so often have proved (when it *is too late*) to be right. The want of cordiality and readiness to act with us on the part of the great Powers is the result of the want of confidence which they have in us—and in Mr. Gladstone. How *can* they *rely on us*, who cannot keep our own country, or at least a portion of it, in order, and are powerless to subdue Ireland?

This is the result of the lamentable Irish policy, and it is very painful to the Queen. Some people think the declaration of Martial law would be better than the proposed Trials without Jury, as it would relieve the Magistrates from great difficulty. There are sad accounts of further outrages in yesterday's papers.

Queen Victoria to the Prince of Wales.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 27th May 1882.

DEAREST BERTIE,—The state of affairs—this dreadfully Radical Government which contains many thinly-veiled *Republicans*—and the way in which they have truckled to the Home Rulers—as well as the utter disregard of all my opinions which after 45 years of experience ought to be considered, all make me very miserable, and disgust me with the hard, ungrateful task I have to go through and

¹ Her Majesty wrote to Lord Spencer in this sense on the same day.

weigh on my health and spirits. You as my eldest son, and so intimate as you are with Lord Hartington, *might and should* I think speak strongly to him, reminding him how *HE* asked you to tell me in '80 that if I took Mr. Gladstone I should certainly NOT have to take these violent and dangerous Radicals, instead of which, two days after, I had most unwillingly taken this most dangerous man; all the worst men who had no respect for Kings and Princes or any of the landmarks of the Constitution were put into the Government in spite of me. The mischief Mr. Gladstone does is incalculable; instead of stemming the current and downward course of Radicalism, which he could do perfectly, he heads and encourages it and alienates all the true Whigs and moderate Liberals from him. Patriotism is nowhere in their ranks. How differently do the leaders of Opposition in the House behave to the disgraceful way in which in times of great difficulty the *Liberal Opposition* opposed Lord Beaconsfield and tried to injure him! You and all of you should *speak* to those who *might and ought*, to act differently to what they do! Lord Granville behaves miserably; he is the only one I know well and he never even answers my remarks!! Your devoted Mama, V. R. & I.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 28th May 1882.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. On the 24th of June last, Lord Granville addressed a despatch to Sir E. Thornton¹ recording a conversation which he had had with the U.S. Minister at this Court. Lord Granville called Mr. Lowell's² attention to the publication at New York of the *United Irishman* newspaper, containing direct incitements to murder, incendiarism, and other outrages in England, and showed him copies of the newspaper.

Having addressed various arguments in justifica-

¹ British Minister at Washington.

² American Minister in London.

tion of the step he was taking, Lord Granville said that your Majesty's Government fully relied on the consideration of the President and of his Government. Mr. Lowell listened with attention, remarking that he should not have recommended the making of any representations because he did not see how the Government of the United States could give effect in a judicious manner, but he promised to forward them immediately to his Government.

Before receiving the despatch above referred to Sir E. Thornton had himself spoken to Mr. Blaine¹ on the subject, and from the report of that conversation it appeared that Mr. Blaine's views were in harmony with those of her Majesty's Government.

The representation made to Mr. Lowell remained, however, without a reply, and Lord Granville instructed Mr. West by telegraph on the 10th inst. to enquire of the U.S. Secretary of State, whether the United States Government did not consider that the time has now arisen when your Majesty's Government might reasonably expect to learn whether any reply would be made to that representation.

Mr. West has now reported that Mr. Frelinghuysen² professed to be ignorant of the nature of the representations which had been made, but on Mr. West's recapitulating them, he replied that there was, no doubt, substantial wrong, that it was a delicate matter for the United States to deal with, but that everything should be done which possibly could be done. He promised to consider the whole matter carefully.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

BALMORAL CASTLE, 30th May 1882.—Think the news³ *very serious*.

Think we must be prepared to send troops if necessary. But think the other Powers should be

¹ American Secretary of State.

² Mr. Blaine's successor as Secretary of State.

³ From Egypt. See Introductory Note to this chapter.

asked to join in at least sending a ship each—or ships. Do not approve single action with France, especially *Republican* France. But single action with France at all times has always paralysed us.

Egypt is VITAL to us, and Lord Granville has said to me that *we* must take it—if we cannot have the free passage of our troops to India secured. We must not at *this* moment *appear* to be checked and weakened by *Ireland*.

Pray *cypher* the substance of this to Lord Granville,¹ and ask the F.O. also that any very important news should (as hitherto) be *cyphered* direct.

Show this and the contents of the box to Lord Carlingford and ask him to write by post to Lord Granville, in this sense, thanking him for his two letters.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 10th June 1882.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone very much for his regular reports. They are, alas! very unsatisfactory as regards the state of affairs in the House of Commons; and the atrocious speeches of the Home Rulers and the way in which they attack and abuse the measures for repressing crime are calculated to encourage *new* outrages which have already taken place. Five murders have been perpetrated within the last two days. Is it not absolutely incumbent on the Government *to try* to come to some agreement, supported as they are, in passing this most necessary Bill (which Lord Spencer is in despair has *not yet passed*), by the Opposition, and to prevent obstruction, costing as it very likely will the lives of many innocent people. For several of the Irish Republicans (as the Home Rulers no doubt are) have openly declared that putting down "boycotting" will produce increased crime.²

¹ This was done.

² In reply Mr. Gladstone explained that it was estimated by competent authorities that only one day had yet been lost in the discussion on the Crimes Bill.

Lord Carlingford to Queen Victoria.

PRIVY SEAL OFFICE, 11th June 1882.—Lord Carlingford presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He took occasion yesterday to speak to Mr. Gladstone in the sense desired by your Majesty (as he understood from Lady Ely), and said that your Majesty hoped he would take better care of himself than he appeared to do, and be more prudent in walking about London, as it is impossible in these days for a man in his position to be sure that some diabolical attempt may not be made upon his life. Mr. Gladstone was grateful for your Majesty's message, but said that to admit fears of that kind into his mind would make life intolerable. He added, however, that he never walked out to get a little fresh air without finding that he was followed by a mysterious guardian in the shape of a policeman in plain clothes. . . .

Queen Victoria to Mr. Childers.

[Copy.]

20th June 1882.— . . . I have been informed of the decision to send out an expeditionary force to the Mediterranean, but as yet have not heard from you on the subject, nor have I been informed of the officers who are to be proposed for commands.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 25th June 1882.—I saw Lord Hartington, for the first time since his brother's death. He was very nervous and much upset. He spoke of his poor old father, and also of Lucy Cavendish. He then spoke of the serious state of affairs and troubles in Egypt; something would have to be done.¹ Showed him a telegram, in which the

¹ During this visit to Windsor Lord Hartington confided to Sir Henry Ponsonby, "that he found it very difficult to urge and press for a bolder course in Egypt, as he, Lord Northbrook, and Mr. Chamberlain were the only three in the Cabinet who strongly demanded decisive measures; and he was bound to add Sir Charles Dilke, out of the Cabinet, warmly supported them." So Sir Henry wrote to the Queen on the 27th June.

Sultan sent a message to Lord Dufferin, offering us Egypt, on the same terms as Cyprus ; very startling. Speaking of Ireland, Lord Hartington said the state was dreadful, that the language of Mr. Healy¹ and others was monstrous. The delay in passing the Bill was lamentable. He thinks "Urgency" ought to have been asked for long ago, but much had been settled without his knowledge, when he had been away at Chatsworth. I told him I wished he were at the head of the Government, instead of Mr. Gladstone. He admitted that Mr. Gladstone had a leaning towards the Irish, as he is always excusing them to me ! The dreadful thing in Ireland is their secret societies.

Queen Victoria to Earl Spencer.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 1st July 1882.—The Queen thanks Lord Spencer for his two interesting letters of the 20th and the 28th June.

The murders are terrible and clearly on the increase. The long delay in passing the Bill, the atrocious and monstrous language of the Home Rulers, and the continued opposition to what is to deter from and punish crime *must* tend to encourage this dreadful state of affairs. The Queen hopes that the continuous sitting of the House of Commons, since yesterday, and the expulsion from the House for the day of sixteen of the Irish rebels (as they are) will expedite the Bill. Mr. Gladstone seems so strangely indulgent in his judgment of these men ; thus, *till* the day before yesterday, he has not seemed to realise their total want of *all* proper feeling of any kind. The Queen feels sure that she need not impress on Lord Spencer the absolute necessity of carrying *out the Bill* scrupulously and sternly, but there is an impression abroad that he may be told *not* to do so. The Queen denied this ; and she feels

¹ Then a Parnellite M.P. ; now Governor-General of the Irish Free State.

sure that Lord Spencer will be able to reassure her on this point. She trusts that the Land Act may be giving satisfaction; but she feels rather anxious about the Arrears Bill, on account of the principle which it involves, and the Conservative Party certainly dislike it.

The Queen is very glad that Lord Spencer goes only occasionally into Dublin, as she feels sure that those regular daily rides by the same road and at the same hour were unsafe. She trusts that even in the grounds they will be very careful. It is much felt that Mr. Gladstone and the Government, but especially the former, have never expressed any sympathy with the terrible position of the landlords, many of whose families are reduced to *utter* destitution. Could not Lord Spencer give a hint on the subject to Mr. Gladstone?

The state of Egypt is causing her great anxiety.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 1st July 1882.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letter received this evening, and is delighted to learn by telegraph that the Bill for Prevention of Crime *has* passed through Committee and that these shocking rebels were summarily dealt with. The only thing much to be regretted is that this was *not done sooner*! It might have saved some lives!

The Earl of Northbrook to Queen Victoria.

3rd July 1882.—Lord Northbrook with his humble duty, begs to represent to your Majesty that information has been received that Arabi Pasha is urging the resumption of the work upon the earth-works which were some time ago commenced at Alexandria with obvious hostile intent to your Majesty's ships, but given up on the 8th ultimo in consequence of orders issued by the Sultan.

Under these circumstances, orders have been

given to Sir Beauchamp Seymour, if work is resumed on the earthworks or fresh guns are mounted, to inform the Military Governor of Alexandria that he has orders to prevent this, and if the work is not immediately discontinued he is to destroy the earthworks and silence the batteries if they open fire; having given sufficient notice to the population, the shipping, and the foreign men of war.

Lord Northbrook feels confident that your Majesty's fleet at and off Alexandria are able to perform this service without much difficulty, if Arabi Pasha should be so infatuated as to bring on a collision.

In the event of an attempt being made to bar the entrance to the harbour, of which we have received a rumour, it will be considered an act of war.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Northbrook.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 4th July 1882.—I highly approve the instructions to be sent to Sir B. Seymour, but they ought to have been submitted to me before being sent, as they may lead to hostilities. I expect this always to be done in future. There can be no excuse for delay, as a cypher would have received an immediate answer.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF LORDS, 4th July 1882.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He regrets extremely to hear that your Majesty's pleasure was not taken before the telegram was sent to the Admiral. As soon as the decision was taken in the Cabinet, Lord Granville expressed his belief that your Majesty would approve, but he said it was necessary to have your Majesty's assent. Lord Northbrook undertook to communicate with your Majesty, but it appears that he had not clearly understood Lord Granville's point. Lord Granville can only express his great regret. . . .

Earl Spencer to Queen Victoria.

VICEREGAL LODGE, 4th July 1882.—Lord Spencer presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and thanks the Queen for her gracious letter.

Lord Spencer knows how your Majesty must feel the repetition of these terrible murders. The murder of Mr. Blake and his servant is even more daring and cold-blooded than that of Mr. Walter Bourke and Corporal Wallace. As far as Lord Spencer can learn, there was no motive for Mr. Blake's murder; he was popular, conciliatory to the people, and under no apprehension of attack; the wicked assassins had no regard for his poor wife who was on the car, and they performed their deed on a feast day of the R. Catholic Church to which Mr. Blake belonged, and the people were coming in to Loughrea to attend Mass. Some information had been that morning received that Mr. Blake was to be attacked, consequently he was followed by a patrol until the town was in sight, and an officer of police had started to meet him when he found the car without a driver and Mrs. Blake supporting the dying driver. Lord Spencer believes that a priest driving in to perform Mass was overtaken by the car and stopped it first. Anyhow, if the patrol following Mr. Blake had come on to the town, or if the police from the town had been five minutes earlier, they would have protected Mr. Blake.

To-day Lord Spencer has seen the Special Resident Magistrate, Mr. Clifford Lloyd, a most gallant, resolute, and cool man. He had just taken over the district from Mr. Blake, who was Special R.M. when Mr. Bourke was murdered.

Mr. Lloyd gives a very bad account of the state of the district. Loughrea is the centre where the conspirators meet. Lord Spencer has settled to adopt his proposal to establish joint Military and Police Posts at intervals of two or three miles all over the district. This effectively quieted as bad a part of

Clare. Lord Spencer also went into the case of ring-leaders and signed warrants for arresting 25 men. This arrest will be made early to-morrow. This will, it is hoped, break up the ringleaders. It is a strong step to take; but half measures do more harm than good, and to save life it is essential to act in this way. Lord Spencer trusts this and the other measures he described, which will be taken at once, will quiet this district.

Lord Spencer thanks your Majesty for denying that Lord Spencer will be told not to carry out the new Act when it comes into force "scrupulously and sternly." . . . Lord Spencer can give your Majesty the assurance that he has received no instructions not to put the Act in force with vigour, and he is sure that he will not receive such orders. He is determined firmly but justly to put his powers into force.

With regard to many landlords in Ireland, Lord Spencer is sure that the Government have great sympathy for them; and Lord Spencer believes that Mr. Gladstone has denounced with great force on more than one occasion, and recently, those who have acted so wantonly against the legal rights of the landlords. Mr. Trevelyan's¹ recent speech was greatly misreported and misrepresented; he did not denounce landlords as a class; he said that certain cases of great hardship had come to the knowledge of the Irish Government, and at a time like the present when the Government were struggling with immense difficulties, those who pressed harsh claims against tenants acted cruelly towards the Government.

Mr. Trevelyan explained this and Lord Spencer hoped that the impression which the first incorrect report created was removed. Mr. Trevelyan has a singularly just mind, and he was shocked at having been supposed to have made the sweeping charge against Irish landlords which he was at first understood to have made.

Lord Spencer rejoices that the Committee of the

¹ Now Sir George Trevelyan. He had succeeded Lord Frederick Cavendish as Chief Secretary for Ireland.

Prevention Bill has at last concluded its work. The prolongation of needless debates, when lives were being lost in Ireland, was very distressing. . . .

Lord Spencer . . . gratefully acknowledges your Majesty's gracious desire that Lord Spencer should not with too much regularity of hour and route go to Dublin. He only goes occasionally now and by different roads ; but it is often essential that he should go to the Castle to see officials on important business.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 9th July 1882.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. Your Majesty will have received Mr. Cartwright's telegram. The Admiral's message to the Admiralty announced that his demand to-morrow morning will be for the surrender of the forts. This is beyond his instructions, and might lead to territorial questions. On the other hand, merely to ask for disarmament would be met by an assurance of Arabi that he would be prepared to disarm the forts, but that it would take several weeks to do so ; and the position for the English would be almost ridiculous.

Lord Granville has been placed in some difficulty. His colleagues are all out of town ; not a moment was to be lost if the message was to reach Sir B. Seymour in time. He has taken upon himself to approve Sir B. Seymour through the Admiralty—telling him to substitute for “surrender” the “temporary surrender of the forts for the purpose of disarmament.” He trusts that your Majesty, Mr. Gladstone and his other colleagues will not disapprove what he has done, and will think that he was justified in not requiring the Admiral to adhere to the letter of his instructions.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 10th July 1882.—Entirely and highly approve your instructions to Sir B. Seymour.

Feel sure most of your colleagues will agree with you. If affairs are in so critical a state they should not leave town, or, if they do so, should give *you* discretionary power.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 12th July 1882.— . . . All the preparations for possible action are being pressed on both at home and in India.

The brilliant operations of your Majesty's fleet at Alexandria¹ have greatly simplified the position, and have undoubtedly increased the power of your Majesty to influence the views of Europe. It will be an immense advantage if we secure the objects of our policy with the concurrence of all the Powers. At this moment Lord Granville has received a telegram saying that the Egyptians have hoisted the white flag. It is possible that matters may be settled by the accomplished fact of yesterday. Abstinence from immediate action will not weaken the power to deal the blow, if it becomes necessary.

M. Tissot told Prince Lobanoff, and nearly told Lord Granville so, that he had "*le cœur navré*," that the loss of French influence in Africa by the running away of the French Squadron from Alexandria, after all that has passed, will not be recovered for years.

Lord Granville ventures to congratulate your Majesty on the contrary effect which the admirable work of your Majesty's sailors will produce over all the East.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 15th July 1882.—Mr. Gladstone submits his humble duty to your Majesty, and has to report to your Majesty, with very deep concern, that his esteemed and distinguished colleague, Mr. Bright, has this morning finally requested him to tender to your Majesty his resignation of the office with which your Majesty has entrusted him.

¹ See Introductory Note to this chapter.

Mr. Gladstone much regrets the unwarranted announcement in this morning's papers. Most of the Cabinet were unaware of what was impending. There is reason to think the announcement may have been due to expressions dropped inadvertently by Mr. Bright himself. Mr. Bright has felt so profoundly the pain of the severance, and, in the conflict of mind through which he has passed, may for the moment have been thrown off his guard.

Mr. Bright resigns exclusively on account of policy and proceedings in Egypt. He has been an energetic supporter of the Bills for Ireland. His career has been one of loyal sympathy with his colleagues, and Mr. Gladstone estimates very highly his value as a counsellor in Cabinet. His present act may be open to criticisms, which it is not for Mr. Gladstone to anticipate. Mr. Gladstone is convinced that it is an act done in an absolute purity of conscience. He will not attempt to explain its logical or political grounds. Mr. Bright will doubtless, with greater justice to himself, be ready to afford the necessary explanations. Mr. Bright is not understood absolutely to disapprove all wars or acts of war under all circumstances. He was believed to approve the war of the Northern United States against the South. Mr. Gladstone is obliged to admit that he does not clearly comprehend Mr. Bright's present view ; and Mr. Bright's letters and conversations have consisted very much more of references to his past career, and strong statements of feeling, than of any attempts to reason on the existing facts of the case with the obligations which they appear to entail.

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

LAÈKEN, ce 16 juillet 1882.

MA CHÈRE COUSINE,—J'ai à peine besoin de vous dire que c'est l'Égypte et les graves événements dont ce malheureux pays est le théâtre qui absorbent sur le continent l'attention de tout le monde.

Selon moi on doit louer hautement l'action de la flotte Anglaise et espérer que l'Angleterre seule, ou avec le concours des autres Puissances, sauvera cette pauvre Egypte et y établira un bon Gouvernement. J'exprime mon opinion pour ce qu'elle vaut, et sans aucune prétention à l'infailibilité; mais pour ma part j'ai bien peur que ni Sultans ni Khédives ne mettront jamais l'Egypte dans une situation vraiment satisfaisante.

Mes pensées, chère Cousine, sont bien constamment avec vous au milieu de tant de crises. Je fais en fond du cœur les vœux les plus ardents pour que les affaires finissent par marcher conformément à vos vues toujours si sages.

Ma femme et ma fille se joignent à moi pour vous offrir nos hommages, et je me dis pour la vie, chère Cousine, votre tout dévoué Cousin, LÉOPOLD.

The Duke of Cambridge to Queen Victoria.

Private and most Confidential.

20th July 1882.

MY DEAR COUSIN,—I was on the point of writing to you when your telegram was placed in my hands, to tell you that, though nothing is settled as yet, a Cabinet is now to sit to decide upon various important matters connected with the Egyptian difficulty. I have reason to think that Mr. Childers will propose Sir Garnet Wolseley for the chief command if an expedition is sent; and, though no doubt there are grave objections to taking away the Adjutant-General from his legitimate, and at this moment very onerous and responsible duties, still that can be met by some temporary arrangement; and I do not think it would be advisable to oppose the selection, as I am satisfied that the public will feel pleased with the appointment, and I further think that Wolseley is very decidedly as able a man for the field as we have got. I therefore would suggest that you would graciously *accept* the submission if made. The other appointments I will

write about as soon as I am enabled to get the list that is likely to be adopted, but meanwhile, finding that Arthur is medically fit to go, it has occurred to me as most advisable that he should have the command of the Brigade of Guards, which I think would be considered as a high compliment by those distinguished and admirable troops. . . . I beg to remain, my dear Cousin, your most dutiful Cousin, GEORGE.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 20th July 1882.—When I read that my darling, precious Arthur, was really to go, I quite broke down. It seemed like a dreadful dream. Telegraphed to him. Still, I would not on any account have him shirk his duty. Went with a heavy heart to bed.

23rd July.—I had such an affectionate letter from dear Arthur on the 22nd, in which he says, besides many loving words: "The parting from you and my beloved little wife is a thing I dread to think of, and I try to keep it out of my head as much as possible. . . . For me, who hate partings as much as any of my family, the idea of my leaving my home, wife, and child indefinitely is very sad, but duty comes before everything and my duty to my Sovereign and my country must ever come first!" What a wrench, what an anxiety! He does not yet know when he will have to leave.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

OSBORNE, 25th July 1882.—Think it very undesirable to ask Italians to join us considering the violent feeling expressed against us, besides being infinitely better to act alone.

Pray don't press it, or the French beyond the Suez Canal.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

25th July 1882.—Humble duty :

Lord Granville has communicated your Majesty's telegram to Mr. Gladstone, who requests him to state that time is urgent and that it is earnestly hoped your Majesty will agree to the advice offered by Cabinet yesterday.

One of the arguments that weighed with Cabinet was that, being in a sort of partnership with France, some convenience may be expected from having another partner.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, 26th July 1882.—The Queen thanks Lord Granville for his letter received to-day which crossed her cypher.

She sees that he feels as she does about the Italian and Turkish troops. What alarms her about the latter is the extreme duplicity and double dealing of the Sultan ; in yesterday's telegrams, one of his people said the only reason for sending Turkish troops to Egypt would be to drive the English away and then the whole would come right!! and then again his secret intrigues and communications with Arabi. The Turkish troops will turn against us, she fears. The conditions must be made very stringent. *We must go forward.*

The Queen dreads the taking leave of dear Arthur more than she can say. And he goes already on Monday!!

There are two points which the Queen forgot mentioning to Mr. Childers and which perhaps Lord Granville would mention to him for her. The first is about Newspaper Correspondents. Publicity may do immense *mischief*. Either none should be allowed, or some one officer selected to write and report

properly and discreetly. The second, and a very serious one, is the punishment to be inflicted now that flogging has (so unwisely) been entirely done away with. Could not the General-in-Chief have some sort of power given to him in the Field? It really will never do to shoot men; and some summary punishment must be found, if flogging cannot be reverted to on such exceptional occasions.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 27th–28th July 1882.—Mr Gladstone with his humble duty reports to your Majesty that the House has spent the whole of this evening in discussing the Vote of Credit for the operations in the Mediterranean. . . . Sir Stafford Northcote rose at a quarter past twelve to wind up the debate on the side of the Opposition, and Mr. Gladstone followed him at one o'clock.

The only point in the controversy which Mr. Gladstone need notice is that which relates to the control established in Egypt by Lord Salisbury.¹ Mr. Gladstone admits that at the time of its establishment Lord Salisbury had great difficulties to contend with and could only choose between them, and also that, like the former less political form of control, it has been highly beneficial to the cultivating peasantry. But he holds that, as an established foreign intervention in the heart of Egyptian affairs, it has favoured the action of disturbing parties, and has rendered necessary the series of steps which have brought your Majesty's Government into the present position. These statements Sir S. Northcote does not admit.

What is perhaps more important is that the entire House, with infinitesimal exception, recognises the necessity and justice of the steps now about to be taken. This appeared clearly upon the division

¹ In 1879. See above, pp. 2 and 29; also *Life of Lord Salisbury*, vol. ii, ch. 9; and *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi, ch. 11.

which took place about two o'clock. The numbers were :

For the vote . . .	275
Against it . . .	19
Majority . . .	256

In a larger House the majority would have exhibited a still more commanding proportion. The minority was made up of extreme Home Rulers, and of the few who are opposed under all circumstances to military measures.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Telegram.*]

27th July 1882.—The Prince of Wales offers to serve in Egypt.

The Queen, while heartily appreciating his patriotic feeling, doubts very much whether it would be right for him to go, and desired me to telegraph to you and ask you.—H. P.

Mr. Gladstone to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

10 DOWNING STREET, 27th July 1882.

MY DEAR SIR H. PONSONBY,—I telegraphed my adverse opinion on the matter of the Prince of Wales this afternoon. Lord Granville was cognisant of the subject, and agreed. The Cabinet will meet again on Saturday. Her Majesty will perhaps let me know whether, or at least in case, it is her desire that the matter should be mentioned by me in Cabinet. Yours sincerely, W. E. GLADSTONE.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 28th July 1882.—At half past 1 went down to the Drawing-room to receive the Generals : Sir J. Adye, Lieut. Gen. Willis, Lieut. Gen. Sir E. Hamley, Sir Evelyn Wood, Gen. Earle, and Col. Drury Lowe. Saw first Sir G. Wolseley, who spoke

most kindly of Arthur. He complained of our not having been ready, the old story! He was very glad we were clear of the French. Then, he presented each of the Generals, Willis and Hamley, especially the latter, a very fine-looking man. Saw Sir Evelyn Wood for a moment alone.

A little after 5, dear Arthur and Louischen arrived, come for the terrible leave-taking! We took tea all together, and sat talking for some time. Arthur told us of all his preparations, that he took only one horse, and was selling the others, what his dress would be, serge, quite loose, flannel shirt, high boots over breeches, and white helmet with a puggaree. His canteen and spy glass I give him, and Louischen his *tente d'abri*. Felt very low. We four dined together. Arthur and Louischen both looked sad, but we tried to talk as cheerily as we could of all the preparations. Went out a little on the Terrace; the moonlight was beautiful.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

31st July 1882.—What answer does the Cabinet intend to return to the insolent refusal of the Sultan to issue Proclamation unless we send no troops, and his demand that we should evacuate Alexandria before his troops land? Trust a very decided one.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

31st July 1882.—Humble duty: Your Majesty's message duly received.

The answer proposed by Cabinet to Turkish communication is as follows: Cannot withdraw troops or relax measures. Cannot agree to Turkish conditions . . . Require Proclamation by Sultan and a military convention before co-operation can be agreed to.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 1st Aug. 1882.—The Queen has to thank Mr. Gladstone for his regular and full reports of the House of Commons as well as of the Cabinet, and she has seen with satisfaction the firm tone manifested by the Government. She trusts that we shall get clear of the Turks altogether, for she is convinced that they would join Arabi against us, and that our troops would be exposed to treachery and fanaticism of the most fearful kind.

The Queen feels rather anxious at the opinion Mr. Gladstone reports as being “clearly” formed by the Government for non-interference at present! Are we to allow Arabi’s force to increase, his position to be made stronger and stronger, Christians to be murdered with impunity, and then when valuable time has been lost our troops will have double the work and difficulty? Had we had troops to disembark directly after the bombardment, probably *all* would be over before now. Delay and vacillation would be most serious—morally and materially.

There is another point to which the Queen has already directed Mr. Gladstone’s attention through Sir H. Ponsonby, and that is the great, indeed *vital*, importance of not interfering or directing Sir G. Wolseley’s movements, but leaving a great deal to *his judgment and discretion*. It is well known what harm was done in bygone times by the Aulic Council interfering and hampering the action of Generals in a campaign; and now, with the telegraph wire always at hand, interference from home, and especially by civilians, might be—to say the very least—*most* injurious. The Queen must *strongly and earnestly* protest against this.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 1st Aug. 1882.—Mr. Gladstone has had the honour to receive your Majesty’s

letter of this day relating to operations in Egypt, and he humbly believes he can give your Majesty satisfactory assurances on the several points raised in it.

1. The Cabinet are firmly convinced that there can now be no Turkish intervention in the Egyptian revolution, except under conditions, both military and political, thoroughly well defined. It is idle to plead the prerogatives of a Sovereignty, which has utterly failed in the day of need, and it would be madness, in view of the efforts which this country is making and is engaged to make, to allow of any Turkish intervention which would leave to the British anything less than a complete control.

2. The non-intervention for the time, of which Mr. Gladstone spoke, had relation only to the Suez Canal, which is now open for traffic, and cannot therefore be better than it is : and thus much only in case the Canal should not be interfered with. Should it be endangered, instant action would take place.

3. Mr. Gladstone humbly assures your Majesty that there is not, on the part of the Cabinet, the slightest disposition to fetter the judgment of the General in command. In the draft instructions considered at the last meeting there was an indication of the intended movement from the Canal upon Cairo. And this was supported by a reference to the case of Lord Raglan in 1854 who received distinct instructions, as was stated, on a variety of points, and certainly, as Mr. Gladstone well remembers, on the landing in the Crimea. But it was felt that the invasion of the Crimea had been a measure of vast responsibility, and partook of a political as well as a military character, in a word that it went beyond the sphere of pure strategy. So sensible were the Cabinet of the force of the distinction, that they struck out from the instructions the reference to the movement which was contained in the draft. They thus acted precisely in the spirit so well enforced by your Majesty.

These were the several points touched in your Majesty's letter.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, 1st Aug. 1882.—The Queen trusts Mr. Gladstone will do his best to meet the amendments¹ of the House of Lords in as conciliatory a spirit as is possible, and she is glad to have a cypher to tell her what the Government intend to do with respect to these amendments on the Arrears Bill.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 1st Aug. 1882.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty acknowledges the receipt of your Majesty's brief letter touching the amendments of the Lords to the Arrears Bill, a subject which causes him the greatest anxiety.

The majority in the House of Lords have, with full knowledge of the facts, inserted in the Bill a provision² argued at great length in the House of Commons, rejected there by a large majority, treated by the Government, and even to a great extent by the proposers, as going to the root of the measure. In effect it destroys the Bill, and entirely nullifies the vote on the second reading, which ought never to have been given.

There are other amendments touching matters of some real difficulty, the consideration of which Mr. Gladstone believes his colleagues would approach in the same spirit as that in which they last year treated the amendments to the Land Bill.

But your Majesty will at once perceive, that whether they could or could not devise modes of compromise upon amendments not fatal to the Bill, no discretion is left them upon an amendment which

¹ To the Arrears Bill. See Introductory Note to this chapter.

² This was Lord Salisbury's amendment to the effect that the landlord's assent should be obtained before a tenant could appeal for settlement.

they have uniformly declared to be absolutely incompatible with its design and ruinous to the whole measure. At whatever cost they must on this amendment pursue the most decided course, and thus much Mr. Gladstone feels himself called to say at once in reply to your Majesty's gracious letter. In other matters he will not attempt to forestall the discussions of the Cabinet, but upon this paramount subject he does not entertain a doubt.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 4th Aug. 1882.—When the Queen took leave of Lord Salisbury two years ago—he said to her that he would always be glad to do anything to serve her if she would only tell him or let him know.

In *strictest confidence*, the Queen writes to Lord S. to say that now is a moment when he can be of great use to her. It is, if he would NOT insist on pressing his amendment on the Arrears Bill in the House of Lords. The Queen does not wish to enter into any argument for or against the Bill, but merely appeals to him if possible to try and adopt the Duke of Abercorn's amendment, as a collision between the two Houses is at all times very serious, and *now* any crisis brought on by the House of Lords would, the Queen fears, be very dangerous, and might do harm to the very cause which Lord S. wishes always to uphold and defend.

No one knows of this letter and she asks that Lord S. may consider it quite confidential.

The Duke of Teck¹ to Queen Victoria.

4th August 1882.

MADAM,—I leave for Egypt to-night, and knowing that it is through your Majesty's kindness that I am enabled to take part in the Campaign, I beg most humbly to offer my warm and dutiful thanks for this,

¹ Father of Queen Mary.

the realisation of my long cherished dream of active service in your Majesty's Army.

I was greatly tempted to ask for permission to take leave of your Majesty, but on reflection thought it wiser not to draw too much attention to my going out. I know that I can ever count on your unvarying kindness and affection for Mary and our children, but I hope I may be all the same permitted, at this particular time, to commend them to your gracious care.

Trusting that I may have an opportunity of showing myself useful and worthy of the honour conferred upon me, I beg to remain, Madam, your Majesty's most humble, dutiful, and obedient Servant and Cousin, FRANCIS.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 5th Aug. 1882.—Soon after luncheon we saw the *Bacchante* pass, with the *Osborne* and the *Lively*, then turn and salute. By half past 4, Bertie and Alix, the two dear boys and the three girls arrived.¹ Ran down to see them. Eddy is very tall, a great deal taller than Bertie, very slight. Georgie is also much grown, in fact more in comparison, though there is still a great difference between the two. He has still the same bright merry face as ever. After a little while they went to see Leopold, and all took tea with him, in his little room, as he was able to sit up, and walk in. Went out to tea under the trees, and met Bertie and the boys.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Sir Garnet Wolseley.

[Copy.]

5th Aug. 1882.—The Queen knows the difficulties Commanders of troops in the Field have now to encounter from interference from home as telegraphic

¹ The Prince and Princess of Wales had come to Osborne, with their family, for the confirmation of Prince Albert Victor and Prince George, which was performed on 8th August in Whippingham Church by Archbishop Tait.

communication is so perfect and wires will unite Pall Mall with your Head Quarters.

Her Majesty strongly urged her Government to leave you as unfettered as possible with respect to the operations of the force under your command, and has been assured by Mr. Gladstone this was also their wish.

Mr. Childers to Queen Victoria.

WAR OFFICE, 6th Aug. 1882.—Mr. Childers, with his humble duty to your Majesty, has the honour to report that instructions have been to-day finally given to Sir John Adye, who reaches Brindisi to-night, to proceed to Alexandria; and, if Sir Beauchamp Seymour concurs, to move at once on Ismailia, pushing forward along the Sweetwater Canal and the Railway towards Zagazig and Cairo. He will have from 3,000 to 4,000 men with him, and the Guards will probably follow in a day or two. Sir Beauchamp Seymour and Sir Archibald Alison have authority to make this movement before Sir John Adye's arrival, if considered absolutely necessary. Part of the force destined for Ismailia is the Battalion of Seaforth Highlanders, due from Aden at Suez to-morrow or on the 8th instant.

Every care has been taken to keep this intention secret, and the successful reconnaissance made by Sir Archibald Alison yesterday was planned to occupy Arabi Pasha in front, and divert his attention from the Canal. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

9th Aug. 1882.—At 4, drove down to Trinity Pier with Beatrice and Louischen, Horatia S., Mary P., Sir H. Ponsonby, Gen. Gardiner, and Capt. Edwards meeting us on board the *Alberta*. Steamed across to Southampton Water, going right up into the Docks, alongside which were lying the three large transports, *Greece*, *City of New York*, and

Olympus. A lovely evening and the sea like glass. The *Alberta* was brought close up to the *Greece*, and we stepped on board. Admiral Ryder and Edward S[axe] W[eimar] were there, as well as the embarking officer, Capt. Brooke. Col. Pope of the 4th Dragoon Guards took us round the Upper Deck, and to the next one below, where quantities of poor horses were stowed. Further down, there were still more, and I fear the poor animals will suffer a good deal. The ship was altogether smaller and the decks and cabins far less airy and open than in the *Catalonia*. The *City of New York* was moored quite close to the *Greece*, carrying the other half of the same regiment. In walking alone, one could hardly get past the horses, so closely were they packed, but they were very quiet, and I stroked some of them. A soldier stood at the head of most of them. We returned on board the *Alberta*, and steamed up into the Basin, where I had never been before. There were crowds of people on the land, cheering very much, and we saw the *Grecian* with a Battery of Artillery steam out, amidst loud cheers. We followed her out, and it needed some careful steering, and backing, to get out properly. The *Olympus*, with another Battery of Artillery, also came out, and we followed the ships some little way, passing them, when the troops cheered, some singing "God save the Queen," and we gave them a parting cheer, which was very affecting. Waited some time in the beautiful evening for the *Greece* to come out, and followed her also some little way. Got back at quarter to 8, having much enjoyed our afternoon, though the sight of these departing vessels is always sad.

Lord Hartington (come for a night), Lady Abercromby, Mlle de Perpigna, and Sir H. Ponsonby dined. Lord Hartington said matters would be arranged, and I had a letter from the Duke of Abercorn¹ to that effect.

¹ To whom her Majesty had written, asking him to do his best to bring about an arrangement between the two Houses.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 7th-8th Aug. 1882.—Mr. Gladstone reports to your Majesty, with his humble duty, that he this day stated to the House of Commons, at the commencement of regular business, on the seven principal points of the Lords' Amendments, the views of the Government.

On the first amendment the Government advised a substantial repudiation but with certain modifications. They proposed again to authorise the separate action of both the landlord and the tenant. Mr. Gladstone also stated the course which the Government proposed with regard to the other amendments, to some of which they proposed to disagree, but most of which they were prepared to accept with amendments.

Mr. Gibson and Sir Stafford Northcote took exception to the reversal of the first amendment made by the Lords, as did other members. But the tone of the principal speeches was that of a perfunctory labour, not of a real and earnest contest. Mr. Parnell expressed his dissatisfaction with the concessions made by the Government to the Lords, and pressed for an assurance that they would not be further extended.

Mr. Gladstone in his opening statement had signified that it had been the desire of the Ministry not to deal with this important matter in a huckstering spirit, but to make at once all the concessions which justice would permit. He left Mr. Parnell to draw his own inferences.

The Conservative Opposition divided in favour of the first amendment of the Lords. The numbers were :

For the amendment	.	157
Against it	. . .	293
		—
Majority	. . .	136

This very decisive majority, considerably exceeding any of those which were recorded on the various

stages of the Bill, disposed of the question as far as the regular Opposition were concerned. They confined themselves thereafter to criticism in a moderate spirit, sometimes even savouring of a sense that the proceedings of the Lords could not be sustained by any tolerable argument.

The extreme Irish members, on the other hand, divided several times against such concessions as were proposed by the Government, but were beaten on every occasion by large majorities.

The proceedings closed between ten and eleven with every symptom of a prevailing impression that the Parliamentary crisis had passed away. . . .

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF LORDS, 10th Aug. 1882.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. Lord Carlingford stated the case in favour of the Commons in a very courteous manner, rather exaggerating the amount of concession which had been made. Lord Salisbury followed, made a very strong speech against the Bill, disclaimed all responsibility for it, and said that his only reason for not dividing was that he should be left in a small minority. A Peer near Lord Granville whispered to him how differently Lord Beaconsfield would have dealt with it. It was thought better not to make any answer from the Treasury bench. . . .

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

OSBORNE, 12th Aug. 1882.—The Queen thanks Lord Granville for his letters and reports and is glad that the difficulty about the Arrears Bill in the House of Lords has been got over, as a crisis at the present moment would have been serious.

She hopes, though the House of Lords will have nothing to do when Parliament reassembles towards the end of October, that it will meet to adjourn—as she thinks it would be a bad precedent if the House of Commons *only* met.

*The Duke of Abercorn to Sir Henry Ponsonby.
Private and Confidential.*

HAMPDEN HOUSE, W., 12th August 1882.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—As the whole business is now satisfactorily settled, I may tell you how it was brought about. I found the Duke of Richmond, and Cairns, as well as Waterford, quite of my opinion; and I think our united opinions and expressions *not* to vote with Salisbury had a great effect upon the Peers at the meeting in Arlington Street on Thursday morning. It soon became clear that Salisbury would not give way about his amendment, which would have wrecked the Bill; and therefore nothing but a division, organised on the spot by Lord Salisbury, could have induced those Peers who were undecided to declare against Salisbury proposing his amendment. On finding there was a large majority against him, Salisbury very wisely gave up his intention, and contented himself with something in the shape of a strong protest. . . . Yours very sincerely, ABERCORN.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 14th Aug. 1882.—At half past 1 went down to the Drawing-room with Beatrice, Louischen, and Helen, wearing our orders. The three ladies and the gentlemen, including Capt. Bigge, were in attendance. Lord Kimberley came in first, and then, preceded by Sir J. Cowell, Cetewayo,¹ and the three Chiefs, Nycongwana, Umkosana, and Ungobazana, were ushered in. Mr. Shepstone, and Mr. Dunn, as well as the native interpreter, accompanied them. Cetewayo is a very fine man, in his native costume, or rather no costume. He is tall, immensely broad, and stout, with a good-humoured countenance, and an intelligent face. Unfortunately he appeared in a hideous black frock coat and trousers, but still wearing the ring round his head, denoting that he

¹ Who had been restored, under restriction, to his kingdom.

was a married man. His companions were very black, but quite different to the ordinary negro. I said, through Mr. Shepstone, that I was glad to see him here, and that I recognised in him a great warrior, who had fought against us, but rejoiced we were now friends. He answered much the same, gesticulating a good deal as he spoke, mentioned having seen my picture, and said he was glad to see me in person. I asked about his voyage, and what he had seen, and then named my three daughters, at which he said "Ah!" After further commonplace observations, the interview terminated. Both in coming in, and going out, they gave me the royal Zulu salute, saying something all together, and raising their right hands above their heads. Capt. Bigge says it is very striking, when thousands do this at the same time. Cetewayo walked about on the Terrace, and came close enough to Leopold's window for him to see him. They had lunch by themselves, and we watched them afterwards from the Colonnade, leaving. As they drove away, Cetewayo caught sight of me, and got up in the carriage, and remained standing till they were out of sight.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

OSBORNE, 15th Aug. 1882.—Glad Turkish troops are delayed. I never thought they really would go! What monstrous impertinence of the Russians! Trust you will highly approve Lord Dufferin's firm language. Hope when Sir G. Wolseley arrives we shall act energetically, but *not* undervalue the enemy as we did at Maiwand and in the Transvaal with such fatal results.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

CHALET CECIL, PUYS, 16th Aug. 1882.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully thanks your Majesty for the gracious

letter he has received through Lady Salisbury. He did not receive it till Saturday evening, and has only rejoined her to-day : and therefore has not, till now, had the means of acknowledging the receipt of it.

Though the result of the controversy on the Arrears Bill has been adverse to his own views of the public interest, he cannot but deeply rejoice that events have so shaped themselves as to avert the contingencies which your Majesty regarded with so much apprehension. He is not, of course, in possession of the information which determined your Majesty's judgment upon the policy he was pursuing : but as he fears that, to his deep regret, it has not met with your Majesty's approval, he will venture to lay before your Majesty the two considerations by which he was mainly influenced in adopting it.

1. The opinion of the large majority of the Conservative Peers was originally in favour of rejecting the Bill on the second reading. Lord Salisbury did not consider this course expedient, on several grounds : and he persuaded them at a large party meeting to abandon it : and instead of it, to adopt two amendments, which were to be insisted on, if need be, at the risk of losing the Bill. With the exception of Lord Leitrim the whole meeting cordially adopted this proposal ; and Lord Salisbury pledged himself to adhere to it. Believing that the convictions of the meeting were as resolute and undoubting as they seemed, he moved the amendments publicly on their behalf, as vital proposals, which could not be abandoned : and, of course, he did not feel himself at liberty to repudiate afterwards an opinion so deliberately advanced.

2. In taking this course, he had fully in view the fact, that persistence in these amendments might, not impossibly, produce a collision between the two Houses, and a dissolution as the ultimate result. But he had acted in this matter from the first in full concert with the principal Conservative statesmen

in the House of Commons : and their and his opinion was that, in the interest of the Crown and nation, as well as in that of the Conservative Party, a dissolution would have been a welcome issue. They believed that the present House of Commons, in regard to present questions, does not represent the nation : that it gives irresistible force to subversive opinions, which the nation does not share : and that a general election would return a Parliament more nearly balanced, far less prone to extreme and novel legislation, and far more disposed to defer to the judgment of the Crown, and of the House of Lords. Of course, the Conservative Leaders, in coming to this conclusion, formed their opinion necessarily in ignorance of much that is present to your Majesty's mind : but they were sincerely impressed with the belief that in treating a dissolution as a contingency to be hastened rather than postponed, they were using an opportunity which might not recur, to render an important service to your Majesty and the people. It is, unhappily, now probable that a dissolution will not take place until after the passage of a Reform Bill, framed so as to *secure* the mass of electoral power to the party which is now dominant.

Lord Salisbury prays your Majesty to forgive him for taking this opportunity to submit in his own justification the grounds of his recent action, which has probably been represented in a very unfavourable light to your Majesty. He deeply regrets that, however unwittingly, his political course should have crossed your Majesty's wishes, or have caused you even temporary uneasiness.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

24th August 1882.

DEAR MR. GLADSTONE,—The Queen commands me to ask you if you think she can say anything to mark her disapproval of the dangerous Alpine

excursions which this year have occasioned so much loss of life.¹—HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Mr. Gladstone to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

IWERNE MINSTER HOUSE, 25th August 1882.

MY DEAR SIR H. PONSONBY,—I do not wonder that the Queen's sympathetic feelings have again been excited by the accidents, so grave in character, and so accumulated during recent weeks, on the Alps. But I doubt the possibility of any interference, even by her Majesty, with a prospect of advantage. It may be questionable whether, upon the whole, mountain-climbing (and be it remembered that Snowdon² has its victims as well as the Matterhorn) is more destructive than various other pursuits in the way of recreation which perhaps have no justification to plead so respectable as that which may be alleged on behalf of mountain expeditions. The question, however, is not one of wisdom or unwisdom; but viewing it, as you put it, upon its very definite and simple grounds, I see no room for action.

My attempt at yachting came to grief, and the chance of renewing it is small. Yours sincerely,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

Dean Wellesley to Queen Victoria.

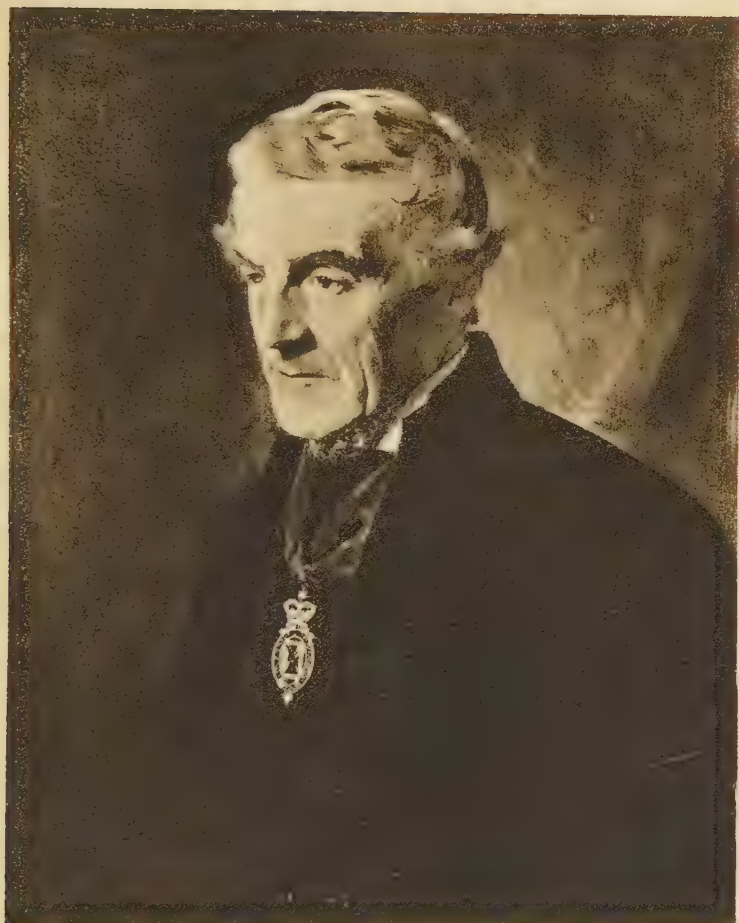
HAZELWOOD, WATFORD, 1st Sept. 1882.—The Dean of Windsor's humble duty to your Majesty.

The precarious position of the Archbishop³ is most painful and distressing. The family doctor, however, thinks it most improbable that he will recover physical strength with mental powers impaired. If he recovers at all, he will recover thoroughly. This is a relief to all his friends, as to resignation, which is most undesirable. Just at the time when he was taken ill, the Dean offered the place of Sub-Almoner

¹ Professor Frank Balfour and guide were killed on 19th July; Mr. Penhall and guide on 3rd August; and Mr. Gabbett and two guides on 12th August.

² Mr. Dismore was killed on Snowdon on 20th August.

³ Of Canterbury, Dr. Tait. See below, pp. 363, etc.



Gerald Valerian Wellesley
Dean of Windsor
from a picture by Von Angeli at Windsor



to his son-in-law Mr. Davidson,¹ both as a mark of respect to the Archbishop, and because the young man himself is most highly esteemed. The delight this gave to the Archbishop threw a gleam of sunshine over his sick-bed.

Now as to the successor—the thought of which must now inevitably be before us. At the first report, Mr. Gladstone was immediately in the field, and has only suspended, since, his communications with the Dean, awaiting a more decided issue; and the proposition he made as to whom he thought best to recommend to your Majesty coincided with the advice of Prince Leopold, i.e. it should be the Bishop of Winchester.² Till I could ascertain what your Majesty's personal wishes were, which it is my duty to attend to, I did not commit myself to any immediate concurrence. We also discussed Lightfoot.³ Meanwhile the Dean has your Majesty's commands to consult quietly the other two Deans.⁴ He has written to them accordingly confidentially. He is afraid, however, that the name dear Stanley might have preferred, such as Temple,⁵ might not be popular in the Church. There is a want in him, while very liberal, of dignity and refinement. The Bishop of Truro⁶ is excellent, and most liberal at the same time.

We now, alas! shall enter upon the discussion; and the Dean will continue to inform your Majesty, and receive any further instructions. The drawback with the Bishops is their age, and the want of that dignity in most of them (though very clever men otherwise), which has any weight in leading the clergy.

On the whole, at present the Dean prefers the Bishop of Winchester, although personally he does

¹ Now Archbishop of Canterbury.

² Dr. Harold Browne.

³ Bishop of Durham.

⁴ Presumably Dean Bradley, of Westminster, and Dean Liddell, of Christ Church.

⁵ Bishop of Exeter, afterwards Bishop of London, and eventually Archbishop of Canterbury.

⁶ Dr. Benson, appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in the coming winter.

not suppose that your Majesty knows him well. He is moderate, and a gentleman; and we want rest from our party spirit. . . .

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 10th Sept. 1882.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. Count Herbert Bismarck came here to-day, on his way to the Isle of Wight, from Ostend. He said that his father would be glad that I should know that the German interest in Egypt was so small that he could not consider any settlement of the Egyptian question to be of as great weight as his desire that there should be friendly relations between the two countries. Count Herbert said, that this was not a mere confidential message but that it was the language which his father had held to him, ever since he left England. He went on to say that his father would not oppose even annexation, and that France would not do so, the influence of the financial world was so great over the present Government. But, if he were in our place, he should avoid annexation, which, although it would not be opposed, would leave a fruitful source of quarrel with the French, who would not forget it. He thought that we were entitled to settle matters, so as to retain a real preponderance; that this was an opinion not only founded on friendly feelings towards England, but based on the immense interests we had in Egypt. He should, in our place, cover up the preponderance with every form that would make it less irritating to the *amour-propre* of the French. He also thought it would be wise to use the Turk, who should be placed as much as possible in the position of a landholder who has given to us the leasehold; that he thought a rupture with Turkey would be a great misfortune both as regards Mohammedans, and as regarded Europe. The greatest maritime Power had nothing to fear from Turkey, and, by a combination of pressure and friendly proceedings, could

always control the action of so weak a power. Count Herbert ended by repeating the desire of his father to cement the good feelings between Germany and this country.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 13th Sept. 1882.—Had a telegram saying that the army had marched out last night. What an anxious moment! Another telegram, also one from Reuter, saying that fighting was going on and that the enemy had been routed with heavy loss at Tel-el-Kebir. Much agitated. On coming in got a telegram from Sir J. McNeill, saying, "A great victory, Duke safe and well." The excitement very great. Felt unbounded joy and gratitude for God's great goodness and mercy. The same news came from Lord Granville, and Mr. Childers, though not so fast, and only later from Sir G. Wolseley, which most welcome and gratifying telegram I annex.¹ Showed it at once to Louischen, who was quite overcome with joy at knowing dear Arthur safe and so much praised. In all our joy, it is grievous, though, to think of our losses.

Later came a telegram from Sir G. Wolseley to Mr. Childers, giving an account of the battle. The losses, thank God! are not heavy, as we feared at first. A bonfire was lit on the top of Craig Gowan at 9 o'clock, in the same place where there had been one in '55, after the fall of Sevastopol, when dearest Albert went up the hill with Bertie and Affie. Only ourselves to dinner, and at 9, Beatrice, Louischen, the ladies and gentlemen, and many of our people, walked up to the flag-staff, the pipers playing. We three, Leopold, Helen,² and I watched, from the windows of Beatrice's sitting-room, the bonfire being lit and blazing. One could distinguish figures, and

¹ Sir Garnet Wolseley's telegram ended with the words, "Duke of Connaught is well, and behaved admirably, leading his brigade to the attack."

² The Duke and Duchess of Albany had arrived at Balmoral on that day.

hear the cheering, and pipes. Endless telegrams. What a day of gratitude and joy, but mingled with sorrow and anxiety for the many mourners and wounded!

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

BALMORAL CASTLE, 17th Sept. 1882.—The Queen does *not* like the words “early withdrawal” and would wish Sir Henry to cypher as follows :

The Queen to Earl Granville.

Think you should be very cautious in speaking of *early withdrawal* of troops. We must bind ourselves to *nothing*. We have not fought and shed precious blood and gone to great expense for nothing. Short of annexation we must obtain a firm hold and power in Egypt for the future. A large force will have to be left there for some time ; and some troops, doubtless, indefinitely. If you bind yourselves beforehand you will be hampered as you were by the Conference and Convention. We shall be laughed at and despised by all Europe if we do not hold a high tone.

Pray show Lord G.’s cypher and this, *when it is sent*, to Sir Wm. Harcourt and ask him to *write very strongly* in the *Queen’s name* in *that sense* to Lord Granville and Mr. Gladstone and to say the Queen must insist on this. Sir Henry should write also to Lord Northbrook and Mr. Childers in this sense.

Our conduct about the *Transvaal* and *Cetewayo* must NOT be *repeated here*. Sir Wm. Harcourt is of that opinion and that the Conference should be held in London.

Extract from the Queen’s Journal.

BALMORAL, 18th Sept. 1882.—Took my short walk, and while I did so, a telegram was brought out to me, saying that all was quietly over, and our dear Dean¹ gone to his rest. Could not believe it, and felt stunned. Such a kind devoted friend for

¹ Dean Wellesley, of Windsor.

33 years ! By degrees and imperceptibly, he had grown to be our best friend. We consulted him so much, and since my great misfortune in '61, he was quite invaluable to me, and helped me in so many difficulties. He was truly sympathetic, loved our children, and was of the greatest use to me in many ways. The last of my four intimate and confidential friends has now been taken, and I feel it very deeply.

Queen Victoria to Sir Garnet Wolseley.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 18th Sept. 1882.—The Queen begins her letter to Sir Garnet Wolseley, by congratulating him again on the very brilliant victory of her brave troops, which he may well be proud of having commanded. The praise of her beloved son and his safety are subjects of deep thankfulness and rejoicing. The last few weeks have been most trying to her daughter-in-law the Duchess of Connaught and herself, and the last few days *before* the victory of Tel-el-Kebir were almost unbearable, from the suspense and uncertainty.

The relief and joy on that day were unbounded, but alas ! the loss of brave officers and men, and the sorrow and anxiety of many families, are a deep grief to her ! The Queen is most anxious to hear how the many wounded are doing, and fervently *hopes* all may recover. She was much distressed to hear of poor Lieut. Ranson's severe wound, but trusts he may recover.

The Queen now thanks Sir Garnet Wolseley for his very interesting letter of the 3rd, received on the 15th. She is glad to find that Sir Garnet Wolseley has such a high opinion of her Household Cavalry, which she may remark is the only Long Service Corps in the Army. Their charges were splendid, but the conduct of all her troops, in the different parts attached to them, has been admirable. Nothing can equal British, and she should add, Irish soldiers

in their attacks, such as we have witnessed at Tel-el-Kebir, or in their power of endurance.

The Queen trusts that there will be no undue haste in withdrawing the troops from Egypt, where the disorganisation of everything must be very great.

The Queen concludes by hoping Sir Garnet Wolseley's health is good.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 20th Sept. 1882.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his kind, touching letter¹ on the loss of her dear and valued friend, the Dean of Windsor, which has deeply, deeply grieved her.

The dear Dean seemed as well as usual (for he was feeble in body for the two or three last years) and in very good spirits, when she saw him about 6 weeks ago at Osborne, for the Confirmation of the Queen's grandsons. She never heard of any alarming illness till Friday, and of no *immediate* danger till Sunday afternoon! The shock has therefore been sudden and *terrible*, and the Queen feels stunned by it. What the loss is to her Mr. Gladstone fully estimates. He is the *last* of her old friends who were connected and bound up with the happy past and with all the joys and sorrows of her family. His tender sympathy, his comprehension of her feelings and wishes, his anxiety to save her trouble and to smooth down all troubles and difficulties, and his wise counsel made him invaluable to her, and his loss is *irreparable*!

This sad event has come to darken with a heavy cloud the happiness, thankfulness, and pride which filled the Queen's heart on the safety of her darling son.

¹ Mr. Gladstone had written from Hawarden on 18th September: "In Dean Wellesley your Majesty has lost one of the most loyal and most trusted, most devoted, and wisest friends that ever stood near a throne."

The Rev. Randall Davidson to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

ADDINGTON PARK, 19th September 1882.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am directed by my father-in-law, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to express to you the very great sorrow with which he has this morning received the intelligence of the death of his own old friend, and her Majesty's privileged and trusted servant, the Dean of Windsor.

The Archbishop wishes me, through you, to express his great regret that owing to his illness he is unable to have the honour of himself writing to her Majesty to express his deep and respectful sympathy.

The Archbishop is, thank God, making fair progress towards recovery, but there are many drawbacks and minor complications, and some time must elapse before we are relieved from anxiety, even if complete recovery is to be granted. I have the honour to remain, my dear Sir, yours very truly and dutifully, RANDALL T. DAVIDSON.

Captain Edwards¹ to Mr. Childers.

[Copy.]

Confidential.

BALMORAL, 20th September 1882.

DEAR MR. CHILDERS,—In Sir Henry Ponsonby's absence I submitted your letter to him to the Queen in which you say that, so soon as the Khedive is comfortably settled at Cairo, Sir Garnet Wolseley will probably arrange for a reduction of the force now in Egypt, and that the Guards (Horse and Foot) will most likely be among the first to return.

I am commanded to let you know that the Queen is most anxious that the Duke of Connaught and his Brigade should not be the first to come home. Her Majesty feels that the Guards have not perhaps been in a position to see so much actual hard work as has fallen to the lot of some other regiments, though they have fully shared the toil and exertion of the campaign: it is on this account that the Queen

¹ See above, p. 205.

hopes that any appearance of their being hurried home may be avoided; such a course might give rise to misrepresentation and occasion ill-natured remarks.

I am to suggest therefore that a hint might be given to Sir Garnet Wolseley to this effect: he could then no doubt utilise them for some little time in forwarding his plans for the restoration of order.

The Queen believes that the troops are now well supplied and in comfortable quarters. Yours etc.,
F. I. EDWARDS.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Telegram.*]

21st Sept. 1882.—Trust that Arabi will be handed over to Khedive and that we shall not interfere at all.

Presume there is no foundation for statement in yesterday's *Times* that English barrister is to defend him, as he would naturally be tried by martial law.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 21st Sept. 1882.—The Queen wishes to add a few lines to her telegram.

She is especially anxious that *no* troops should *move* in a hurry, as she feels *convinced no* reliance can be placed *yet* on the Egyptians, who would, if they saw a chance of success, again rise; that is, the army.

If Arabi and the other principal rebels, who are the cause of the death of thousands, are not severely punished, revolution and rebellion will be greatly encouraged and we may have to do all over again. The whole state of Egypt and its future are full of grave difficulties, and we must take good care that, short of annexation, our position is firmly established there and that we shall not have had to shed precious blood and expended much money for nothing.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 22nd Sept. 1882.—In reply to your Majesty's cyphered telegram of yesterday, Mr. Gladstone humbly reports that he thinks the views of the Ministers will be found much in conformity with the idea your Majesty has been pleased to convey.

The manifestation Arabi has made of himself during the last few months has been every way odious, and he has done all in his power to make it unlikely that he should get better terms than justice and policy require. The Cabinet have been desirous to avoid if possible putting anyone to death on account simply of participation in the rebellion, and to accord to all persons a fair trial. But the presumptions of complicity with crime in the case of Arabi are very strong, and in all cases where such complicity shall be proved, severe justice ought without doubt to be administered.

Supposing, which is improbable, that Arabi was in no way implicated in the massacre of 11th June, or in the false use of the flag of truce and the incendiarism of 12th July, or in cutting off the water necessary for the life of the population of Alexandria, or any other crime, it may still appear that his conduct in contriving and organising rebellion, holding the Khedive in fear and danger of his life, and perhaps also in endeavouring to betray the liberties accorded to Egypt, renders it proper to make him an example.

Mr. Gladstone does not think his colleagues would decline to accept this view, or desire to interfere with the Khedive, whose ideas on the matter tend in the same direction as your Majesty's.

Mr. Blunt¹ has acquainted Mr. Gladstone that he has retained counsel for Arabi. He has also requested that he may be apprised of the nature and proceedings of the Court to be held, and of the principal charges against Arabi. Mr. Gladstone replied that he would lay this request before Lord Granville, but that he

¹ Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, who warmly espoused Arabi's cause.

could not hold out any expectation of its being complied with.

Queen Victoria to Sir William Harcourt.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 23rd Sept. 1882.— . . . The Queen was delighted to hear of the idea of a small Representation of the Empress of India's troops being brought over to be presented to their Empress. She cannot forbear from observing how remarkable it is that so much of dear Lord Beaconsfield's *wise* policy (so attacked and reviled, as she *cannot* conceal from saying to Sir Wm. Harcourt) has been crowned with signal success: viz. the great use of Cyprus, the employment of the Indian troops, and their being brought over to see their Queen Empress, which was only *not* done 3 or 4 years ago, as it was believed the Opposition would make such an outcry.

Sir Garnet Wolseley to Queen Victoria.

TEL-EL-KEBIR, 14th September 1882.

MADAM,—I am very grateful for the telegram which has this moment reached me from your Majesty. I shall not attempt any description of our doings here, as the telegraph forestalls all news. I shall content myself with saying that everything has, as yet, come off most satisfactorily. I had fully expected and made arrangements for a loss here of about five or six hundred, so I am naturally rejoiced by the casualties not exceeding one-half that number. The Regiments that grappled at once with the enemy were those that suffered least, such for instance as the Royal Irish. I was very glad to be able to mention the conduct of that Corps in my first telegram, as I think, in the present unfortunate condition of Ireland, reference to the gallantry of your Majesty's Irish soldiers may do good.

On all sides I hear loud praises of the cool courage displayed yesterday, when under an extremely heavy

fire, by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught. I need scarcely say what a relief to my mind it was to find him unhit and so cheery and happy when I met him in the enemy's works. He is a first-rate Brigadier-General, and takes more care of his men and is more active in the discharge of his duties than any of the Generals now with me. He has this moment rode up to my tent. Yesterday the tent was one of Arabi's. I never saw him looking better or in better spirits. As soon as I can arrange the train service on the railway to-day, I hope to move on from here with the Guards Brigade to Cairo or to its immediate neighbourhood. The Cavalry started from this for Cairo yesterday, immediately after our action, and I expect them to be there early to-morrow. I write this under some difficulties: all our baggage is in rear; I have no table, so write it on my knee. I hope the bad writing and other faults may be pardoned. I have the honour to be, Madam, with most profound respect, your Majesty's most faithful soldier and subject, G. WOLSELEY.

P.S. I enclose a card of the arch-rebel which was found in his tent.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

[Draft.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 26th Sept. 1882.—The Queen is glad to hear that Mr. Gladstone understands that the appointment of Dean of Windsor is a *personal*, and not a *political* appointment; she will therefore not expect Mr. Gladstone to suggest names to her. For obvious reasons the Queen thinks that it will be best to associate again the office of Domestic Chaplain with that of Dean of Windsor. It is therefore of *more* importance that the future Dean should be a person with whom she is pretty well acquainted, and whom she can confide in, than that he should be a distinguished Churchman or a brilliant scholar. . . .

What the Queen wants is a tolerant, liberal-

minded, broad Church clergyman, who at the same time is pleasant socially, and is popular with all members and classes of her Household ; who understands her feelings not only in ecclesiastical but also in social matters ; a good, kind man, without pride. The Queen, after much thought and consideration, has thought of Canon Connor, who unites the different qualifications which the Queen has enumerated. She only regrets that he is not of higher social and ecclesiastical rank. But he is of a good family and a thorough gentleman, and universally respected. He is an honorary Canon of Winchester, and father-in-law to the Bishop of Newcastle, and has been for some years Chaplain to the Queen. . . .

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 28th Sept. 1882.—Anxious to know what is being done about Arabi and other traitors and rebels. Think long uncertainty bad in every way.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

F. O., 28th Sept. 1882.—Humble duty.

Lord Granville was shown a telegram from the Khedive stating that he thought it necessary to proceed with severity against Arabi and others who were deeply compromised in the insurrection.

Lord Granville said that we had no wish to interfere with his Highness's action provided that prisoners have a fair trial and that there is not a large number of executions, which would be impolitic. This is in accordance with Lord Chancellor's advice.

Queen Victoria to Sir Garnet Wolseley.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 30th Sept. 1882.—The Queen has to thank Sir G. Wolseley for his most interesting

and gratifying letter of the 14th which it was very kind of him to write to her, as it were, on the battle-field; and she need not say *how immensely* gratified and proud she is to hear his high praise of her darling son Arthur. This dear soldier son has never given her a day's sorrow or anxiety except on the score of his health occasionally, and she cannot deny that she suffered terrible anxiety during those four weeks of this exceptionally trying campaign, which reached its climax from the day she knew of the great battle to be fought. This anxiety, the Queen sees from a letter which Sir G. Wolseley wrote to the Duke of Cambridge, was shared by him on that memorable occasion.

The Queen would wish to thank Sir Garnet very particularly for what he has said in that letter about Arthur. He has proved himself worthy of his own dear father who she wishes could have lived to see his child distinguish himself as he has done, and of the name he bears, and of his great godfather.¹ The Duchess of Connaught is equally proud naturally of her dear husband.

The Queen rejoices that the Royal Irish distinguished themselves so much, and the Highland Brigade bore so great and noble a part, though she fears they suffered very much. It is indeed a great mercy that our losses were not greater—though many a noble heart has ceased to beat and many are probably disabled for life. But this is owing to the admirable way in which Sir Garnet planned and carried out everything.

These explosions are very unfortunate and make one suspicious of foul play. The Queen hopes Sir Garnet has quite recovered.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL, 30th Sept. 1882.—The Queen has received Mr. Gladstone's letter of the 28th inst.

¹ The Duke of Wellington.

forwarding Lord Morley's¹ enclosure with regard to the proposed withdrawal of troops from Egypt, and she has already telegraphed to Mr. Gladstone deprecating any reduction of the force at present. She cannot forget the unfortunate result of the haste with which our troops were brought back from Zululand and South Africa, and the consequent humiliation and loss of prestige which ensued in the Transvaal: this should be a warning to us in the present instance.

The Queen feels strongly that by retaining our present force in Egypt we shall be in a far better and more dignified position to take that leading part amongst the other Powers in arranging for the future of the country, to which, after all the precious blood and treasure we have spent, we are so justly entitled: and it seems to her that, if once any troops are withdrawn, we shall have no pretext for replacing them.

The Khedive, moreover, has now absolutely no army; it is entirely disbanded; the only semblance of a force consists of a few utterly unreliable police.

The 12,000 men proposed to be left in Egypt may no doubt suffice to hold Cairo and Alexandria—but are they enough to guarantee the safety of Christians, and to re-establish and maintain the Khedive's authority in the various outlying districts where, to judge from constant newspaper reports, there will for some time to come be so much possibility of an outbreak?

Would it not at all events be unwise to withdraw any troops until the result of the trial of Arabi and the other rebels, and the effect in the country of the sentence passed upon them is ascertained?

The Queen thinks (and the Duke of Cambridge is of the same opinion) that under any circumstances the Household Cavalry may be at once withdrawn.

She is explaining to Lord Morley the sense in which she is writing to Mr. Gladstone.

¹ Under-Secretary for War.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

PENMAENMAWR, 30th Sept. 1882.—With reference to your Majesty's cyphered telegram of to-day, and with his humble duty, Mr. Gladstone submits the following remarks.

He understands your Majesty's apprehension to have regard to political, not military, danger: to any likelihood that might exist of a failure of influence with the Khedive and the Egyptian Government, and consequent miscarriage in the arrangements for the future Government of the country.

Mr. Gladstone will take upon him to state it to your Majesty, as the opinion of your Majesty's Advisers, that the Khedive is and must remain, probably for many months to come, altogether dependent on your Majesty's forces for the peace of the country, and for the maintenance of his own authority. If this is so, the power of your Majesty's Ministers to procure such arrangements as may be desirable will remain the same as if the full strength of the Army now in Egypt were maintained.

It is needful to consider the consequences of so maintaining it for several months. They would be 1—a charge of four millions (were the months no more than three) in addition to the charge already incurred, 2—a necessity for the immediate imposition of further taxation, 3—much trouble in Parliament, and a serious derangement of the plans laid down for transacting its remaining business.

In order, however, to attain the utmost attainable certainty Mr. Gladstone will communicate with Lord Granville respecting the misgiving which your Majesty entertains on this important subject.

[Copy.] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

BALMORAL CASTLE, 2nd Oct. 1882.—The Queen received this afternoon Mr. Gladstone's letter¹ on

¹ Mr. Gladstone had written on the 1st October that "he will not hesitate to assume the responsibility of your Majesty's appointing Mr. Connor" to the Deanery of Windsor.

the subject of the appointment of Canon Connor as successor to our beloved and ever lamented Dean of Windsor, and wishes at once to thank him for the readiness with which he has complied with her earnest wishes on this occasion. So much of her personal comfort depends on this appointment that she felt no stranger, might he be ever so distinguished, could fill it to her satisfaction, and she is quite certain that Mr. Gladstone will have no cause to regret Mr. Connor's appointment to the Deanery of Windsor, for he is a singularly amiable, agreeable, unobtrusive, and excellent man—greatly beloved and respected by all who know him. He is also a very good preacher.

The Queen will at once communicate with him, and will inform Mr. Gladstone as soon as she receives an answer.

She thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letter.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 11th Oct. 1882.—The Queen hears from Sir Henry Ponsonby that Lord Granville is anxious to hear her views relative to Egypt. . . .

The Queen's opinion is that, short of annexation, our power in Egypt and control over it ought to be *great and firm*, and we ought to show to *other* Powers that we *shall* maintain this position, though without *detriment* to them. We should maintain a large force there for a long time. As regards the punishment of the principal *rebels*, there seems to be but *one* feeling, except amongst people of morbid sentimentality, in *this* country !!

Dear Arthur's great modesty and his great appreciation of Sir G. Wolseley are very gratifying.

If only this *really* great General behaves with tact and good taste when he returns, and does not make injudicious speeches ! His friends should warn him against this ! Another point on which the Queen

lays great stress is that the power of the Sultan over Egypt should be reduced to a minimum.

The Duke of Cambridge to Queen Victoria.

GLOUCESTER HOUSE, 12th Oct. 1882.— . . . Wolseley is a very pleasant man to deal with, when he likes it, and I am not at all surprised therefore at Arthur's liking him as a Chief. His great fault is that he is so *very ambitious*, and that he has only a certain number of officers in whom he has any real confidence. If we could, on his return, only modify these two feelings, he would be of twice the value he is to his country, whilst indulging in these views. I think a little hint from you on these points at the proper time, perhaps given through a third person, McNeill, or somebody of that sort, might do him a world of good. . . . I beg to remain, my dear Cousin, your most dutiful Cousin, GEORGE.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 12th Oct. [1882] (9 p.m.).—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He has just received the Chancellor's opinion, which is very decided, on Sir E. Malet's telegram. He says: "I am strongly of opinion that our influence ought to be used with the Khedive to allow Arabi to be defended by the Counsel of his own choice, whether foreign or native. That the conditions of the Egyptian code are not to be applied to this case is admitted. Every interference with the freedom of the accused, as to his defence, by the Egyptian Government must tend (in the eyes of all who have any jealousy for the fair and impartial administration of justice, in political as well as other cases) to make the result of the trial unsatisfactory."

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, [13th Oct. 1882].—It seems to me we have taken upon ourselves a responsibility

we ought not to have. If we have handed over the rebels to the Khedive we have no right to interfere further. This was stated by you *after* the war ended. What can the Chancellor have to do with foreign laws any more than foreign lawyers would have with ours? The Khedive has conceded that he should be defended; but surely he can refuse a foreign lawyer interfering.

14th Oct.—Have received your letter. Am still unable to understand such an illogical proceeding as the defence by English Counsel of a foreign rebel whom we have handed over to his own Government for trial.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 14th Oct. 1882.—The Queen . . . is distressed and alarmed at the great facilities given to that arch rebel and traitor Arabi (who, she believes *everyone*, including Mr. Gladstone himself, wish should meet with the punishment he deserves) to defend himself—or rather to save him—for those who might be ready to speak the truth will be intimidated by the fear of displeasing England!!

The Queen recognises the legal difficulty, which she must own she thinks we have got ourselves into, by the conditions laid down on the 8th of September. It seems to the Queen that we are acting very strangely and doing *a great deal* in one *direction*, while we undo the effect we wish to produce by appearing to *protect* the very man we sent out our best troops and spent much treasure to *defeat*: *this* will be totally misunderstood in the East! Customs, laws, feelings are all as different from *ours* as the sun is from the moon! And *why* in the world should Englishmen defend this wicked man, who is the cause of thousands of innocent lives being *lost* and many poor people maimed for life? Is this right and wise? Did not Mr. Gladstone himself repeatedly tell the Queen he thought he deserved the extreme

penalty of the law ? There is of course nothing to be said against his having a fair trial, or any other criminal ; but it seems to the Queen as if all the delay which is being caused by this great anxiety to facilitate his defence by an Englishman (!!!) will do incalculable mischief ; and we may see fresh disturbances break out in Egypt if the English Government and a small portion of Radicals and others in England, actuated by a morbid sentimentality, appear to be so intensely interested in a man who betrayed his Sovereign and is *certainly* indirectly, if not even directly, the cause of the loss of life of so many Europeans on the 10th of June—in the burning of Alexandria and in the false use of the flag of truce. *If* he should not be found *guilty* (which is to be apprehended), he is at any rate *guilty* of rebellion and crime of many kinds, and imprisonment for life ought to be his fate. The Queen feels sure Mr. Gladstone could not wish this nation to stultify itself by allowing Arabi, if acquitted of the crimes for which he is to be tried, to come here and be *honoured* and made a hero of as Cetewayo was.

She wishes to call Mr. Gladstone's *attention* to this very serious question, which must be judged not with a *view* to pleasing people in this country but to our permanent great interests in the East.

The King of the Belgians to Queen Victoria.

LAEKEN, *ce 15 octobre 1882.*

MA CHÈRE COUSINE,—Je vous remercie de tout cœur de votre affectueuse lettre du 6. Les félicitations que je vous ai adressées, chère Cousine, étaient bien sincères. Je me réjouis toujours du fond de l'âme de tous les événements qui viennent augmenter la gloire de votre règne et la grandeur de l'Angleterre.

A Paris on est furieux ; il faut une double revanche contre les Allemands et contre les succès des Anglais en Egypte. On veut s'étendre de tous les côtés. Tunis ne suffit plus, il faut prendre le

Niger, le Congo en Afrique, le Tonquin en Asie, et toutes les petites îles disponibles dans l'Océan Pacifique. Ce débordement est très fâcheux, car partout où ils s'établissent les Français enrayent le commerce des autres nations.

Je serai bien reconnaissant si vous m'envoyez, chère Cousine, comme vous daignez me l'offrir, les lettres de Lord Wolseley relatives à Arthur et à sa belle conduite qui mérite les plus grands éloges. J'espère, chère Cousine, que vous aurez bientôt la joie de le recevoir en bonne santé.

Permettez-moi de conclure avec ce vœu, et de me dire, pour la vie, votre tout dévoué Cousin,
LÉOPOLD.

The Duke of Connaught to Queen Victoria.

[*Extracts.*]

CAIRO, 8th Oct. 1882.—The Courts Martial for the trial of Arabi and the other ringleaders have begun to sit, but although they sit ten hours a day the proceedings are dragging along very slowly, and until the prisoners have been judged and sentenced the Arabs will not quiet down entirely, and progress towards the re-establishment of order will be delayed. I begin to doubt whether Arabi will be hung, and if he is not I am terribly afraid that the rebellion will not be entirely stamped out, and order will only be maintained by the presence of a large English force. Although the people in this country have no *affection* for Arabi, they believe in him and in his power of thwarting the Europeans and the advancement of civilisation. The Egyptians are a most ignorant people and positively hate the idea of being enlightened and yet at the same time they are very avaricious, and their one idea is "baksheesh."

19th Oct.—You will have heard from Sir John how well our short trip up the Nile went off. Apart from its being a very pleasurable and interesting excursion, I think it was a very good thing politically. I think the more your uniform is seen in any corner

of Egypt the better; it then brings home to the inhabitants that *our* army is in occupation of the country and that theirs has ceased to exist.

The entertainment given to the Guards who accompanied me was to my mind the most interesting feature of our trip. It will be known all over Upper Egypt, and the fine appearance and good conduct of the men of the Grenadier and Coldstream Guards who accompanied me will be commented on in every bazaar. In an Oriental country like this there is nothing like ocular demonstration; that goes further than anything; for unless the people *see* a thing, you can't get them to *believe* it. For this reason I regret so much the line taken in forcing an English counsel, to defend Arabi and the other rebel leaders, on the Egyptian Government. Of course the Court Martial is composed solely of Egyptian officers, whose education is far inferior to those of the English lawyers, who in cross-examination will be able to twist the Egyptians round their fingers as easily as possible.

I fear too that the proceedings of the Court will be thereby tremendously delayed, as the lawyers will require time to get up a tremendous "*case*," and for this purpose every kind of political and international matter may be raked up. Affairs require to settle down in Egypt *before anything* can be done to improve the administration of the country, but till these trials have taken place and justice has been meted out to these scoundrels the country will remain in an unsettled state.

The present Government here are most anxious that Arabi should have a fair and open trial, but they think it very hard that they should not be allowed to manage the trial according to their own laws. Col. Sir Ch[arles] Wilson is watching the case, and it seems to me a sufficient guarantee that nothing unfair should be allowed to take place. Should Arabi and his fellow agitators get off, it will doubtless cause the resignation of the Khedive's Ministry,

and possibly the abdication of the Khedive himself. Knowing the immense importance of the whole question and the deep interest you take in it, I venture thus plainly to put my own views before you. I have reason to know that Sir Garnet entirely agrees with what I say, and that he views the present attitude of the Government with regret and with fear for the future.

23rd Oct.—To-day is the first day of the Bairam, the great national New Year's feast, which lasts 3 days. Everybody pays their respects to the Khedive to-day, and, in company with all our officers, I am going to pay the Khedive an official visit myself.

All Europeans and loyal Egyptians take the same view, viz. that an example must be made of Arabi and the rebel leaders, and that English troops must remain for some time. If this is not done, there will be no security in this country, and all the Europeans will immediately leave the country and all the troubles must begin over again.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 23rd Oct. 1882.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letters.

With respect to Egypt and the trial of Arabi she will not argue any further, but still thinks it was a pity we had anything to do with the management of the trial.

The Queen trusts Mr. Gladstone will impress upon *all* the Ministers the absolute necessity for reticence on the affairs of Egypt, and above all not to *commit* the Government to anything like a promise of evacuating Egypt soon, or of interfering with Arabi's sentence, or what may be necessary as regards the relations of that country to the Sultan. The Queen feels sure Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville will give only very general answers and insist on no partial discussion before any plan has been agreed on.

Regarding the *real* object¹ of the meeting of Parliament *now*, the Queen *would* have thought that some sort of agreement or at least some communication with the Opposition which might end in a compromise would have been very desirable. She trusts, however, to hear further on this subject from Mr. Gladstone.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 24th Oct. 1882.—Mr. Gladstone has had the honour to receive your Majesty's letter of yesterday, and has read it to the Cabinet, which met at two o'clock.

As respects the trial of Arabi, your Majesty will perceive that, as it seems, the Egyptian Government are giving a latitude to the proceedings of English counsel far beyond what was expected or advised. Further telegrams will probably throw light on this subject.

Mr. Gladstone, with his humble duty, thinks the Cabinet are entirely at one with your Majesty in regard to reserve on the military occupation of Egypt, on the future form of the institutions, and on the relations between Egypt and the Sultan. In the important business of the Control, they are seeking to proceed in such a way that they may settle the question with France and avoid reference to the Powers whose intervention in such a case can hardly be useful, and several of whom cannot be greatly relied on.

With regard to the other subject of your Majesty's letter, namely Procedure, the Cabinet have examined their position with great care, and have had the aid of the Speaker, of Sir T. E. May, and of Mr. Whitbread, who is the Member of greatest authority on these subjects. Mr. Gladstone himself, among others, desired to find some form of concession on the Closing Power which might mitigate opposition. But the reception which was given to their proposal in May rather indicated a disposition of

¹ The question of procedure.

reserve and a desire to make the most of any offer, than a willingness to meet the Government half-way, and it was felt that, after the middling success of the first offer, a second would be dangerous. In this feeling Mr. Gladstone was compelled to concur. He knew, however, that there would be a disposition on the part of the Cabinet to meet in a friendly spirit any favourable indications, which it is now the turn of the Opposition (so to speak) to make.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 30th Oct. 1882.—Directly after luncheon, Sir G. Wolseley, who only landed on the 28th, arrived. Went down to the Drawing-room to receive him. He was looking uncommonly well, and said he was not in the least tired. He gave very good accounts of Arthur, but there was a great deal of sickness amongst the troops, though he hoped it was but slight. He supposed I had heard what alarming news had arrived from the Soudan, where a most serious insurrection, in favour of the so-called false prophet, was going on. A number of the Egyptian troops had been killed and defeated, and the false prophet was said to be besieging Khartoum. Should this be taken, the whole country would go with him, and the consequences might be disastrous. Sir E. Malet's telegram was most alarming, and there had been almost a question of stopping the Guards from embarking, and recalling the Indian troops. However, better news had come in the evening, and it was decided, by a sort of informal meeting of a portion of the Cabinet, to do nothing at present. (I had heard nothing of all this.)

I saw Sir Garnet again for about an hour before dinner, and began by expressing my thanks for his kindness to Arthur. He repeated how highly he thought of him, adding, "I should say more, if I were not speaking to your Majesty." On the day of the battle, Arthur had been exposed to the hottest fire Sir Garnet had ever been under. It was perfectly



H. R. H. The Duke of Connaught, K.G.
1882

From a picture by C. John in St. James's Palace



deafening and dreadful, and he was greatly alarmed till he knew Arthur was safe. Those who were near, and with, Arthur described him as having been perfectly cool throughout, but he had a great deal of very harassing work. Sir Garnet praised the Life Guards very much, and also Col. Ewart. He said that they were so plucky, and that one man had exclaimed with pride, "I am the first Life Guardsman who has been wounded since Waterloo."

I asked about the complaints regarding the hospitals and medical arrangements, and Sir Garnet said it was shocking. There had been great neglect, especially in the hospitals, where, at Cairo, he had seen the poor men lying on the hard floor, without any comforts, not sufficient to eat, and no means taken to keep off the torment of flies, which are such a trouble in Egypt. He attributes these defects to the system, which is bad and ought to be altered. In some cases, however, there were individual doctors who had been very good. There were not sufficient nurses, in fact hardly any, and no trouble seemed to have been taken to provide cheap comforts which they said the Commissariat ought to supply! The Commissariat was also defective, some of the troops having really been half-starved. This will also have to be seen into and altered.

Sir Garnet was dreadfully shocked at Arabi's trial and the way in which the English Government had meddled and interfered, adding that, if he escaped being hanged, it would make the Khedive's position as bad as possible. I said that Mr. Gladstone had at first been strongly of the opinion that Arabi should be hanged, and Mr. Childers the same. But now they seemed frightened by so-called "public opinion" and by the Radicals. Sir Garnet remarked that the Conservatives were behaving badly also, by making it a party question. Lord Granville was weak, proof of which was his sudden desire to conclude the Convention with Turkey, which both Sir Garnet and Sir Beauchamp Seymour were against.

This had been carefully kept from me ! Speaking of the Government and of the mistakes which had been made, Sir Garnet remarked how different everything would have been had Lord Beaconsfield lived, and how party was the misfortune of our country, as it interfered with and governed everything.

Sir G. Wolseley (who sat next to me), Lord Bridport, the three ladies, Sir H. Ponsonby, Capt. Bigge, and Mr. Sahl, dined with us. At the end of dinner, I proposed Sir Garnet's health, in the following words : " I wish to propose the health of Sir G. Wolseley, and the brave troops under his command in Egypt, and to congratulate him on his great and well-deserved success."

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL, 1st November 1882.

DEAR MR. GLADSTONE,—The Queen is sorry to see that in your letter of the 31st of October you have adopted the view taken by the Secretary of State for War, that the complaints against the Medical Department in Egypt were made on frivolous grounds by officers unused to the rude experiences of war.

Although it would be unfair on the Medical Officers to admit the truth of any of the allegations made without full enquiry, is it not a little ungenerous if not unjust on the officers of the combatant branch who have endured much hardship, to accuse them of making false statements in this matter ?

The Queen's earnest desire is that the freest investigation should take place, but when Mr. Childers reproved Colonel Milne-Home, a Member of Parliament,¹ for asking questions on the subject, it is to be feared that officers and men will not run the risk of offending the Secretary of State, who condemns those who would speak out as grumblers, and that the evidence before the Committee will only be given on one side.

¹ M.P. for Berwick 1874-85, served in Egypt in 1882, and commanded the Royal Horse Guards from 1885 to 1887.

The Queen hopes that you will without delay hear what Sir Garnet Wolseley, who of course must be the best judge, has to say on this subject, and thinks that after you have listened to him you will consider that her Majesty's anxiety for an impartial enquiry is warranted by the account he gives.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

2nd November 1882.

DEAR LORD GRANVILLE,—The Queen is very anxious about Egypt and fears you do not sufficiently recognise the importance of at once acting against the rebels in the Soudan.

We should give every possible assistance to the Egyptian Government to crush at once this rising. Or else we must send British troops. Have you consulted Wolseley?—HENRY F. PONSONBY.

*Queen Victoria to the Earl of Dufferin.*¹

[Copy.]

Confidential.

BALMORAL CASTLE, 9th Nov. 1882.—The Queen has long wished to write to Lord Dufferin, to thank him for his last letters, and still more to express to him *personally* her deep sense of the service he has rendered to her and the country in a time of great anxiety and under the most trying circumstances. She had wished to confer on him some public mark of her approbation, but she was *told* he did not himself wish it. The far more difficult task is *now before* him, and she wishes to say *one* thing to him, in which he will render the *greatest* benefit to his *Sovereign* and country as well as to Egypt, and that is by stating *strongly* and *firmly* what is the *real state* of things, *in Egypt* both as regards the future Government of *that country*, which must (and the Government are also strongly of opinion)

¹ He was then Ambassador at Constantinople, but had been sent on a special mission to Egypt.

remain, short of annexation, *under our control*, as well as regards this *trial* of those horrid *rebels*, which has been most fatally muddled and interfered with. He must hear what the Egyptian Government and our Generals say upon that *subject*. Lord Dufferin will be listened to and he must be *very firm*. Pray express to the Khedive the Queen's best wishes, and thanks for his photograph which she has just received by Sir John McNeill. The Queen wishes to be kindly remembered to Lady Dufferin, and asks Lord Dufferin to write to her frequently as *an old friend*.

The sickness amongst her troops causes her much sorrow.

*The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir Richard Cross.*¹
Confidential. 14th November 1882.

MY DEAR CROSS,—I am much obliged to you for having allowed me to see these letters.² I think the Queen misapprehends the drift of our action, so far as it is *our* action. But her Majesty will doubtless have noticed that discipline is rather lax in our ranks, as it always is among an Opposition whose prospects are not thought to be good. For ourselves, our object has been, not to embarrass the Government, still less to give the slightest assistance to Arabi. But we have desired to impress upon them and the country the danger of their uncertain and shifting policy. They will neither take the responsibility of governing Egypt themselves, nor allow the Khedive freedom to do so. If the English Government are responsible for the government of Egypt their proper course was, not to surrender Arabi to the Khedive, but to convey him to some distant part of the Empire

¹ Submitted by Sir R. Cross to the Queen.

² The Queen had written to Sir Richard Cross, expressing her regret at the notice of motion given by Mr. Bourke on behalf of the front Opposition Bench: "That this House regrets that, after the unconditional surrender of Arabi Pasha to British authority, he was delivered over to be dealt with by Egyptian Tribunals." Sir Richard assured her that there was certainly no sympathy with Arabi in the minds of her Majesty's former Ministers.

—Burmah or the Cape—where he would be powerless for harm : and to keep him there for a time. Such a course would have destroyed his prestige far more effectually even than his execution. On the other hand, if they gave him up—which I think was the worst alternative—they should have allowed the Khedive to try him in his own way. The present course, if persisted in, will be fruitful in embarrassment.

The Queen may be assured that we desire as earnestly as possible the maintenance of her power in Egypt : and that our action is only directed to the accomplishment of that result in a satisfactory manner. Believe me, yours very truly, SALISBURY.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 16th Nov. 1882.—Mr. Gladstone reports to your Majesty with his humble duty that the Cabinet met to-day and . . . proceeded to consider the serious errors into which the Egyptian Government appears to be falling in the conduct of the proceedings against Arabi. These errors, together with the rather strange reflux of sympathy in this country in favour of Arabi, seem to be leading that Government into a position of weakness and even possible danger. It seems therefore of the highest importance that matters should be expedited, and words were chosen which in the opinion of the Cabinet it was proper to address to Lord Dufferin instructing him to convey this suggestion, and also pointing out that, if there is no sufficient evidence of crime against Arabi, it might be prudent to dispose of him by banishment under proper conditions ; as otherwise grave difficulties may arise.

Mr. Gladstone has been disagreeably struck by the rather irrational manner in which within the walls of the House of Commons there has grown up a disposition below the gangways and on the whole of the opposite side to view the conduct of this

mischievous and unscrupulous man with comparative favour.

Lord Granville asked of the Cabinet whether they agreed in thinking that it might be well to soothe the susceptibilities of France by agreeing to co-operate with her in moving the Powers to increase the dignity attaching to the Presidency of the Debt Commission by new arrangements, with a view to the occupation of it by a Frenchman. The Cabinet agreed with Lord Granville that a course of this kind might be expedient if he should find that it would tend to cordiality between France and this country.

Queen Victoria to Mrs. Wellesley.¹

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 19th November 1882.

DEAREST LILY,—I could not till now write to thank you for your kind and touching letter, and to say what a *sad* satisfaction it was to me to see you.

I wish to offer to make you an Extra Bedchamber Woman, thereby connecting you with my Household and not severing the link, which it would be too painful for me even to think of. This will make it even easier for you to continue in looking after those Charities of mine, which I should so much wish you to continue to do, as well as your own. Where shall I send you the £10 for The Refuge? *How* I missed *his* welcome, kind face and voice to-day, I need not say!

Mr. Connor² made a *very touching* allusion to him. Ever, dear Lily, yours affectionately and sympathisingly, V. R. & I.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 21st Nov. 1882.—Ran down to see the tent, which was very well arranged for to-day's function,³ with the back to the Porch, and the plat-

¹ Widow of the late Dean of Windsor.

² The new Dean.

³ Three days previously, the Queen had reviewed the returned troops on the Horse Guards Parade.

form extended beyond the tent. Before 11, Arthur and Louischen arrived, followed by Bertie and Alix, Affie and Marie, Leopold, George C., Mary and Franz Teck with May and little Frankie, Lenchen and Christian and their girls. The Quadrangle looked wonderfully gay and bright, with all the different uniforms, including the Indian ones. At half past 12 I went down with all the family, including Louis, and the suite, the ladies inside the tent, and the gentlemen outside. Mr. Childers and Lord Northbrook stood to my right. There was a Royal Salute when I stepped forward. All the officers and Generals, with Sir G. Wolseley, forming a square, I addressed the following words to them, fortunately without hesitation, though I felt very nervous. "I have summoned you here to-day to confer upon you the well-earned medal, in commemoration of the short and brilliant, though arduous campaign, in which all have done their duty with courageous and unceasing devotion. Tell your comrades, I thank them heartily, for the gallant services they have rendered to their Queen and country, and that I am proud of my soldiers and sailors, who have added fresh glories to the victories won by their predecessors." This done, the giving of the medals began.

First came Sir G. Wolseley, on whose breast I pinned the medal, followed by the officers and men of the Navy. It was a proud moment for me, when dear Arthur came up amongst the Generals, and I pinned his medal on him. I did the same for a great number of officers and men, but could not do so to all, and in that case merely handed them. The last to come were Col. Porcelli, with two men of the Malta Fencibles, and all the Indians, on all of whom I pinned the medal, but, I fear, pricked one. Some of the Indians held out their swords for me to touch, as is their custom. I liked to be able to look at them close by, such fine men, and some of them so handsome. I stood on the fine Turkish carpet which had belonged to Arabi, and which has been taken out of

his tent, after Tel-el-Kebir. Arthur slept on it that memorable night, and gave it me when he arrived. It was very cold. I pitied the poor Indians very much, indeed all, who had been exposed to the great heat in Egypt. When all was over went upstairs. All the officers came into the Castle for refreshment, the men going down to the Riding School, to which we all very shortly walked. The men, including sailors and marines, were seated at two very long tables, the warrant officers being at a separate table. I walked round each table, the men rising when I came in, and again before we left, when they gave three cheers.

The Earl of Dufferin to Queen Victoria.

CAIRO, 21st Nov. 1882.—The Earl of Dufferin presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and can scarcely find words to express his deep sense of the gracious terms in which your Majesty has deigned to write to him. He has no higher ambition than to prove himself worthy of your Majesty's confidence. It is almost needless for Lord Dufferin to say that he entertains for your Majesty the deepest personal affection, having served so long near your Majesty, and having had so many proofs from the time he was a young man of your Majesty's indulgent regard. Your Majesty may be quite certain that he will strive to the best of his ability for the settlement of the Egyptian question in a manner which shall best secure the highest interests of your Majesty and of England, and the content and happiness of the Egyptian people. He does not think that there will be any difficulty in doing this, provided the English Government is firm, as he understands they are prepared to be, in making the French clearly understand that the dual system is at an end. This point secured, and a few other proper arrangements being made, our permanent ascendancy in Egypt will be as solidly established as if we had annexed the country immediately after Tel-el-Kebir.

Lord Dufferin gave your Majesty's most gracious message to the Khedive, who begged him to lay at your Majesty's feet his humble thanks.

From the inherent difficulty of the case, and the incompetent way in which the French Advocate of the Government has conducted the prosecution, proof will not be forthcoming against Arabi of complicity in any of the three transactions in regard to which alone the Government has announced to Parliament that they will allow him to be put to death; but as severe a sentence short of the capital one as is possible will be passed upon him, including the confiscation of all his property and penal deportation.

In conclusion Lord Dufferin has still to thank your Majesty for the gracious intimation made to him in the first part of your Majesty's letter. Had he known of your Majesty's gracious intention, he might have deprecated such an idea as not having properly deserved so high a mark of your Majesty's favour, but he has not authorised anyone to express to your Majesty his feelings in the matter. In any event he values your Majesty's friendship and approbation more than any honour.—DUFFERIN.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

[*Secret.*]

FOREIGN OFFICE, 29th Nov. 1882.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He believes that it is now certain that the Prime Minister will not ask your Majesty during the next recess to allow him to resign the First Lordship of the Treasury. Lord Granville hopes your Majesty will not trouble yourself to acknowledge this note.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 1st Dec. 1882.—Had a touching letter from J. Ely, who had seen the dear Archbishop [Tait], and he wrote down before her the following words: "A last memorial of 26 years of devoted service.

With earnest love and affectionate blessing on the Queen and her family." The writing is almost illegible except in the signature. How I should have liked to see that holy deathbed, and to have received his blessing! He was quite conscious, but hardly expected to live till morning. J. Ely said he looked so handsome, and not as if he were so near his end. He said, "God bless the Queen and her family. My last thoughts are for her and her children. God bless them all. The Queen has ever been so kind to me." How touching!

3rd Dec. 1882 (Advent Sunday).—Heard to my grief that the dear, excellent Archbishop breathed his last at 7 this morning. His wife died on the 1st of December '79, also an Advent Sunday. His loss is immense. Few, if any Archbishop, certainly not in this country, has been more respected and beloved, or performed his difficult, arduous task more admirably, calmly, and dispassionately, than he did, for the last 14 years. He will be universally regretted. All creeds and denominations respected and liked him. He spoke extremely well in the House of Lords. Both he and Dean Wellesley were at Osborne in August for the Confirmation of my grandsons, their last act! Telegraphed to the poor daughters. Service at 12, performed by Mr. Blunt, who, preaching well, alluded very touchingly to the Archbishop. After luncheon, saw Sir H. Ponsonby about the address to-morrow at the Law Courts.¹ Arabi has pleaded guilty as to rebellion, it not being possible to bring home the other accusations. Lenchen came to tea. Saw Sir H. Ponsonby for a moment, about a letter from the Archbishop's son-in-law, Mr. Davidson,² relative to the funeral. Westminster has been offered, but Mr. Davidson knew that the Archbishop has personally wished for Addington, therefore asked for my opinion. I at once said Addington.

¹ The new Law Courts in the Strand, which the Queen opened on the following day.

² Now Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Rev. Randall Davidson to the Marchioness of Ely.¹
Private.

ADDINGTON PARK, 4th December 1882.

MY DEAR LADY ELY,—Your kind letter has reached me to-day. We are all most grateful for the keen sympathy you have expressed for us at this time. You know how much the dear Archbishop prized your visit on Friday. It was really the last time he was at all like himself, and it is a pleasure to us all to feel that his last act was so characteristic a one—the expression of his love and loyalty to the person and office of the Queen. . . .

May I take advantage of this opportunity to mention to you another matter of very vast importance? . . . The Archbishop has naturally had many conversations with me, in these last solemn weeks, about his successor.² The two men to whom he has looked forward with the greatest hope have been the Bishop of Winchester and the Bishop of Truro. The latter has been much with the Archbishop of late and has enjoyed his full confidence and repaid it richly. In the probable event of his being thought too young to become, for the present at least, Archbishop of Canterbury, my dear father-in-law has hoped and prayed that the Bishop of Winchester might be his successor. Though old, he is comparatively strong. I made a private memorandum of the Archbishop's words on the subject spoken to me last Thursday week. They were as follows—"I should be truly thankful to think it certain that the Bishop of Winchester would succeed me at Lambeth. He could do more than any other man to preserve the Church in peace for its real work against sin. I pray God he may be appointed, and may accept the call."

You will, I think, agree with me that these words are almost too important for me to be justified in keeping them to myself, but if you think it better they should go no further I shall, of course, entirely

¹ Submitted by Lady Ely to the Queen.

² See above, pp. 330-332.

acquiesce. They were spoken, as I have said, not as comparing the Bishop of Winchester's real powers and merits with those of the far younger and more vigorous Bishop of Truro, but on the strong supposition that the bound from Truro to Canterbury would be by some considered too sudden a one. . . .

Once, some two months ago, when he had been speaking about his successor, I said to him, "Should you wish me, after you are gone, to make known these views either to her Majesty or to the Prime Minister?" He thought awhile, and then said—"No, not as *from me*. The responsibility does not rest with me to choose a successor and I have no right or wish to assume it."

You will therefore please understand that what I have said is in no way a direct *message from himself*, but is *my* statement as to what I know his private view to have been.

Now, I have unburdened my soul! Perhaps you will think it better to put my letter in the fire at once. So be it! . . . I remain, ever yours very truly,
RANDALL T. DAVIDSON.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 4th Dec. 1882.—Mr. Gladstone reports to your Majesty, with his humble duty, that the Cabinet assembled this afternoon, after the splendid and gratifying ceremonial¹ of the day had concluded.

Having now received an account of the definitive result of Arabi's trial, and it being a question whether and to what portion of your Majesty's dominions the arch-rebel should be banished, the Cabinet are disposed to recommend Ceylon.

After long delays, and indirect courses, the Government of France now declines to accept in principle the arrangement which has been proposed under your Majesty's sanction, by way of succession to rather than substitute for the dual control.

¹ The opening, by the Queen, of the new Law Courts in the Strand.

This being so, your Majesty's advisers do not propose to enter into controversy, but to bring about forthwith the execution of the arrangement in Egypt itself, and to make known their proceeding to France and the Powers, in conjunction probably with some other matters, especially as to the Suez Canal, not inviting an opinion, and leaving the responsibility of adverse comment on facts virtually accomplished to any Power disposed to offer such comment.

On the subject of the Malagasy Embassy, the Cabinet think it might be well for the present that Lord Granville should dissuade the Ambassadors from precipitate action, should ask them whether any and what concessions can be offered to the French, and should state the desire of this Government to be of use in accommodating differences if at any time the two parties should join in asking them to act with that view.

Lord Granville in the absence of Mr. Childers will take the necessary steps, under your Majesty's gracious pleasure, with respect to Sir Evelyn Wood and the Egyptian command. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Rev. Randall Davidson.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 5th Dec. 1882.—I have been deeply touched by your beautiful account of the last days and hours of the beloved Archbishop, who had ever been so kind to me and mine, and for whom I had the greatest respect, esteem, and sincerest affection! That he should have thought and spoken of me, so near the end of his exemplary, useful, and valuable life, is most gratifying to me and will help to reconcile me to the great disappointment of being unable to go and see him. Nothing but the distance from Addington and the overwhelming number of public duties could prevent me from doing so. It was also most painful to me to be unable to put off yesterday's ceremony.

Lady Ely has forwarded to me your letter and I

am most grateful to you for what you tell me as to the dear Archbishop's views, respecting his successor, painful as it is to think of such a thing. I may, however, say that I had heard just the same from Mr. Gladstone, who had heard it from the Dean of Durham, *not* as a message, but from what he (Mr. G.) had *gathered* from the Dean. These views, I may in confidence state, will be followed, the Bishop of Winchester's age being perhaps the only difficulty. It is a great comfort to know the dear Archbishop's opinion on such a momentous question. I shall be most grateful for the engraving you mention and have a request to make, which is, whether I might have a little of his hair ?

Would it suit you to come to see me on Saturday, either at quarter to 3 or half past 5 ? I am most anxious to make your acquaintance, having heard so much of you. Pray say everything most kind from me to dear Miss Tait and her sisters. You have been so devoted to him that the thought of this and his present happiness must be a comfort in the midst of the great sorrow for the loss of such a father ! Ever yours very sincerely, VICTORIA R. & I.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 9th Dec. 1882.—Saw Mr. Davidson, the Archbishop's son-in-law, and was seldom more struck than I have been by his personality. The Archbishop, Mr. Davidson said, had been much attached to me, and always used to pray specially for me every night. Mr. Davidson alluded to the letter the Archbishop had written me, and to the strong hope he had expressed (though he would not leave it exactly as a message), that the Bishop of Winchester, or Bishop of Truro, might succeed him. The former was rather old, but would command the respect and acquiescence of all the Bishops. The Archbishop had seen him several times during his illness, also the Bishop of Truro, and had had a great deal of conversation with him and entered most

fully into his views and plans. The Bishop of Truro, Mr. Davidson said, was a man of singular power, firmness, and at the same time, gentleness. He, Mr. Davidson, had been during 6 years Chaplain to the Archbishop, and for 4 years, his son-in-law. For the last 2, he had written everything for the Archbishop from dictation, but latterly he had only got directions as to what he was to say. The 3 months' illness had been much blessed to them, for they had been able to talk over and discuss everything, nothing being omitted. A cast, after death, had been taken, and they hoped to get a statue made, either for Canterbury or Westminster. No Archbishop, since Cardinal Pole, had been buried at Canterbury, hence the idea of his being laid at Westminster Abbey, but they greatly preferred Addington. We went over various topics, and I feel that Mr. Davidson is a man who may be of great use to me, for which I am truly thankful.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 9th December 1882.

DEAR LORD GRANVILLE,—The Queen thinks you could not have received her cypher telegram yesterday as she has had no reply except this telegram No. 19 to Lord Dufferin. She does not think you could have intended to have answered her in this manner. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Note by Sir Henry Ponsonby :

The Queen remonstrated against Arabi being sent to Ceylon. No reply came—but a telegram from Lord G[ranville] to Lord Dufferin. "The Government approve of Ceylon."

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 11th Dec. 1882.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He has received the enclosed private telegram from Lord Dufferin. Your Majesty probably rather sym-

pathises with the Khedive's family. But as the fact is accomplished, it would evidently assist Lord Dufferin if your Majesty would consent to send some message to the Khedive. A message from the Government would not have near the same effect.

[ENCLOSURE.]

The Earl of Dufferin to Earl Granville.

[Cypher Telegram.]

Private and Personal.

CAIRO, 11th Dec. 1882.—It would be a good thing if the Government, and still better her Majesty, would send a personal message to the Khedive congratulating him on the magnanimity and good sense he has shown in the Arabi affair.

It will give him courage to face his womankind, who are frantic.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 12th Dec. 1882.—The Queen *cannot possibly* send the message of approbation to the Khedive for his "magnanimity" to Arabi, as she *so highly disapproves* of the weakness which actuated it. It is for the British Government, who are solely responsible for this act—which was *forced* upon the Khedive and the *Queen must ever* think very unwisely—to send him this message.

The "womankind" show a right feeling in being "frantic."

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 11th Dec. 1882.—Had a letter from Mr. Gladstone, proposing Mr. Childers for the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, which would not be too much for his health; Lord Hartington for the War Office (very good), and Lord Derby and Sir C. Dilke to come into the Cabinet, the former probably for India, and the latter for the Duchy of Lancaster.

Saw Sir H. Ponsonby and protested against both, knowing from experience how dreadful Lord Derby had been at the India Office in '58, and said that it would really never do to take Sir C. Dilke for the Duchy of Lancaster.

After luncheon, saw Sir H. Ponsonby again, and then Mr. Gladstone. I immediately began about the Archbishop's successor and said that there seemed no longer any doubt that the Bishop of Winchester was too old, and that from all sides I heard such praise of the Bishop of Truro, and such a wish that he should be appointed, that I therefore authorised Mr. Gladstone to write in that sense.¹ At the same time I was anxious he should write to the Bishop of Winchester, expressing regret that, under the circumstances of his advanced age, it was thought better and kinder not to ask him to undertake new and arduous duties, for which, otherwise, he was so well fitted. Mr. Gladstone said he was delighted to hear this, as it had been his own wish and intention to do so, even had I not mentioned it. I then said what a very high opinion Mr. Davidson had of Bishop Benson, and observed that I thought the former an admirable and charming person, thoroughly acquainted with everything concerning the Church and the Clergy, to which Mr. Gladstone responded, saying he had no doubt a career before him.

I then spoke of the changes in the Government, very strongly deprecating Lord Derby's accession to the Cabinet, which I considered would be no advantage, as he had always been a great trouble to all the Cabinets he had been in, and especially protested

¹ In submitting Bishop Benson's name to the Queen on the 9th December, Mr. Gladstone had written that he believed the Bishop "to be deficient in no point of primary importance, while it is certain that in devotion to his high calling, in organising power, in the exercise of sympathy and in commanding it from others, and in freedom from every narrowing and distorting prejudice of school or party, he is not easily to be surpassed among the men of his generation." The Prime Minister subsequently compiled a table which he submitted to the Queen on 14th December, showing that for 220 years (1) no archbishop had been appointed at or over the age of 70, (2) seven archbishops had been appointed under 60 and two at 50.

against his going to the India Office, urging Lord Kimberley's going there, and Lord Derby to the Colonies. I insisted on Sir C. Dilke making some kind of public apology. His office still undecided.

Saw Dean Connor about the Chapter to-morrow ; soon after, saw Dean Bradley (of Westminster). We lamented over the deaths of dear Dean Wellesley and the Archbishop, the latter of which he said tore his heart. Of Mr. Davidson he said he knew no better man in the world, so unselfish and self-sacrificing.

The Earl of Dufferin to Queen Victoria.

CAIRO, 12th Dec. 1882.—The Earl of Dufferin presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and in obedience to your Majesty's gracious commands ventures to trouble your Majesty with another letter.

The chief business which has been occupying Lord Dufferin's attention has been the trial of Arabi. From first to last the entire business has been in a great mess. It was almost a hopeless experiment trying to engraft English processes of justice upon the customs of an Eastern Court of Law. But even this difficulty might have been overcome if the lawyer employed by the Egyptian Government had shown more ability. He proved quite incompetent, however, for the task assigned to him ; and as a result the case for the prosecution entirely broke down at the outset. Lord Dufferin had instructed Sir Charles Wilson (who had been appointed by your Majesty's Government to watch the case) to banish all political considerations from his mind, to go simply upon the facts before him, and if anything like a good case was made out against Arabi to report accordingly, Lord Dufferin being quite determined, if his connection with the massacres at Alexandria were proved, not to raise his little finger to save him from the doom he deserved. Sir Charles Wilson is a very cool-headed man, so that when he reported that there was not really a tittle of evidence implicating Arabi with the tragedy of the 11th of

June, and that, even as regarded the conflagration of Alexandria, the case against him was very weak, and merely based upon the assumption that, though he did not order it, he might have prevented it, Lord Dufferin felt that for the Egyptian Government to continue the trial under the circumstances would plunge them into endless difficulties. Fifty-two days had been consumed in examining the Crown witnesses, so that there was every prospect of the trial enduring another two or three months, during which time the Khedive and all the notabilities of the country, most of whom had almost up to the last moment sided with Arabi, would have been dragged through the mire. The revelations which would have ensued would of course have been worked up by Mr. Blunt and the Arabists of England into material for a renewed agitation on his behalf; and when at last the proceedings had come to an end it would have been more impossible than ever to have allowed the capital sentence to be inflicted.

With such a disastrous result in prospect Lord Dufferin advised the Khedive and his Ministers to prosecute Arabi on the simple charge of rebellion, to which he had reason to know his Counsel would advise him to plead guilty. In this way the authority of the anomalous Court which had been erected would be rehabilitated, the capital sentence would be passed, and though subsequently commuted would carry with it not merely perpetual exile but the confiscation of the prisoner's property and his degradation from his civil and military rank. In this way a business has been got rid of which was keeping everything at a standstill, and preventing anything from being done for the reorganisation of the country, as well as filling the minds of the people with astonishment, uncertainty, and every kind of delusion. The seven principal rebel chiefs have now been disposed of, and all the other important and dangerous persons implicated in the late troubles will be exiled by decree, so that the Egyptian Government by the

end of the year will be rid of all their enemies. A certain number of prisoners will remain charged with murder, arson, and other crimes at common law. These will be dealt with by a mixed Court at Alexandria which was constituted *ad hoc* before Lord Dufferin came to the country, and with whose proceedings it will not be necessary to interfere.

Lord Dufferin is happy to be able to assure your Majesty that the health of your Majesty's troops is improving, the cases sent in not being so bad on admission as formerly and recovering sooner.

The nomination of Sir Evelyn Wood¹ has been welcomed here with universal approval, and has been especially gratifying to the Khedive. Lord Dufferin is very glad to learn that the General is to start so soon, as his presence here will be a great advantage. The scheme for the reorganisation of the gendarmerie and police has been completed.

Lord Dufferin is watching with great anxiety the result of the negotiations with France. Any return to the dual system would be most undesirable. Lord Dufferin thinks that it should be made perfectly clear that we do not intend to tolerate the affairs of Egypt being thrown into confusion by the renewed *ingérence* of the French.

Lord Dufferin thinks that the following story about Tel-el-Kebir may not have reached your Majesty's ears: After the troops had stormed the Egyptian lines and advanced far beyond them, some of the men returned to their original position. On their way they came upon an elderly Arab lying on his stomach with a heap of empty cartridges beside him, firing away at rather a high elevation. Somebody hit him on the back and asked him what he meant by it, upon which he turned round with considerable irritation and said, "I don't in the least know who you are—I am blind," and wanted to return to his occupation of knocking over imaginary Englishmen.—DUFFERIN.

¹ As Sirdar of the Egyptian Army.

The Rev. Randall Davidson to Queen Victoria.

ADDINGTON PARK, 13th December 1882.

MADAM,—I have the honour to report, in accordance with your Majesty's direction, the result of my confidential interview this afternoon with Mrs. Harold Browne. I merely told Mrs. Browne that your Majesty, having certain names under consideration, had directed me to find out as accurately as possible what is the present condition of the Bishop of Winchester's health and physical vigour. I feel quite sure that Mrs. Browne will respect absolutely the confidential character of the communication.

I learn from her that the Bishop of Winchester is really stronger at the moment than he has been for some time past, and that he finds himself quite competent for the discharge of any reasonable amount of work *upon his present lines*. He suffers from no actual complaint of any sort, except that he is subject, from time to time, to really severe colds which lay him temporarily aside.

At the same time Mrs. Browne shrinks from the responsibility of saying decidedly that the Bishop, who will be 72 next March, would be physically strong enough to enter upon all the somewhat unknown duties of the Primacy, should the post be offered to him. She naturally sees that his strength and vigour are likely to grow yearly less; and she tells me that she and the Bishop would alike recoil from the idea of his entering upon such vast and new responsibility unless with a reasonable prospect of his being able to discharge its duties for some years at least. On this point, were the Primacy to be offered to him, the Bishop would (Mrs. Browne thinks) take a competent medical opinion before accepting or declining. I tried to explain to Mrs. Browne, as fully as I could, the actual character of the work done during the course of the year by the late Archbishop; and, while she thinks the

Bishop's strength would be husbanded by his having, as Primate, so much less travelling than the Diocese of Winchester demands, she evidently has some fear as to his very nervous temperament being proof against the exceptional anxieties which must press upon the Archbishop of Canterbury. In short, Madam, Mrs. Browne is unable to form a clear opinion as to the Bishop's physical capabilities for the post, although on the whole she would look hopefully to his being able for it.

Your Majesty will perhaps allow me to say that my protracted conversation with Mrs. Browne led me to attach somewhat more weight than I had previously given to what I have certainly heard in more than one quarter as to the Bishop's decreasing vigour. Nor would it be right for me to lead your Majesty to suppose that the late Archbishop, before expressing the private opinion which has been communicated to your Majesty and to Mr. Gladstone, had given special and minute consideration to the *physical* qualifications or disqualifications of the Bishop of Winchester for the work of the Primacy.

I have now, I think, had the honour of laying before your Majesty, with my humble duty, all the information within my reach as to the health of the Bishop of Winchester.

Your Majesty has been pleased to direct me also to answer another question to the best of my humble ability—namely, “What would the feeling of the Bishops be, looking to the possibility of the Bishop of Truro being chosen?”

The knowledge I have gained from the private correspondence, and the Episcopal and other meetings of the last five years at Lambeth, enables me, I think, to answer your Majesty's question with tolerable certainty. The Bishop of Winchester is probably the only Bishop whose presidency (were his health known to be equal to it) would fall in with the general wish of the entire Episcopate. His gentle

wisdom and unobtrusive learning have long commended him, in a marked degree, to all the Bishops, even to those who would naturally be most afraid of his supposed High Church views. I have again and again had opportunity of observing the respect with which his views have been received on subjects where the difference of opinion had been marked.

Next to him, IN THE VIEW OF THE EPISCOPATE, would undoubtedly stand the Bishop of Durham. His position is so unique a one, and his reputation in certain fields so unrivalled, that, with two dissentients only among the Bishops, I believe he would be received with emphatic favour as their chief.

The Bishop of Truro would, as I believe, stand next in Episcopal favour. He is only a few years younger than the late Archbishop was on his appointment to the Primacy, and I cannot recall a single instance, either at a Lambeth meeting or in Convocation, in which he has met with anything but cordiality and admiration from the assembled Bishops. The Archbishop often spoke to me of his sudden access to Episcopal favour and reputation. But undoubtedly there are three, or probably four, Bishops who would feel hurt and angry at his appointment to the Primacy; and this it would take all his remarkable geniality and grace and goodness to overcome.¹

I have felt it my duty, Madam, to endeavour, to the best of my ability, to answer frankly the important question your Majesty did me the honour of putting to me. I cannot find words to express the natural diffidence I feel on being thus called upon to give, however humbly, an opinion on matters involving such momentous issues. Your Majesty's most

¹ Dr. Jacobson, Bishop of Chester, who as an old friend was consulted by Mr. Gladstone confidentially on this point, replied that Dr. Benson "has done so much and so well in organising a new diocese, presenting some unusual difficulties, that the number of his years can hardly be considered as a reasonable objection, nor can I believe that it would be so regarded."

gracious letter left me, however, no alternative, and I have tried, in humble reliance on the guidance of Almighty God, to answer your Majesty's questions by as plain and simple a statement as possible of what I believe to be the truth. I have the honour to remain, Madam, your Majesty's most obedient humble servant, RANDALL T. DAVIDSON.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 14th Dec. 1882.—The Queen has read with *no* surprise, but with much displeasure—IF he really is to enter the Cabinet—much of Lord Derby's speech at Manchester. His observations about Egypt and Madagascar fully bear out what the Queen told Mr. Gladstone about Lord Derby's observation : "Let Egypt take care of itself."

Mr. Gladstone will introduce a most disagreeable and irresolute, timid Minister into his Cabinet, if he really offers Lord Derby a place in it.

The Queen would far rather see Sir C. Dilke in the Cabinet than Lord Derby, for the former *has right* views on *foreign* politics, and knows what the honour of this country requires.

After that speech the Queen does not see *what* office Lord Derby could hold with safety. She sends it in case Mr. Gladstone should not have read it.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 14th Dec. 1882.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty, and assures your Majesty that the matter of your Majesty's letters, and also your Majesty's observations by word of mouth, in relation to Lord Derby and to Sir Charles Dilke, engage his anxious and constant attention, and that he will during the next few days carefully consider how far and in what way he can humbly propose to meet them.

He is, however, already enabled to say that,

having communicated with Sir Charles Dilke on the peculiar character of the office¹ for which his name had been submitted, he finds that that gentleman enters very much into your Majesty's ideas, and he has great hopes of being able to suggest another arrangement.

Lord Derby comes to London from Lancashire to-morrow to see Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Gladstone will, in conformity with what he has assured your Majesty, endeavour to induce Lord Derby to take office as Secretary of State for the Colonies, an arrangement which he understood to meet with your Majesty's concurrence. He hopes he may succeed in this effort. Should he do so, he is not aware of any reason why Lord Derby should not be ready to be sworn in at once: and on this account, as it is your Majesty's pleasure to hold a Council at Windsor, he ventured to suggest by telegram to-day whether your Majesty would be pleased to hold it on Saturday. . . .

15th Dec.—Mr. Gladstone humbly thanks your Majesty for sending him Lord Derby's speech which he has read with care.

He is very much struck by the number of topics it embraces, and the remarkable absence of reserve in its declarations.

In delivering verdicts (so to speak) on so many questions, it was hardly possible to be safe on all of them; and Mr. Gladstone much regrets the reference to interference in Madagascar. So, he knows, does Lord Granville. At the same time, should the question assume a form which would warrant interference, the Cabinet certainly would not be bound, or guided, by such a declaration from one of its Members made in the character of an independent Peer.

With respect to Egypt, and with all deference to your Majesty's superior judgment, Mr. Gladstone would suggest whether Lord Derby's declaration

¹ The Duchy of Lancaster.

that "we have interests in Egypt" and that "the Suez Canal and the Overland route make it impossible to treat Egypt as we might treat other parts of the Turkish Empire," may not be read as materially qualifying, if not indeed reversing, such a sentiment as "Let Egypt take care of itself."

Mr. Gladstone has only further to refer to the letter regarding Lord Derby, which he had the honour to address to your Majesty last evening.

P.S. Mr. Gladstone thinks your Majesty may observe with satisfaction that Lord Derby, speaking of Egypt, has said, "our influence will of course be paramount: that is the necessary result of what has passed."

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

15th Dec.—Humble duty to your Majesty. It is very gratifying to me to say that Lord Derby at once conforms to your Majesty's desire. I have prepared him accordingly to come to Windsor to-morrow and be sworn as Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I humbly ask early reply by telegraph, as the time is short: will have the honour of coming to the Council.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 16th Dec. 1882.—Lord Derby may come to-morrow. I cannot express how painful it is for me to receive him again as my Minister under such very different circumstances!

He cannot expect a cordial reception; but it is a good thing he does not go to India.

Queen Victoria to the Rev. Randall Davidson.

OSBORNE, 20th Dec. 1882.—I am very grateful for your kind letter. As there will be two vacancies on the Episcopal Bench and a Deanery (if not two!) I should be *most thankful* if you could help me with names. I need not say that your name will *never be mentioned*, but losing, as I have done, the two

dear Deans, Stanley and Wellesley, I am left without anyone to turn to for advice and help—when sometimes names are submitted which I often feel would *not* be suitable. And I feel you have had such immense opportunities of knowing *all* the Clergy that I could not look to anyone *more likely* to help me than yourself.

Both extremes of High and Low Church are to be avoided. Ever yours very truly, V. R. & I.

I am very anxious to place a Portrait of the dear Archbishop here as a recollection of his last visit, a head, and would wish to know whether I should have the one at Lambeth or the Chalk Drawing, both by Richmond—whichever you think best, copied for that purpose?

Bishop Harold Browne to the Marchioness of Ely.

FARNHAM CASTLE, 21st December 1882.

MY DEAR MADAM,—Your ladyship was so good as to say, some years ago, that I might write to you, if I desired to communicate with the Queen. I do not feel that I can venture to write direct to her Majesty, yet I think that I ought to send something more than a grateful reply through Mr. Gladstone for her Majesty's great kindness in intimating to me that she would have offered me the Primacy, had it not been that I had passed the proverbial "age of man." If you have an opportunity, I would beg you to assure her Majesty of my deep gratitude for her kindness and my devoted loyalty to her person.

I should not have thought of the Primacy being offered to me, born in the same year with my dear and lamented friend, Archbishop Tait, had it not been that so many of all degrees and opinions had entreated me not to refuse it, especially if the late Primate had not, in his last words to me, pressed this upon me, and if the Archbishop of York and many of my brother Bishops had not most earnestly spoken to the same effect. The Archbishop of Canterbury's

dying words to me that I could, more than any other man, secure peace in the Church, were the words which made me feel, more than any I had heard, that it might be my duty not to refuse the call if it should be given me. I am, however, quite sure that her Majesty exercises a wise discretion and a loving care for her people in calling a younger and stronger man to an office of difficulty and danger in times of special emergency. I have the greatest regard for the Bishop of Truro. He will have my heartiest sympathy, my counsel, and most loyal support. I hope I need not add that the Queen herself has my daily, constant prayers for her life, comfort, and blessing. I am, my dear Madam, your ladyship's faithful servant, E. H. WINTON.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, 21st Dec. 1882.—The Queen is very anxious to draw Mr. Gladstone's serious attention to the belief which seems to prevail that Lord Derby is to influence the foreign policy of the Government, and that the result will be a retrograde course as to Egypt, and as to England's position in and out of Europe. Lord Granville's health not being good and so unable to work as much as formerly, and the probable loss of Sir C. Dilke at the Foreign Office, where he helped, she believes, to keep up a vigorous action, would tend to encourage this belief. The Queen does not share this fear; at the same time she thinks it most *important* to warn Mr. Gladstone against Lord Derby's views, of which she has had so much sad experience, and to express a sincere hope that he would not let himself or Lord Granville on *any* account be influenced in foreign politics by Lord Derby. . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HAWARDEN CASTLE, 22nd Dec. 1882.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty ventures to assure your

Majesty that in his firm opinion no apprehension need be entertained of the effect upon our foreign policy of Lord Derby's entry into the Cabinet.

On foreign questions, not connected with peace or war, Lord Derby will doubtless give his opinions with the weight which must attach to his long experience in the Foreign Office.

On questions of peace or war, it may be that he is by a shade, or by some shades, nearer to the views of Mr. Bright than the other Members of the Cabinet. Yet it is certain that he would not go anything like the lengths of Mr. Bright in such matters: and yet even Mr. Bright agreed to all the proceedings of last spring and summer down to the orders which unhappily brought about his resignation. In regard to personal composition, the Cabinet must be deemed a little less pacific now than it was at the period of its first formation: and there has been time enough to mark out generally its line for the future from its proceedings in the past.

Mr. Gladstone also has the pleasure to add that, although Lord Granville's health may be in some trifling degree weaker than at former periods, Mr. Gladstone himself is not able to detect any decline in the tact and vigour which he applies to the discharge of his manifold and sometimes bewildering duties: duties in which he does not believe it possible or at least easy for any political Under-Secretary, however able, to afford him any very extensive relief. . . .

The Rev. Randall Davidson to Queen Victoria.

ADDINGTON PARK, 22nd December 1882 (7 a.m.).

MADAM,— . . . The Bishop of Truro, immediately on receiving Mr. Gladstone's letter, telegraphed to me, and I at once went to Truro, and have spent two days with him, going into the whole matter very carefully. The Bishop, whose personal humility is as marked as his power, is, as your Majesty will readily believe, overwhelmed at present by the weight of the office

which your Majesty has invited him to accept. But he is so fully conscious of the apparent call from Above, bidding him enter upon these responsibilities, that I have myself no doubt whatever that he will, in reliance on the help of God, accept the offer. Your Majesty will not, however, be surprised that, in making so momentous a decision, he should have asked to be allowed a few days for prayerful consideration.

It would, I am quite sure, have given your Majesty pleasure to have heard the views the Bishop freely expressed to me about the duties of the Primacy, his absolute freedom from all party bias, and the wish he has to follow the lines of liberality and conciliation laid down by my revered father-in-law whom he honoured and loved as keenly as we did.

The Bishop, should he accept the Primacy, as no doubt he will, is kindly anxious that I should continue to hold, under him, the post of Archbishop's Chaplain and private secretary, and I have, under the circumstances, felt it my duty to assure him of my readiness to do so, at least for a time, and to endeavour to aid him in every possible way. I ventured to tell the Bishop that I had reason to think your Majesty would be glad that he should accept the post, and perhaps I may be permitted respectfully to say that, if it should seem good to your Majesty to telegraph to him to Truro to the same effect, it would, while greatly encouraging him for his work, doubtless lead to his immediately signifying his acceptance of the high office. His feeling of personal devotion to your Majesty is a marked feature in his character. . . .—RANDALL T. DAVIDSON.

Queen Victoria to Bishop Benson.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 22nd Dec. 1882.—The Queen wishes to express to the Bishop of Truro her earnest hope that he will accept the offer which she has made to him through Mr. Gladstone of the important and high position of Primate, as she feels that he will

thereby conduce greatly to the well-being and strength of the Church, and be a great support to herself.

The Queen, and her dear Husband in bygone years, always had a high opinion of, and a sincere regard for, the Bishop of Truro.

Bishop Benson to Queen Victoria.

TRURO, Christmas Eve 1882.

MADAM,—Your Majesty's writing on the subject of the Archbishopric was a most gracious act, for which I am deeply thankful.

With extreme dread of failing in so high a trust and disappointing your Majesty's hope, I had nevertheless been drawn on to the conclusion (under the advice of the few whom I knew I could depend on to *warn* me) that I ought to obey the call conveyed to me through Mr. Gladstone.

The immediate arrival of your Majesty's letter dispelled the last doubt, and especially the most deeply kind assurance of personal confidence gives me a fresh and real hope.

I ask of God—and hope that worthier prayers than my own may obtain for me—the grace to fulfil for the Church and country what your Majesty expects from me, and to be the most faithful servant of your Throne. Your Majesty's most devoted servant and subject, E. W. TRURON.

Queen Victoria to Bishop Harold Browne.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 24th Dec. 1882.—The Queen has been much touched by the very kind letter from the Bishop of Winchester to Lady Ely, and wishes herself to thank him for it and for all the kind expressions towards herself which it contains. No one could more worthily have filled the position of Primate than the Bishop; and the Queen would sincerely have rejoiced to see him succeed our dear and ever lamented Archbishop Tait. But she feels it would be wrong to ask him to enter on the new and arduous duties—

which now more than ever tax the health and strength of the one who has to undertake them—at his age, which is, as the Bishop says, the same as that of our dear late friend !

The Queen thanks the Bishop of Winchester for saying that he will give the new Primate all the support he can—which will be of inestimable value.

She cannot conclude without offering him and his family the best wishes and blessings of the season.

Queen Victoria to Bishop Benson.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 28th Dec. 1882.—The Queen has received with much gratification and pleasure the Bishop of Truro's kind letter accepting the high and responsible office of Primate. From all sides she hears such expressions of thankfulness at this decision and such confidence expressed in the Bishop. Her best and most earnest good wishes will attend him in his arduous and high calling !

The Queen has heard with great satisfaction that Mr. R. Davidson is (for the present at any rate) to give him his valuable assistance in the same position which he held with his beloved father-in-law. The Queen has just had a letter from the Dean of Westminster, in which he speaks of the Bishop and Mr. Davidson in the warmest terms.

When it is possible for the Bishop to get away for a night, the Queen would be most anxious to see him.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE, 27th Dec. 1882.—General Sir Henry Ponsonby humbly begs leave to say that as Mr. Davidson has a very wide knowledge of the clergy, and his opinion is valuable, and as your Majesty might sometimes wish to refer some Church question hurriedly to him, may Sir Henry Ponsonby establish a short cypher code with him, in case of necessity ?

Lord Wolseley¹ to Queen Victoria.

PARIS, 27th December 1882.

MADAM,—I have just received your Majesty's most kind and gracious letter which Sir John McNeill forwarded to me. I venture to offer my best thanks for the Xmas card that accompanied it.

Whilst greatly pleased and flattered by what your Majesty says of me, and by the conviction so brought home to me of the interest that your Majesty takes, not only in the services I have rendered to the Crown during a long and very stirring military career, but also in me, personally, I am deeply grieved to think that anything I have said or am supposed to have said should have caused your Majesty any pain. The newspaper reports of my speech at the dinner given to me by the Institute of Civil Engineers were very poor and inaccurate. I spoke at some considerable length, and so quickly that the reporters could not follow me. I cannot learn my speeches beforehand like most of those who talk in public, but I think well over what I intend to say and keep the subjects in my head, and depend upon the accidents of the moment for the words.

One of the just grievances of the Army has long been that officers of the Artillery and Engineers were excluded from Commands and Staff appointments; in other words, that the most highly educated—in a military and scientific point of view—of our officers were debarred from all chances of rising to high positions in the Army. I have always been one of those who urged, as strongly as I could, a change in this system; and whenever your Majesty has conferred any command upon me I have always made it a point to employ the ablest and best men I could find, regardless of the branch of the Service to which they belonged: indeed I have always gone out of my way to

¹ Sir Beauchamp Seymour and Sir Garnet Wolseley, the Naval and Military Commanders-in-Chief in the Egyptian operations, had been raised to the peerage as Lord Alcester and Lord Wolseley.

employ both Gunners and Engineers in high position, in order to break down a system which I felt to be monstrously unjust to individuals and most injurious to the interests of your Majesty's Army and of the State.

When the Army for Egypt was being organised, I begged the Duke of Cambridge to select Generals Hamley and Graham for these reasons, and he at once consented : they were, I thought, the two best Generals we could find from the two Corps I have referred to—(one was a complete failure, the other did very well). In speaking to the scientific people who had invited me to dine with them, I was most anxious to draw attention to this change of system, and I asked them to read over the names of the Generals and Staff Officers who had been selected by *H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge* to do duty with the army sent to Egypt, and to compare it with the list of those selected to fill similar posts in the army of the same strength that landed in the Crimea. In the former a considerable proportion has been educated at Woolwich—*H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught* amongst them ; whilst in the latter-named army, no officer of the Artillery or Engineers had been appointed to any command or Army Staff post. I spoke in the presence of several men who had served in the Crimea, and I think I know nearly every officer now in your Majesty's service who was engaged in that great war, and I feel certain that what I said could give offence to none of them. Why should it ? or why should I, who spent, I believe, one year and eight or nine months in the Crimea without ever leaving it "on urgent private affairs" or for any other reason—although horribly wounded there—why should I wish to belittle what was done there by others who did as well and better than I did ?

I am well aware that I am hated by a certain section of the old school in your Majesty's Army ; the reformers in all professions are always hated by a section of the old school in them ; but if I were to

seek for personal popularity instead of seeking to do what I feel to be my duty to my Queen, I should despise myself as a self-seeker, and I should hate myself as a disloyal subject.

May I presume before I close this very long and painfully egotistical letter to add this ? It has now become the practice with those who wish to prevent improvements being introduced into our Army, and to keep it in fact *in statu quo*, to denounce those who wish to see the Army made perfect, as dangerous Radicals. Colonel Stanley was certainly no Radical, and yet he was the most thoroughgoing Army reformer that I have ever been associated with. I hope your Majesty will forgive my reference to the memory of a great man who is now no longer with us. I would like to ask to whom is it the Army is indebted for the first autumn manœuvres we ever had (those at Chobham) ? Who was it that we have to thank for being armed with rifles instead of old muskets when we landed in the Crimea ? Who was it that advocated the reduction of the punishment of flogging ? the formation of an Army Reserve ? Who was foremost in advising a system of military localisation very much like that we have lately introduced ; in urging the necessity of the military education of our officers ; in the establishment of our great Hospitals ; in the improvement of our Medical Regulations ? To whom are we indebted for the abolition of the absurd dress worn by the Army at Chobham ; for the creation of the Victoria Cross ; for the provision of good quarters for soldiers' families, and for a higher rate of pay being granted to the soldier ? Those who have read through the pages of Sir Theodore Martin's work are now aware, most people for the first time, that the Army owes more to the late Prince Consort than to any other General officer since the death of the Duke of Wellington.

Surely therefore it may be said of the great Prince that he was in the highest sense a great army reformer !

I earnestly hope that nothing I have said in this letter may cause your Majesty any annoyance. I have written it in all loyalty, and I trust therefore that if I have done wrong it may be imputed to over-zeal in the interests of the Queen's Army and in all that appertains to your Majesty's welfare. Allow me to subscribe myself, your Majesty's most loyal and devoted servant and soldier, WOLSELEY.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE, 31st Dec. 1882.—General Sir Henry Ponsonby humbly begs leave to say that Mr. Horace Seymour¹ expresses a hope that the words used by Sir Charles Dilke, which are fully understood in London to mean an expression of regret for his early speeches, will meet with your Majesty's approbation, and that Mr. Gladstone trusts the Queen will approve.

"There were opinions of political infancy which as one grew older one might regard as unwise or might prefer not to have uttered."

As the Radical papers attack Sir Charles Dilke for surrendering his early opinions and the Tory *Standard* says, "The significance of the remark was not lost upon the meeting, and the country generally will understand what Sir Charles Dilke meant," it is believed that his recantation is complete, and Mr. Seymour asks if your Majesty is satisfied or would desire Sir Charles Dilke to say more.²

¹ One of Mr. Gladstone's private secretaries.

² The Queen told Mr. Gladstone that she had "no confidence in Sir C. Dilke as yet; his conduct and language will be very carefully watched by her, and she would indeed be glad if he would prove himself worthy of her confidence." The new appointments in the Cabinet were finally as follows:

Colonial Secretary : EARL OF DERBY.

War Secretary : MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON.

Indian Secretary : EARL OF KIMBERLEY.

Chancellor of Exchequer : H. C. E. CHILDERS.

Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster : J. G. DODSON.

President of the Local Government Board : SIR CHARLES DILKE.

Sir Charles Dilke was succeeded in the Under-Secretaryship of Foreign Affairs by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice.



INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER V

LORD SPENCER'S struggle against crime in Ireland produced remarkable results in 1883. As the outcome of various arrests made in Dublin in January, and of the evidence given in that month and the next by several of the accused who turned informers (the principal of these being James Carey, a town councillor), a murder conspiracy of a horrible character was revealed. This secret society sprang in 1881 out of the old Fenian movement, was called the Invincibles, was directed by a mysterious "No. 1," under whom Carey was a secondary leader, and occupied itself with the murder of Government officials. Mr. Forster was to have been its victim, and had, it appeared, several of the most hairbreadth escapes. When he resigned, Mr. Burke was next marked out for removal, and Lord Frederick Cavendish, who was unknown to the assassins, perished because he was found in Mr. Burke's company. At the trials in April those of the accused who had not been accepted as informers were found guilty; five were hanged; the remainder were sentenced to various periods of penal servitude, three being for life. Carey did not escape. He and his family were conveyed under an assumed name to South Africa, but between Capetown and Natal he was shot dead on board ship on 29th July by an Irishman named O'Donnell, who in his turn was tried and executed in London.

Carey's evidence implicated certain officials of the Land League and agrarian agitators, whereupon those who had not already sought refuge elsewhere promptly left the country. These facts added weight to an important speech delivered by Mr. Forster on 22nd February in the debate on the Address, in which he insisted that crime dogged the steps of the League and accused Mr. Parnell of conducting his agitation by terrorism, never condemning murder or outrage, but profiting by, if not conniving at, them. Mr. Parnell showed no readiness to take up the challenge, and, when he did speak, expressed his indifference to English opinion.

Meanwhile, as in the Fenian days of 1867, a policy of terrorism by outrage was started by Irish and Irish-American conspirators in Great Britain. At Glasgow, on 20th January, they blew up a gasworks and attempted to blow up an aqueduct. In London, on 15th March, they caused an explosion at the Local Government Board, Whitehall, and at the same time planted an explosive at the office of *The Times*. At Birmingham, on 5th April, there was discovered a nitro-glycerine factory on a considerable scale. To meet the emergency a stringent Explosives Bill was passed through both Houses of Parliament in one day, 9th April, and special precautions were taken to guard public men and public buildings. Two further explosions took place on the Underground Railway in London on 30th October; but neither then nor in the previous explosions were any lives lost; and both the Glasgow and the Birmingham plotters were arrested, tried, and convicted, the ringleaders being sentenced to penal servitude for life.

The Irish Executive were not so successful in dealing with agrarian agitation as with crime. Prosecution of Mr. William O'Brien for violent articles in *United Ireland* resulted in the disagreement of the jury and Mr. O'Brien's election for Mallow; imprisonment of Mr. Davitt and Mr. Healy for six months increased their popularity and helped to bring Mr. Davitt into line with the Parliamentary Party and to gain a seat in Monaghan for Mr. Healy. This Nationalist success in Monaghan stirred up the Orangemen of Ulster, and Orange turbulence in the autumn had to be restrained by the Government. Meanwhile the National League organised a national money tribute to Mr. Parnell, in which many priests and some bishops joined. Then came a rescript from the Vatican denouncing the tribute, but this, instead of quenching the movement, added fuel to it; Roman Catholic opinion in Ireland resenting what it regarded as an unwarrantable intervention of the Pope in politics, prompted, it was thought, by the British Government, who had entered into some undefined relation with the Vatican through a former Home Rule M.P. The tribute grew to the large sum of £38,000, and Mr. Parnell, when it was presented to him in Dublin on 11th December, claimed that, if Irishmen were not allowed to rule themselves, at any rate he and his colleagues at the next General Election would determine, through the Irish vote, by which party England should be ruled.

In Egypt there began a period of reconstruction, in accordance with a scheme drawn up by Lord Dufferin. There was to be a small British army in temporary occupation; but Egypt was to be educated for self-government with representative institutions under the Khedive and his Ministers, the most important offices being for the present directed by Englishmen. For instance, Sir Evelyn Wood, as Sirdar, commanded and reorganised the Egyptian army, General Valentine Baker raised a gendarmerie, and Mr. Edgar Vincent was appointed Financial Adviser. In September there arrived Major Baring (afterwards Lord Cromer) as British Agent and Consul-General to supervise and co-ordinate all the British activities. His especial attention was almost immediately claimed by the Soudan. In the first days of November an Egyptian army of over 10,000 men under Hicks Pasha, a British officer in the Egyptian service, was successfully ambushed by the forces of the false prophet, the Mahdi, near El Obeid, and was annihilated to a man, the General being killed at the head of a last desperate charge. About the same time there were three smaller disasters of a similar kind near Suakin; and, with the exception of a few scattered garrisons, the Soudan threw off Egyptian rule.

The death of Gambetta increased the restlessness in France. Prince Napoleon issued an Imperialist manifesto, and was promptly imprisoned, but soon released. A strong movement arose for banishing all members of families which had reigned in France, but the Senate ultimately threw out the Bill, and a new Ministry, under M. Ferry, contented themselves with placing in non-activity those Orleans princes who held commissions in the army. The King of Spain, who arrived in October from Berlin, was received in Paris with such demonstrations of hostility that the President had to make a formal apology and publish it in the *Journal Officiel*. M. Ferry, who had some difficulty in defeating the extreme Revisionist Party, gratified the pride of the French people by his steady policy of colonial expansion. A new Treaty, assuring French predominance, was signed with Tunis; the French protectorate over Annam and Tonquin appeared, after desultory fighting, to be accepted; M. de Brazza dotted a series of French posts along the north bank of the Congo; and the conquest of Madagascar was begun by the bombardment of Tamatave in June and the occupation of the town and neighbourhood. In the course of the naval and military proceedings at Tamatave,

among other regrettable incidents, the French Admiral arrested and ill-treated an English missionary named Shaw ; there was considerable indignation in England, but the French Government recalled the Admiral, and eventually paid an indemnity of £1,000 to Mr. Shaw. Prince Bismarck had encouraged this diversion of French activity into colonial channels, and was not pleased to find a disposition arising in Germany itself to acquire colonies, while opportunities, though rapidly narrowing, were still open.

These colonial aspirations of Continental Europe raised alarm in Australia, which felt its position unsafe so long as the islands in the neighbourhood of the French convict establishment of New Caledonia lay open for exploitation for similar purposes, and more particularly so long as the eastern half of the great island of New Guinea, just north of the northern peninsula of Queensland, was liable to be seized and annexed any day by a (possibly unfriendly) foreign Power. Accordingly the magistrate of Thursday Island, on behalf of the Queensland Government, annexed early in the year the mainland of New Guinea, east of the 141st parallel of longitude, to the British Empire. Australia as a whole applauded and endorsed this spirited action, and was gravely disappointed when the Home Government, in which Lord Derby had recently become Colonial Minister, disallowed it on the ground that there was no sufficient proof of its necessity. In South Africa Cetewayo was reinstated in the Government of Zululand under conditions.

Save for the Explosives Act, and a Bankruptcy Act for which Mr. Chamberlain was responsible, the legislative output of the session was not remarkable. During the year dissatisfaction with the administration of the Suez Canal led to a serious movement to cut a rival canal between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, but M. de Lesseps attended the Lord Mayor's Banquet at Guildhall, and managed partially to satisfy the shipping and business community. The project for a Channel tunnel, after prolonged examination, was stopped by the Government on military grounds. In India there was a great agitation among the European population against the Ilbert Bill, increasing the powers of native magistrates over Europeans. A few days before the close of the year, Queen Victoria had the satisfaction of seeing her sailor son, the Duke of Edinburgh, hoist his flag as Commander of the Channel Squadron.



CHAPTER V

1883

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 5th Jan. 1883.—. . . The Queen is sure that Mr. Gladstone will not misunderstand her, when she expresses her earnest hopes that he will be very guarded in his language when he goes to Scotland shortly, and that he will remember the immense importance attached to *every* word falling from him. Words spoken are often the cause of difficulties hereafter.

Mr. Gladstone will remember that when she first saw him in '80, when she asked him to form a Government, she expressed her regret at some of the speeches in Midlothian, and he replied that he did *not then* think himself a *responsible person*. Still everything he then said has been quoted as if he were so, and the Queen feels very anxious that he should not *now* bind himself to any particular course which afterwards he might find it difficult not to pursue.

There is great apprehension about the Established Church in Scotland—about the tenure of land—the lowering of the Franchise, etc. A few words *discouraging* wild and extravagant notions spoken by the Prime Minister would have an excellent effect.

Is it not rather venturesome for Mr. Gladstone to undertake such a visit at this time of year, and with so short a time of rest before him—moreover, not having been well?

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HAWARDEN CASTLE, 7th Jan. 1883.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty and humbly thanks your Majesty for the kind letter which he has received to-day. He need only trouble your Majesty with a very brief reply, not simply because the post hour is at hand, but also because the principal subject has been put aside by circumstances.

Having of late been disturbed in sleep, in a manner not so unusual he believes with others as with him, and the disturbance having much increased within a week, he apprised Dr. Andrew Clark, who has kindly come down from London this afternoon, and who reports that the journey to Midlothian must be given up. He treats the case without hesitation as one of accidental and temporary derangement, which a little care and rest may probably dispose of before the meeting of Parliament. If in further conversations anything material should come into view, Mr. Gladstone will take the liberty of reverting to the subject. . . .

Mr. Gladstone was struck with your Majesty's discriminating suggestion, which has been remarkably corroborated by the judgment of his physician.

8th Jan.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty, and in prosecution of his letter of yesterday apprises your Majesty that the direction of Dr. A. Clark, which in the first place involved the abandonment of the intended journey to the North, was to the effect that Mr. Gladstone should as far as possible abstain from public business until the Session of Parliament. It remains to be considered whether he should during a portion of the interval absent himself from Hawarden, or possibly from this country : but in any case he makes the experiment of remaining at Hawarden for a few days. Dr. Clark has now returned to London.

In your Majesty's very kind reference on the 5th to his former visits to Midlothian, and to his own

observations on the 24th of April 1880, your Majesty remarked that he had said "he did not then think himself a responsible person." He prays leave to fill up the outline which these words convey by saying he at that time (to the best of his recollection) humbly submitted to your Majesty his admission that he must personally bear the consequences of all that he had said, and that he thought some things suitable to be said by a person out of office, which could not suitably be said by a person in office; also that, as is intimated by your Majesty's words, the responsibilities of the two positions severally were different.

With respect to the political changes named by your Majesty, Mr. Gladstone conceives that the very safe measure of extending to the Counties the franchise enjoyed by the Boroughs stands in all likelihood for early consideration: but he doubts whether there can be any serious dealing of a general character with the Land Laws by the present Parliament, and so far as Scottish disestablishment is concerned, he does not conceive that that question has made progress during recent years, and he may state that, in making arrangements recently for his expected visit to Midlothian, he had received various overtures for deputations on this subject, which he had been able to put aside.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, 10th Jan. 1883.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for three letters¹ and is very sorry to hear of his indisposition and sleeplessness which is but too common a result of overwork and very exhausting. But he must be *really quiet* and not occupy himself at *all* with affairs and not write long

¹ One of these letters was a long and detailed one recommending Mr. Wilkinson, Vicar of St. Peter's, Eaton Square, and Archdeacon Lewis for the vacant bishoprics.

letters like the one he did yesterday. Perfect quiet is ordered and the prescription ought to be thoroughly obeyed and followed.

When the Queen wrote she was not aware of this new feature in Mr. Gladstone's health, but thought he had only been suffering from a chill.

The Queen had a good deal of conversation yesterday with the Bishop of Truro, and was most favourably impressed with him in every way ; mind, heart, and vigour of constitution ! She questioned him as to Truro and Llandaff and he mentioned Mr. Wilkinson for the former and Archdeacon Lewis for the latter. All that he said in favour of Mr. Wilkinson (who the Queen is *not* very partial to) for the *particular* See of Truro—which she had *also* heard from Mr. Davidson—leads her to the conclusion that he should be appointed to *that* Bishopric,¹ which she accordingly sanctions. She likewise approves of Archdeacon Lewis for Llandaff, or for St. David's, if the Bishop of the latter place should desire the translation.

Mr. Fawcett² to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

ALDE HOUSE, ALDEBURGH, 10th January 1883.

DEAR SIR HENRY PONSONBY,—I have heard with feelings of very real gratitude of the great sympathy shown by her Majesty to my wife and myself during the illness from which I am just recovering.

If opportunity should offer I shall be very much indebted to you if you will convey to the Queen an expression of my deep appreciation of the great kindness she has shown us. During my illness I, of course, knew nothing of what was going on around me, and it was one of the keenest of the pleasures of

¹ In deference to the Queen's objections, Mr. Gladstone had refrained from pressing his recommendation, a year or two before, of Mr. Wilkinson for the newly formed bishopric of Newcastle.

² Mr. Fawcett, the blind economist, was then Postmaster-General.

convalescence to hear of the unbounded kindness which was shown towards me on all sides and from all classes.

The concern taken by the Queen and by the Prince and Princess of Wales in my illness was especially touching to me, and I should not be happy to proceed further on the road towards recovery without offering to her Majesty an expression of my deep and heartfelt gratitude.

I travelled here on Monday without much fatigue, and I have been out of doors for a few minutes to-day, notwithstanding the cold wind. I think there is very little doubt that this fine air will do me a great deal of good, and that it will not be long before I am restored to complete health.

Believe me, dear Sir Henry Ponsonby, yours very truly, HENRY FAWCETT.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, 20th Jan. 1883.—The Queen has been expecting to hear from Lord Granville upon the subject of Mr. Gladstone's somewhat sudden *break-down* and indisposition, the more so as she knows that Lord Granville is acting for him during his absence. But he may be expecting to hear from her, and she therefore writes to him to say she has had a long conversation with Sir William Harcourt, who thinks very seriously of his state. The brain and nervous system have clearly been overtaxed, as indeed must every public man's be *now*, unless they husband their strength.

The question therefore arises, will Mr. Gladstone be able to return in a fortnight? Or, if he does, will he be able to go on? Certainly not in a *fortnight*, and he ought to be persuaded to take a longer rest, and even then the Queen greatly doubts his being able to go on leading the House of Commons.

Would he not now for his health accept a Peerage?

Fortunately, there need be no great party questions, or rather no measures likely to raise party passions and strife, as Mr. Gladstone himself said to the Queen this Session.

What a state of affairs in France !¹ Prince Napoleon has no following, is respected by *no* one, and has acted in a very foolish way, though his manifesto contained many truths ; still it has alarmed and shaken [the French Government]. The law to expel all the Orleans and Bonaparte Princes is a very iniquitous proposal, which if carried can only hasten their own downfall !

The accounts from South Africa are bad. The restoration of Cetewayo will prove a great mistake.

The Queen does not like the idea of hurrying off so many of our troops from Egypt, or of any retrenchment of the Army in general ; with the present state of France we *must* be *prepared* for *any* contingency.

Earl Spencer to Queen Victoria.

VICEREGAL LODGE, DUBLIN, 21st Jan. 1883.—Lord Spencer presents his humble duty to your Majesty and is glad to report that the proceedings¹ before the Dublin Magistrates yesterday went off quite satisfactorily.

The witness bore himself with courage, and gave very clear and distinct evidence. It was a great relief to Lord Spencer, as he feared that a witness confronted with his brother conspirators might have broken down. The secret as to who was going to give evidence was admirably kept. Farrell was brought in as a prisoner last of the lot, and was quietly moved on one side to the witness box. The effect on the other men was said to be most extraordinary. Their faces showed the utmost astonishment, and no one who watched them could doubt the alarm which his appearance created. There are two or

¹ See Introductory Note to this chapter.

three other witnesses who will corroborate Farrell, and his evidence is substantiated by independent evidence.

Every hope is entertained not only of a case against two of Mr. Field's assailants but against one at least of the principals in the Phoenix Park murders. It is of course a very critical affair, for moral certainty of the guilt of individuals is not always the same as legal proof. This however it is hoped has been obtained.

The evidence of the plots against Mr. Forster has been known for some time past to Mr. Jenkinson; but Lord Spencer has never dared whisper the story to anyone, for the informant's life depended on absolute secrecy. Mr. Forster was in far greater danger than anyone suspected at the time. In all probability the same organisation which threatened his life carried out the murders of Mr. Burke and Lord Frederick, indeed [that] the same hands were engaged seems nearly certain. The inner circle of assassination seems to have sprung out of Fenianism, and the Fenians vehemently protest at being connected with murders of this kind; and this circle has existed apparently for a good many years.

The whole business reflects great credit on Mr. Jenkinson, the head of the Criminal Department, and the men working under his orders. The probabilities are that the conspirators, not trusting each other, will now make further disclosures, and until the actual leaders and money-finders of the assassins are run to ground the whole conspiracy will not be destroyed. Lord Spencer is however now very sanguine as to ultimate success. . . .

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 23rd Jan. 1883.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He saw Mr. Gladstone for a quarter of an hour at Dover. He did not look very ill, and was very

cheerful on all other subjects but his health, about which he spoke gloomily. He had had no sleep the last night at Hawarden, five hours in London. He is generally an excellent sleeper, which makes wakefulness always a bad symptom, very alarming to him.

Lord Granville once told Lord Beaconsfield that Mr. Gladstone said he was able always to dismiss from his mind the disagreeable subjects of the day, an hour before he went to bed. Lord Beaconsfield's answer was, "Yes, that is the sort of thing people say—and believe."

Mr. Gladstone, who is unsparing of himself when he is well, is easily alarmed when unwell, and takes to his bed on less provocation than most people would do. The private account from Cannes is that he slept 8 hours the first night, and that he said that he had not felt so well for a long time. Lord Granville wrote this morning to ask Lord Wolverton¹ whether he saw any reason why Mr. Gladstone's colleagues should not press him to remain away longer. Of course your Majesty's concurrence would add much to the weight of such an appeal. But it may not be necessary.

Lord Granville would be delighted to see Mr. Gladstone placed by your Majesty in the House of Lords, and it would facilitate matters much for Lord Hartington in the future. But Lord Granville doubts Mr. Gladstone's willingness. Lord Granville promised not to write to Mr. Gladstone at all at first. . . .

Lord Granville agrees entirely in your Majesty's gloomy views as to France. The state of the finances, the badness of trade and agriculture, the dissatisfaction of the workmen, the general contempt for the Chamber, and above all the absence of any men either in or out of power in whom the country has confidence. It is hard upon the Orleans Princes

¹ Who was Mr. Gladstone's host at Cannes, and had been, as Mr. Glyn, Liberal Whip in the House of Commons.

that the folly of the Prince Napoleon should place this sword of Damocles over their heads. The measure itself is of the worst example, and must be ineffectual for its object. The only compensation is that the present state of things, conjoined with their fear of Germany, makes them very little formidable. But it will not prevent them intriguing in different parts of the world against us.

Your Majesty will have read Lord Dufferin's last private letter on the necessity on every ground of making the reduction he proposed in the Army of Occupation.

26th Jan.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. Dr. Clark is much pleased with the account he has received from Cannes, thinks it possible that Mr. Gladstone may return quite fit for work at the time proposed, but believes it to be expedient and desirable that he should remain till after Easter. Lord Granville has been in communication with his colleagues on the matter. All of those from whom he has heard think his health the first object, and that he ought to follow whatever medical advice is given, but some are much impressed with the difficulties which his absence may create. Lord Granville has warned Mr. Gladstone that an appeal is likely to be made to him. He has mentioned your Majesty's wishes expressed with so much kindness that he should stay at Cannes till Easter, and husband his strength in every possible way. . . .

The Duc de Vallombrosa proposed to invite Mr. Gladstone to the Club. One member objected on the ground of the English behaviour in Egypt, the other replied that the less was said about that the better, and he was invited with only one dissentient. It looks as if the French Government had failed to find any support in their antagonism about Egypt. It would be a peculiar Foreign Government that could think that much reliance could be placed upon France at the present moment. But their disorganised state is much to be regretted.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 27th Jan. 1883.—Saw Capt. Bigge, whom I had sent to see the Empress, and whom he found well. She told him that she had taken a week to reflect, and then had decided to go to Paris. She had purposely not told me beforehand, for fear of causing me inconvenience. That she had made it up with Prince Napoleon, who had thanked her. She said that people had been very kind and respectful towards her at Paris, where she went about quite openly, and that two visiting books were quite filled with the names of those who called on her.

The Empress Eugénie to the Marchioness of Ely.

[Copie.]

FARNBOROUGH HILL, 28 Janvier 1883.

CHÈRE LADY ELY,—J'ai été désolée d'apprendre qu'à cause du Dimanche la lettre que j'avais écrite le *Samedi* à Mme d'Arcos n'a pas pu être communiquée à temps, et que c'est inopinément et indirectement que la Reine a appris mon départ. Je n'aurais pas voulu écrire directement, car c'est pour moi une question de délicatesse de laisser toujours la haute personnalité de la Reine en dehors, lorsqu'il s'agit d'une démarche qui peut être critiquée et mal comprise ici. J'avais cru tout concilier en écrivant à Mme d'Arcos une lettre qui devait tout expliquer.

Si mes relations avec le Prince Napoléon eussent été ce qu'elles auraient dû être, je n'aurais pas eu besoin d'agir comme je l'ai fait, n'ayant ni à approuver, ni à blâmer ses actes, mais tout le monde savait quels étaient nos rapports, on s'en servait contre lui, comme d'une arme.

J'ai cru de mon *devoir* de ramener l'union dans la famille en ne me séparant pas du Prince dans cette occasion, *moralement*. J'ai chargé la Princesse Mathilde de le dire à son frère de ma part. Une fois mon but atteint, je suis revenue, comme je l'avais décidé d'avance, sans rien demander et sans qu'on m'ait fait la moindre indication de départ.

Voulez-vous, chère Lady Ely, faire savoir ceci à la Reine, car je tiens trop à son amitié pour, même en apparence, avoir l'air de manquer d'égards vis-à-vis d'elle. J'ai agi, croyez le bien, dans cette occasion, non par entraînement, mais par *devoir*. J'espère que ce sera compris ainsi. J'ai été bien touchée d'apprendre que la Reine avait montré une affectueuse sollicitude pour moi.

Croyez, chère Lady Ely, à mes sentiments affectueux.—EUGÉNIE.

Queen Victoria to Viscount Lyons.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, 29th Jan. 1883.—The Queen is very anxious to hear if any of the Orleans Princes intend to protest against this iniquitous *proposal*.¹ The state of affairs is *most* critical.

She is sure Lord Lyons will have admired the dignified explanation which appeared in Saturday's *Morning Post* of the poor Empress's very courageous and unselfish and most painful act in going for that one day to Paris.

But the person who went to see her since her return says she had reflected over her act for a week and then felt that *no one* but herself *could* do what she had done, viz. effected a reconciliation with Prince Napoleon and his family, the more so as she had been accused of leaning towards the Legitimists; that she had met with *nothing but* the greatest respect from *everyone* at Paris! . . .

The Queen thinks it may be difficult to write to the Duc de Nemours, as he may not like to answer, but she would be very grateful if *he* [Lord Lyons] could, through a mutual acquaintance or friend, let him know how much she feels for him and his family at the present anxious moment. Is there any Legitimist or Orleanist movement going on?

¹ To banish members of all families which had reigned in France. See Introductory Note to this chapter.

Viscount Lyons to Queen Victoria.

PARIS, 2nd Feb. 1883.—Lord Lyons presents his humble duty to your Majesty. It is so essential to the interest, not to say to the safety, of the Orleans Princes that their enemies should have no pretext for raising a cry that they are seeking foreign aid or acting under foreign advice, that he has felt bound to be extremely scrupulous with regard to approaching them in the present crisis. He is therefore unable to inform your Majesty whether their Royal Highnesses intend to make a public protest against the persecution to which they are subjected.

Lord Lyons will not fail to seek an opportunity of prudently making known to the Duc de Nemours how much your Majesty feels for him and his family in this anxious time, but he is sure that your Majesty will approve of his exercising caution in the matter.

Lord Lyons sent with much pain last night by telegraph the intelligence of the adoption of the Bill against the Princes by a large majority in the Chamber of Deputies. It is still possible that it may be rejected by the Senate, but even so Lord Lyons could have very little hope of any really satisfactory result. He does not think that any actual Legitimist, Orleanist, or Bonapartist movement is going on at this moment. But want of confidence in the present state of things and disquietude are on the increase, and it seems impossible to foresee what may be in store for the country even in the near future.

The explanation of the Empress's visit to France has a touching eloquence, and it ought certainly to put an end to all misrepresentation respecting her Majesty's motives, and to inspire deep respect and sympathy.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

8th Feb. 1883.—Humble duty.

Lord Granville has just received this telegram

from Mr. Gladstone. He presumes it means staying till Easter.

“Have determined to stay as desired unless recalled by colleagues. Letter by messenger to-night, also verbatim notes on draft speech which I like.”

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, 8th Feb. 1883.—The Queen thanks Lord Granville for all his letters and for the cypher just received, which surprises her. Lord Hartington did not seem much to like the idea of acting for Mr. Gladstone without being really responsible. It looks as if he *felt* himself still weak. The Queen would much like to have seen Lord Spencer but there was no time for it. The discoveries which are being made are indeed wonderful, and very horrible. But she thinks greater precautions than ever must be necessary, as those assassins who are still at large must be desperate! The Queen trusts that Lord Granville will not forget what he told her he intended to do, viz.: to consult with Lord Kimberley and Lord Hartington upon the movements and designs of Russia. Russia seems very inimical and tries to thwart us in every direction.

The Queen feels very anxious that nothing should be said to fetter or hamper our action in Egypt; we *must* have a firm hold on her *once for all*. The Queen knows Mr. Gladstone would feel this, and she is quite sure Lord Granville, and she should think Sir C. Dilke and Sir Wm. Harcourt, would feel it. There might, however, be others, like Mr. Dodson, who hinted rather at our being “well out of it,” who did not, which made her anxious and she therefore writes this to Lord Granville.

To have sacrificed so many precious lives and to have spent so much money, merely to let everything return to what it was before, without reaping any benefit from it at *all*, would be to make us ridiculous and to expose us to a recurrence of what has hap-

pened and which we defeated in so victorious a manner.

The Queen is glad Mr. Gladstone took the offer of the Peerage so well.

Queen Victoria to Earl Spencer.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 15th Feb. 1883.—The Queen thanks Lord Spencer very much for his extremely interesting letters and, though she very much regrets not having seen him on either occasion when he was in England, she quite understands that it was impossible.

The Queen has been most painfully interested by the examinations at Kilmainham, which are quite thrilling. Will the *not-finding* of the knives (which she fears is likely) cause any difficulty in condemning these monsters? She *trusts not*. What has struck and shocked her, she must say, is the evidence of that gentleman who described (in May) having seen people wrestling—but no more,—proving *now* that he actually *saw all* and yet *never gave the details* before. Surely it is very wrong that he did *not* do so, sooner.

The Queen wishes to be most kindly remembered to Lady Spencer. She is much pleased to hear how all parties have gone to the Drawing-room to testify their confidence in the Lord Lieutenant and their appreciation of his energetic conduct.

Sir William Harcourt to Queen Victoria.

WHITEHALL, 17th Feb. 1883 (6 p.m.).—Secretary Sir William Vernon Harcourt presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs leave to forward the evidence given in Court to-day at Dublin by James Carey, the Dublin Town Councillor, who has turned informer.¹

Some surprise will no doubt be felt at the Irish Government accepting the evidence of one of the

¹ See Introductory Note to this chapter.

leading criminals. But Sir William humbly begs leave to state that, on being consulted by Lord Spencer on the subject, he had no hesitation in concurring in his view that there were reasons of the highest expediency in favour of this course.

(1) The fact that a man in Carey's position was ready to betray *en masse* his confederates in guilt is a thing which will strike the deepest terror into all the ramifications of the secret societies. They will feel the whole ground mined under their feet, and no man anywhere will feel safe who has had anything to do with these associations. It will do more than anything else to break up the secret societies in the present and in the future.

(2) If Carey had been silent and been executed we had no means of getting any further into the secret of who were the real instigators and paymasters of these crimes. Your Majesty will not fail to observe that the evidence of Carey goes to implicate men whose names are well-known in connection with agrarian agitation. It is hoped that this is only the first step on the ladder which will lead up to the real principals of this atrocious conspiracy. Sir William will continue to keep your Majesty informed of all that reaches him on this subject of transcendent interest. . . .

18th Feb.—Secretary Sir William Vernon Harcourt presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs leave to express his regret that the letters he has received from Dublin make it imperatively necessary that he should remain in London to-day,¹ as the measures to be taken to execute the Warrants and effect the arrests ordered in consequence of evidence given in Dublin yesterday require the constant presence and incessant attention of the Secretary of State. Indeed the communications with the Police and with the Foreign Office, in order if possible to seize the murderers abroad, have been and will be all day without cessation.

¹ The Queen had invited him to Windsor,

In the midst of all these horrors it is some satisfaction that the public will at last know what Sir William has long been aware of and has over and over again declared in Parliament during the last two years, viz. : that the Land League, Fenianism, and the Assassination Societies, though distinct in name and profession, are in reality one and the same concern.

The evidence of Carey is a great clue to the establishment of this fact on which the whole system of the treatment of Ireland must be framed, and without which the Government of that country is impossible.

Lord Spencer writes this morning with truth that we are engaged in a mortal struggle with an army of assassins. Who may fall in the deadly struggle it is impossible to predict. But with courage and determination our ultimate success is assured. The evidence of yesterday will, I trust, be a lesson to the idle political dreamers who make to themselves illusions and hallucinations of the most dangerous character on matters which cannot bear to be trifled with.

Every effort is being made to secure F. Byrne, the Secretary of the English Land League, who supplied the knives. He is known to be in France and was at Cannes last Tuesday. His wife will, I hope, be taken in London to-day. Sheridan is American and measures have been taken to secure his capture. M'Cafferty is an American under a false name. All this is *very secret*.

The establishment of the complicity of the Land League with the murders is of the first importance, both in respect of the crime itself and of the general political effect of the exposures. It will shut the mouths of the mischievous people who are murmuring against the measures taken by the Irish Government and its effect will be felt in the Irish debates of this week. . . .

Queen Victoria to Sir William Harcourt.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 18th Feb. 1883.—The Queen hastens to thank Sir Wm. Harcourt for his *most interesting* and important letter just received as well as for the one received yesterday evening. Much as she regrets not seeing Sir William to-day, she entirely approves and quite understands the necessity for his remaining at his post in town to-day.

The disclosures are *fearful*, and the connection between the Land League, Fenians, and Assassination Society is *appalling*, but most important, and will surely open the eyes of many Home Rulers and miserable sympathisers! The imperative *necessity* for *great* firmness and *strong* measures for the Government of Ireland for *long* to come, to protect alike the innocent and misguided as well as to punish the members of these frightful secret societies, will be *clearly* and undeniably established.

The energy and skill with which Lord Spencer and Mr. Jenkinson, supported and aided by Sir Wm. Harcourt, whose courage and determination have been of the *utmost use*, is entitled to the *very highest praise*. But she earnestly hopes Sir William will neglect no precautions for his own safety, as we are indeed “engaged in a mortal struggle with an army of assassins” as he says. . . .

The Marquis of Hartington to Queen Victoria.

WAR OFFICE, 22nd Feb. 1883.—Lord Hartington presents his humble duty to your Majesty and begs to express his regret that he omitted to give your Majesty any account of the proceedings in the House of Commons yesterday (Wednesday) morning. Lord Hartington was not present during the greater part of the sitting, the most remarkable feature of which was a violent speech by Mr. O'Brien, the newly elected member for Mallow, who denounced with great vehemence the recent policy of the Irish Government,

which he asserted had been one of ferocious vengeance, had caused the execution of innocent men, had stimulated the crimes of secret societies, and had intensified the hatred of the Irish people against the British Government.

This evening Mr. Forster made an extremely powerful speech¹ which produced a great impression on the House. He reverted to the circumstances of his resignation and gave an account of the intentions of the Government at that time with regard to the introduction of further measures for strengthening the law, which did not altogether agree with the recollection of Lord Hartington and his colleagues, and which subsequently caused some difference of opinion between him and Lord Hartington. He then adduced a great number of cases proving the complicity of the Land League with outrage and crime which strongly moved the House, and called forth some interruption from the Irish members,² one of whom had to be suspended.

Mr. Parnell did not appear to be inclined to reply at once, but subsequently expressed a wish to be allowed to move the adjournment of the debate. Lord Hartington arranged with Sir S. Northcote that this should be allowed. . . .

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 23rd Feb. 1883.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He telegraphed that Mr. Gladstone would be here on Thursday. The friend who took a less sanguine view of his health a fortnight ago, gives a better account. “He has gained ground almost daily and must feel that it was well not to go home sooner. Yesterday in a pouring rain he walked 8 miles up steep hills, the last 6 without any rest excepting occasional stopping for emphasis and enforcement.

¹ See Introductory Note to this chapter.

² It was in this speech that Mr. Forster insisted that crime had dogged the footsteps of the Land League.

Part of it was much more precipitous than that he shrank from a fortnight ago, so that what I then wrote must be considerably modified." Lady Queensberry explained to her little girl at tea that he was the head of the Government. "But how can he govern England, if he is drinking tea here with me?"

It appears that Mr. Forster's speech made an immense effect yesterday in the House of Commons. . . .

The Marquis of Hartington to Queen Victoria.

WAR OFFICE, 23rd Feb. 1883.—Lord Hartington with his humble duty begs to inform your Majesty that Mr. Parnell opened the debate this evening with a short speech which, although in some respects clever, and no doubt effective so far as those whom he represents in Ireland are concerned, did not attempt to reply to the charges which had been brought by Mr. Forster and others against the Land League. He passed by the imputations which have been thrown by the recent disclosures in Dublin as founded on mere hearsay evidence, and made scarcely any attempt to answer the charges resting on previous speeches and writings of persons connected with the League which had been adduced in detail by Mr. Forster. He declared that he had recently taken very little part in Irish politics, and that, as he had before asserted, between the tyrannical action of the Government and the conspiracies of secret societies, there would soon be no room for constitutional agitation in Ireland. . . .

On a division Mr. Gorst's amendment was rejected by 259 to 176, being a majority of 83 for the Government.

Sir William Harcourt to Queen Victoria.

WHITEHALL, 26th Feb. 1883.—Secretary Sir William Vernon Harcourt presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs leave to state that immediately on his return to London he summoned the heads of the Police. They concur with Sir

William in the opinion that there is *no risk whatever* to be apprehended on the occasion of your Majesty's intended visit to London. If Sir William saw the smallest reason to modify that opinion he would immediately inform your Majesty. The Police arrangements on the occasion will be made more than ordinarily effective, and if Sir William, by a *personal* attendance on your Majesty when in transit from place to place, could give your Majesty any further sense of security he would be most glad of your Majesty's permission to attend when your Majesty moves. . . .¹

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 27th Feb. 1883.—General Sir Henry Ponsonby humbly begs leave to say he has thanked Sir William Harcourt, but said your Majesty will not require his personal attendance.

It certainly would have been peculiar and perhaps not specially conducive to more safety (although he is very well guarded) if he had attended your Majesty in driving anywhere.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 9th Mar. 1883.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. The conduct of the French Government is as bad as possible. But, when the question first arose, the Cabinet decided that it was not a case in which this country could forcibly interfere between France and Madagascar.² Lord Granville obtained their sanction to his and his colleagues saying nothing which could give security to the French Government on this point, and he believes that this caution has

¹ Writing of this period, Mr. A. G. Gardiner, in his *Life of Sir William Harcourt*, says (vol. i, p. 474): "Harcourt had now almost succeeded to Disraeli's place in the Queen's admiration." No one will be misled by this overstatement who takes the trouble to compare the Royal correspondence published by Mr. Gardiner with that contained in the last two volumes of the *Life of Disraeli*.

² See Introductory Note to this chapter.

been observed by all those who were at that time present. Two men-of-war were ordered to proceed to the island, for the protection of British subjects. Lord Granville is surprised to hear that neither has arrived. It is not true that there is no British representative in the island. There is a Consul.

It is a most disagreeable matter, and not unlikely to prove so to the French themselves.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 9th Mar. 1883.—The Queen has just received Lord Granville's letter with respect to Madagascar with much regret, and would wish him to ask Mr. Gladstone if he does not remember writing to her at the time of Lord Derby's entering the Cabinet, that he disagreed and disapproved what Lord Derby had said in his public speech respecting Madagascar.

Are we to let the French go on taking what they like with impunity? First Tunis and now Madagascar? It will have the very worst effect.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 10th Mar. 1883.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He sent your Majesty's note of yesterday to Mr. Gladstone, who has returned it together with a copy of the Memorandum he sent to your Majesty on the 15th Dec. Mr. Gladstone says he did not mean "to disapprove the opinion, and an independent Peer could be open to no objection in stating it, but if it were viewed as proceeding from one virtually in office, the renunciation *beforehand* of title or intention to interfere was matter of regret."

Lord Granville thought it right to acquaint the Cabinet with your Majesty's views. There was some difference of opinion as to the importance of the question, but there was a general agreement as to the difficulty of moving in the matter. Merely to

protest and to scold would be the most likely way to fan the flame of Chauvinism in France, not only on the Madagascar question, but as to the other wild Colonial enterprises on which they are engaged.

Any serious threat might have an effect, but might also cause the necessity of serious complications with France, on a matter which does not affect the honour of your Majesty, although it is an unjustifiable proceeding on the part of the French towards a weaker power.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 16th Mar. 1883.—General Sir Henry Ponsonby humbly begs leave to say he went with Sir William Harcourt to the scene of the explosion, which presents a wild appearance of shattered stone, glass, wood, and plaster.¹

Lady Harcourt was there, and Sir Henry Ponsonby told her that the Queen had thought of what her anxiety must have been; for which she and Sir William were very grateful.

There is no clue and can be no clue to the actual individuals who committed the deed.

But the matter used was undoubtedly dynamite, and that used at *The Times* office—which has been secured—is of American make; at least it is not usually made in England. Mr. Gladstone came to the place while he was there, loudly cheered by the mob which was round the place. The report was heard through most parts of London. C. Thomson, the Gentleman Porter at Buckingham Palace, said it shook the room so violently that he thought it was close by and he ran out. The police and sentries had seen the flash and knew therefore where it was.

Sir Henry Fletcher said, when they heard it at the House of Commons where the Duke of Edinburgh was listening to the Naval debate, his Royal Highness said, “That is a gun or explosion,” and took his watch

¹ The explosion at the Local Government Office. See Introductory Note to this chapter.

out to mark the time. On ascertaining what it was, he went off to the spot; but, fearing that further attack might be made, Sir Henry Fletcher insisted on accompanying him, as the crowd had become dense.

The escape of the office-keeper and two housemaids was marvellous.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 17th Mar. 1883.—As I was going downstairs this afternoon to go out, I missed the last steps, and came down violently on one leg, without actually falling, which caused violent pain in my knee. I could not move for a moment. Then Brown came, and helped me with great difficulty into the carriage. On coming home, however, I had to be lifted out, and supported by Brown, and Lockwood, the footman, got up to my room. Saw Dr. Reid. Tried to walk, and with great difficulty struggled in to dinner on Lenchen's arm. Afterwards went to my room and lay down on the sofa. Saw Sir Wm. Jenner and Dr. Reid, who found the knee much swollen. Getting into bed was most difficult.

Sir William Harcourt to Queen Victoria.

WHITEHALL, 17th Mar. 1883 (6 p.m.).—Secretary Sir William Vernon Harcourt presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs leave to state that no information has yet been obtained leading to the identification of the perpetrators of the explosion—nor indeed is that to be expected for a day or two.

There can be little doubt that the authors of the crime are the same men who caused three explosions in the same day about six weeks ago at Glasgow—one being the explosion of the gasometer. Both at Glasgow and at *The Times* office the other night a tin box (an old bonnet box about 1 foot in diameter) of exactly similar character was found half full of dynamite sawdust which was left unexploded, the

detonator not having had sufficient force. In the broken stones at Public offices were found traces of tin showing that a similar box had been used.

The material is one not used or sold in England, and no doubt sent from America. And I myself have no doubt that the work is that of O'Donovan Rossa's emissaries.

Sir William has taken measures to increase the police force in London, by calling men in from the suburbs, and the assist[ance] of the troops will be asked to gararrison public buildings until a considerable permanent increase of the London police can be made which has been already ordered.

It was decided at the Cabinet to-day to make serious representations to the Government of the United States on the proceedings and language of O'Donovan Rossa and his colleagues. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 29th Mar. 1883.—Leopold came to my dressing-room, and broke the dreadful news to me that my good, faithful Brown had passed away early this morning. Am terribly upset by this loss, which removes one who was so devoted and attached to my service and who did so much for my personal comfort. It is the loss not only of a servant, but of a real friend.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

DOWNING STREET, 29th Mar. 1883.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty and presumes to lay before your Majesty the expression of the sincere concern with which he has learned that your Majesty has been deprived, by a sudden and fatal illness, of the services of Mr. J. Brown. He is able in some degree to understand how the aid and attention of an attached, respected, and intelligent domestic, prolonged through so many years, and naturally productive of an ever-growing confidence, must,

when withdrawn thus abruptly, leave a sense of serious loss, and this most of all in your Majesty's elevated sphere, and closely occupied life. Even in his own contracted circle of personal relations, he has had occasion to feel how much more of proximity may be the natural growth of such services than the outer world would readily suppose.

Mr. Gladstone trusts your Majesty may be able to select a good and efficient successor, though it would be too much to hope that anyone, however capable, can at once fill the void.

The Colonial Office to the Governor of Queensland.
[Telegram.]

14th April 1883.—Reuter's telegram states Queensland Government taken formal possession New Guinea. Please telegraph explanation.

The Governor of Queensland to the Colonial Office.
[Telegram.]

16th April 1883.—To prevent Foreign Powers from taking possession of New Guinea, Queensland Government through Police Magistrate, Thursday Island, took formal possession in her Majesty's name on 4th instant pending your decision on my despatch this mail.—KENNEDY.

The Earl of Derby to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

COLONIAL OFFICE, 16th April 1883.

DEAR SIR HENRY,—The action of the Queensland authorities was not sanctioned from home, and I conceive it to be beyond the right of a colony, however self-governed, to annex foreign territory. But you will observe that the act is provisional only, and subject to confirmation or disallowance here. We must wait for details before deciding. I was sounded on the subject some weeks ago, and wrote out for further details of what was intended or desired.

I hold that we are free to sanction or annul the act as we may think expedient: though no doubt to undo what the colonists have done would create a bad feeling locally. Very faithfully yours, DERBY.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 18th April 1883.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He begs to submit to your Majesty's consideration the name of Mr. Evelyn Baring¹ as successor to Sir E. Malet. Lord Granville believes he would be the best appointment that could be made. He made for himself a great reputation in Egypt, and knows it well. He had immense influence, and at the same time was very popular. He is a strong man, and may be at times a little overbearing; but that is a fault on the right side.

The only drawback is that Lord Ripon will dislike losing him; but the Indian Finance Minister is a normal appointment, whereas being your Majesty's agent [in Egypt] in the present time requires very peculiar qualifications.

It would be necessary to increase the salary, which is now below the importance of the post.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 28th April 1883.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty and reports to your Majesty that the Cabinet has been largely occupied to-day with questions of procedure in the House of Commons. . . .

The Cabinet considered the despatch which has been written by Secretary Frelinghuysen, in reply to Mr. West's letter on the subject of the utterances which have proceeded from O'Donovan Rossa and others in America. Mr. West's letter unfortunately was not in force and clearness quite equal to the

¹ Who was created Baron Cromer in 1892, Viscount Cromer in 1899, and Earl of Cromer in 1901, and died in 1917. In the spring of 1883 he was Finance Minister of the Government of India.

occasion, and the American reply is highly unsatisfactory. The Cabinet are of opinion that a despatch in answer to the American Government should be very carefully prepared without any avoidable delay, and that it should set forth the real *gravamen* which appears to warrant an appeal from your Majesty's Government to the principles of international comity and duty involved in the case.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

[4th May 1883.]—Have just received Archbishop's answer¹: named Carpenter and Davidson² to him. His opinion of the latter is so excellent, so suited to my requirements that have asked him to [enquire] if he would accept. Says youthfulness not the slightest objection. As soon as get answer will communicate, and you can inform Mr. Gladstone.

Mr. Gladstone to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, 9th May 1883.

MY DEAR SIR H. PONSONBY,—Since Hamilton telegraphed to you on my behalf this morning, I have had your answer, and I will certainly write to Mr. Davidson.

I should have submitted my scruple on the score of age to her Majesty, had I not been estopped by the heavy artillery she was pleased to bring into the field, which reduced my little point to dust and ashes. I suspect, however, that, when the operation is completed, some of the critics will be, as it is said, "down upon me."

There is no doubt, I think, that Mr. Davidson will be generally an excellent Dean. Believe me, sincerely yours, W. E. GLADSTONE.

¹ The Queen had asked Archbishop Benson "which he thought, Mr. Boyd Carpenter [afterwards Bishop of Ripon] or Mr. Davidson, would be the best suited to succeed good Dean Connor"—the Dean of Windsor, who had died.

² The present Archbishop of Canterbury. See above, pp. 380-1.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Earl of Derby.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 10th May 1883.

DEAR LORD DERBY,—I am commanded by the Queen to let you know that her Majesty has received a request from Prince Leopold (Duke of Albany) that he might be considered a fit successor to Lord Lorne as Governor-General of Canada.

It has been the object of his Royal Highness's life for some time, and he is supported in this desire by the advice of Lord Lorne, and by the knowledge that the Canadian Government, Opposition, and people wish it.

The Queen does not think it right to influence you with her own private feelings on this matter. But has commanded me to make his Royal Highness's wishes known to you, and until she hears from you in reply to this letter the Queen will delay her consideration of the submission you made to her yesterday. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

16th May.—I am commanded by the Queen to let you know that her Majesty approves of Lord Lansdowne succeeding Lord Lorne as Governor-General of Canada.

As you have offered to explain in detail the reasons of the decision against Prince Leopold going to Canada I am to ask you to let her Majesty hear from you; as, though she does not wish he should be now so employed, the Queen hopes that in future years new opportunities may offer themselves in which his Royal Highness might be able to serve her.—H. P.

The Rev. Randall Davidson to Sir Henry Ponsonby.
Private.

LAMBETH PALACE, 30th May 1883.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY PONSONBY,— . . . When I was at Windsor last week, the Queen, in the course of conversation, said to me—evidently with a view of its being communicated to the Archbishop—that she hoped he would not think it necessary to *spea*

against the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill, though she knew he would feel it right to vote against it.

I have spoken about it to the Archbishop and told him exactly what her Majesty said ; but I find he looks on it as impossible that he could keep silence on such a matter without being very gravely misunderstood.

It is not merely that he feels strongly about it personally, but he feels too that he is looked on as the natural mouthpiece of very many others, and that he ought not to refuse to give expression to what is, I suppose, the practically unanimous view of the Clergy, as well as of so many of the foremost and most loyal of the laity.

This is his view ; and, this being so, ought he to write to the Queen and say that he feels he ought to speak ? or had he better say nothing on the subject to her Majesty and let his public words explain themselves ?

It seems a matter rather of etiquette than of principle whether he should write or forbear to write. If you care to give it, a word of counsel from you would be helpful. Ever very truly yours, RANDALL T. DAVIDSON.

Earl Spencer to Queen Victoria.

VICEREGAL LODGE, DUBLIN, 4th June 1883.—Lord Spencer presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has little of special interest to report from Ireland. The execution of the men convicted of the Phoenix Park murders has passed off quietly. There was considerable curiosity about the first, large crowds gathered and watched for the hoisting of the Black flag ; but at each execution this feeling has subsided and but 2 or 300 boys gathered together when Caffrey was executed last Saturday ; on next Saturday Tim Kelly will be hung, the last of these men.

There has been but little pressure to obtain commutation of the death sentences ; letters from those

who oppose capital punishment, and from others who considered that leniency would produce a beneficial effect in this country, have been sent to Lord Spencer, but not in large numbers, and the near relatives of Fagan and Caffrey sent in Memorials, one from Fagan's mother was addressed to your Majesty.

The only case in which Lord Spencer thought it necessary to alter the sentence was that of Delaney. He had constantly offered evidence and, though he was not taken as a witness, some evidence which he gave was used which probably secured the conviction of one of these men. This having been done, it would not have been possible to carry out the sentence of death.

It will be a great relief to Lord Spencer when the last execution is over. There has been very great anxiety attending the custody of the prisoners; but great credit is due to all those concerned in this terrible event; the collection of evidence, the conduct of the preliminary investigations, the trials themselves, the custody of the prisoners, the protection of the witnesses, jurors, and judges all involved labour, skill, and patience in police, counsel, and everyone employed in the case.

The successful issue of the prosecutions has already had a great effect in Dublin and throughout Ireland, and it is hoped will be a lasting influence in stopping the evil influence of secret societies. . . .

Archbishop Benson to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

LAMBETH PALACE, 6th June 1883.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY PONSONBY,—Davidson has shown me your letter as to the course which it was thought possible for me to take in the approaching discussion of an alteration in marriage laws.

I should be too glad if I could see it to be possible. I am sure you know that. And I hope it will not seem presumptuous, but be only what her Majesty would wish, if in candour I enclose a memorandum

of some of the reasons which render a silent vote on this Bill impossible for my position.

I do not enter into the measure itself, or speak of the number of quiet widowed homes which would be broken up throughout England on the morrow of the change. But I earnestly wish that her Majesty should know that I am not dwelling upon a personal, or limited, or ecclesiastical view, but on wider and more general grounds affecting in their consequences the general stability of important relations. You are aware that there are various causes of disquiet, only in part latent, and that it is not well to multiply these in the Church. Action separating the clergy from their natural leaders, and weakening the confidence which they are disposed to feel for the present, is above all things now to be deprecated. Yours very truly, EDW: CANTUAR.

Memorandum by Archbishop Benson.

6th June 1883.—1. The Archbishop would not now think it necessary to speak with a view to *guiding* Church thought on the subject of the marriage law.

But he is looked to to give some expression to that thought, and, as his opinion is well known, his position would be seriously compromised by silence.

2. Is it realised that the LAY opinion and feeling, which is engaged against this Bill, is that of the portion of the community which is especially distinguished by loyalty to the Crown?

(1) The Evangelical section, wholly, as represented by Lord Shaftesbury.

(2) The High Church section, without any exception.

(3) The Broad Church. Some time back there was a little doubt as to which side these would take. But, since the Bishop of Exeter's speech on the social aspect of the question in respect of domestic life, there is no doubt.

(4) The Roman Catholics, headed by Cardinal Manning.

(5) The Scotch Established Church, headed by Dr. Milligan the Moderator, and Lord Balfour Principal Elder, of the General Assembly.

3. The opinion of the great mass of the Clergy is on the ground of the Scriptural Prohibition and is conscientious.

The Prayer Book, to which they all subscribe solemnly, declares the present prohibition to be according to scripture. They are bound by it and believe it. A conflict between this opinion of theirs and an altered law would be disastrous ; especially if their view were not even *expressed* for them by the person whom they have a right to look to. The conflict would take shape (supposing the Bill to pass) on the subject of admission to the Holy Communion. And at this juncture it might have a very momentous effect on the Establishment.

Lord Carlingford to Queen Victoria.

PRIVY SEAL OFFICE, *8th June 1883.*—Lord Carlingford is much obliged to your Majesty for permitting him to see the Archbishop's letter and Memorandum, and for your Majesty's expression of opinion, which he quite understands. It may be difficult for the Archbishop, in his position, and with his opinions on the subject (doubtless well known among the clergy), to abstain from speaking at this stage of the controversy, but he gives very bad reasons for the course he takes. Lord Carlingford is struck by his blindness to the strength of the *lay* opinion of the country in favour of freedom as to the marriages in question. He does not allude to the fact that there is a large majority of the House of Commons, and probably a majority of the *lay* members of the House of Lords, in favour of the Bill, neither of these majorities being of a Party kind. He does not allude to the English Nonconformists, nor to the Free Church and United Presbyterians of Scotland. He has no right to assume that the "Evangelical" laity of the Church of England are represented in this matter by Lord Shaftesbury, or the "Broad Church" laity by the Bishop of Exeter, nor even, it may be, the laity of the Established Church of Scotland by the Moderator and Lord Balfour. As to Nos. (2) and (4), the High Church Section and the Roman Catholics, he is no doubt right, the laity

in those cases being so clerically minded, or priest-ridden.

The state of things which will probably arise is this, that the desired change of the law will be prevented only by the votes of the Bishops in the House of Lords; and it will be for the Archbishop to consider whether that state of things will be advantageous for the Church. His fear or expectation that the clergy will refuse to recognise the marriages in question, if they should be made legal, and even treat them as incestuous, has no doubt struck your Majesty; but the laity cannot be expected to sacrifice their convictions, lest a conflict should arise between a certain number of clergymen and the law of the land.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF LORDS, 11th June 1883.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. Lord Dalhousie moved the second reading of the Deceased Wife's Sister's Marriage [Bill]. He did it clearly and simply, reserving to himself the right of reply. Lord Cairns moved the rejection of the second reading at considerable length, making some new points against the objections of the colonists, but generally repeating with great clearness the old arguments. Lord Bramwell followed in an original speech, with very close reasoning; but perhaps in rather too jocular style for the subject. The House roared with laughter. The Archbishop defended the theological aspect of the question, and urged consideration for the feelings of the clergy. He entered into the social aspect, but was not as effective as his predecessor would have been. Lord Carrington has just got up.

Lord Granville will telegraph the result of the division.¹

¹ The second reading was carried by 169 to 158 votes.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 13th June 1883.—Mr. Gladstone reports to your Majesty, with his humble duty, that the Cabinet met to-day to consider, principally, Colonial questions.

The Cabinet adhere to the opinion that a Commissioner should be despatched to South Africa to enquire into our relations with the Transvaal Government, and into the working of the Convention as it has now been tested by experience. It is probable that Lord Derby will very shortly submit to your Majesty the name of Lord Reay for this office. The office would give to the Commissioner a concern in settling the questions which have arisen in Bechuana-land.

The Cabinet considered the unauthorised proceeding of the Queensland Government in the so-called annexation of New Guinea. They deem this a question of great importance and are desirous to proceed with the requisite circumspection. They consider that they cannot advise your Majesty to confirm the unauthorised proceeding of the Queensland Government, that annexation to Queensland appears in itself inadmissible, and that there are no facts at present before them which warrant taking any step either for or towards annexation: but that the door should be left open for the Australian Colonies to set forth their views on the subject. Lord Derby will prepare a draft in this sense for further consideration.

The Cabinet authorised the Chancellor of the Exchequer to negotiate with Lord Ashburnham for the purchase of the Stowe division of the collection, apart from the other divisions.

Your Majesty's servants believe that the time has arrived when a further reduction of the Army in Egypt may take place, and Lord Hartington has the subject under consideration. It is not, however, likely that any measure can be adopted at once for

reducing the force to what has been contemplated as the minimum to be gradually arrived at.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 15th June 1883.—The Queen was delighted with the second reading of the Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill (which ought to include—as a matter of course—marriage with a deceased husband's brother, which was a law with the Jews), and she only hopes that every effort will be made in the next stages to carry it through¹ and to push it rapidly on in the House of Commons, for it were well to put a stop to all further agitation.

The debate was a bad one; Lord Bramwell was rather too jocular, and the Archbishop's a very weak speech. The arguments used against it are, to the Queen, perfectly incomprehensible and really very low and unworthy.

The Queen can only give a poor account of herself. The progress of her leg is very slow and she is unfit for anything almost. . . .

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 21st June 1883.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He has received without surprise your Majesty's enquiry through Sir Henry Ponsonby. But Lord Granville has no authority over a colleague in the House of Commons. Lord Granville, on getting Lord Salisbury's notice, requested Mr. Chamberlain to call on him. He stated that he was anxious to defend a colleague as well as possible, but that he must tell him that in his opinion he was quite in the wrong, and more so that those of his leading friends in Birmingham who had spoken to him (with the exception of his brother-in-law) were of the same

¹ The Bill was rejected by the House of Lords, on the third reading on 28th June, by 145 to 140 votes.

opinion. Mr. Chamberlain gave the explanation, which Lord Granville repeated in the House, and said that it had not struck him that he was doing anything wrong in repeating his well-known opinions.¹

Lord Granville has repeated your Majesty's question to Mr. Gladstone, and found that Mr. Gladstone had not read Mr. Chamberlain's speech. But he has promised to do so.

Mr. Gladstone to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

Private. 10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, 22nd June 1883.

MY DEAR SIR H. PONSONBY,—*Re* Chamberlain's speech ; I am sorry to say I had not read the report until I was warned by your letters to Granville and to Hamilton ; for my sight does not now allow me to read largely the small type of newspapers. I have now read it, and I must at once say with deep regret. We had done our best to keep the Bright celebration in harmony with the general tone of opinion by the mission which Granville kindly undertook.

I am the more sorry about this speech, because Chamberlain has, this year in particular, shown both tact and talent in the management of questions not polemical, such as the Bankruptcy Bill. The speech is open to exception from three points of view, as I think : first in relation to Bright, secondly in relation to the Cabinet, thirdly, and most especially, in relation to the Crown, to which the speech did not indicate the consciousness of his holding any special relation.

I am considering, and I have consulted with one or two of my colleagues, what best to do in the matter, either by and through Mr. Chamberlain himself, or otherwise. I remain, sincerely yours, W. E. GLADSTONE.

¹ Mr. Chamberlain, speaking at Birmingham in June, on the occasion of the presentation to Mr. Bright, after twenty-five years' service as M.P. for the city, had not only repeated his well-known opinions, but had compared that demonstration with the recent coronation of the Emperor Alexander III at Moscow ; and had said that at the Birmingham festivity there were no Royalties, and no one had missed them.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 27th June 1883.—The Queen is glad to see Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville both take a serious view of Mr. Chamberlain's speech. A Cabinet Minister, or indeed any Minister, should not hold such dangerous and improper language. And the Queen must ask Mr. Gladstone to take some steps to mark her displeasure as well as that of the Government.

The Queen had from the first greatly deprecated Mr. Chamberlain's being in the Cabinet, and she must say she thinks her fears have been fully realised.

The Earl of Derby to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

COLONIAL OFFICE, 29th June 1883.

DEAR SIR HENRY,—I should before now have written to you on South African affairs, had I had any information other than that contained in papers which have been submitted to her Majesty; but I have none.

Of our three troubles, the biggest, that relating to the Transvaal, is settled for the moment by our acceptance of the proposed mission.

We found that not only did the Transvaal authorities prefer to negotiate here, but that the Cape Government held the same opinion very decidedly; for what reason, is not clear to me; but the concurrence of opinion made it difficult for us to object, and in fact the plan of receiving a mission in London has advantages of convenience over the alternative first adopted, that of sending out a High Commissioner. There was therefore no doubt in the minds of the Cabinet. The Boer mission will probably not be here till late in the autumn.

In the meanwhile the Bechuana chiefs have had the sense to do what they ought to have done long ago—combine against the white filibusters, and make

peace among themselves. They are strong in numbers, fairly armed, and it is I think quite on the cards that they may effect the clearance of their country by and for themselves—which obviously is the best solution.

On the Basuto business, our propositions are gone out to the Cape. Mr. Merriman, the representative here of the Cape Government, seemed satisfied with them; and I have a fair hope (though it is hope only) that they may form the basis of a settlement in that quarter.

The last trouble is that with Cetewayo, who has behaved as badly as possible, and fully justified the predictions of those who said he could not be trusted. He may fight the northern chiefs—Usibebu and the rest—again; in which case we are not called upon to interfere, never having promised them protection. Or he may attack the reserve territory bordering on Natal, which I think we can hardly refuse to protect, it having been set aside as a place of refuge for those who did not choose to live under Cetewayo. But as to this I am not much alarmed. Cetewayo is unscrupulous, as might be expected, but he is not a fool; and I do not think he will with his eyes open come into collision with us again.

So much for African affairs, which are one degree worse in point of confusion and complication than those of Ireland.

The rest of the colonial world is peaceful. The Australian agents have lately come to me from their Governments, with a request that we would annex, or at least undertake the protectorate of (1) New Guinea, (2) the New Hebrides, (3) Samoa, (4) all the islands lying north and north-east of New Guinea. These last are mostly unexplored, in all bigger than France or Germany, and peopled by cannibals.

I asked them whether they did not want another planet all to themselves? and they seemed to think it would be a desirable arrangement, if only feasible. The magnitude of their ideas is appalling to the

English mind. I have asked them to put their plans on paper for the Cabinet, but did not give much hope that they could be realised at present.

It is hardly too much to say that they consider the whole Southern Pacific theirs *de jure*; the French possession of New Caledonia they regard as an act of robbery committed on them. It certainly is hard for four millions of English settlers to have only a country as big as Europe to fill up. Very truly yours, DERBY.

Mr. Gladstone to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, 30th June 1883.

MY DEAR SIR H. PONSONBY,—From Granville's report of a conversation with her Majesty yesterday, I am not sure whether I have made clear the course I have thought it best to take with respect to Mr. Chamberlain. I have done what I could, in the way which seemed most promising, to influence his mind, and allow him with grace to set the matter right at his Cobden Club dinner to-day. Of course I hope this may be effectual; for the mildest medicine, if it will do its work, is the best. Should my hope be disappointed, it will then remain to consider what further step may be taken. But, like Granville, I consider that the offence does not consist in holding certain opinions, of which in my judgment the political force and effect are greatly exaggerated: but in the attitude assumed, and the tone and colour given to the speech. Believe me, sincerely yours, W. E. GLADSTONE.

If you are able to dine here on Tuesday I will explain more at large.

Mr. Gladstone to Mr. Chamberlain.

[Copy.]

Private. 10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, 2nd July 1883.

MY DEAR CHAMBERLAIN,—I think that general opinion, which I accept for myself, is to the effect

that your speech¹ on Saturday has substantially obviated any inconvenient results that might have been apprehended from the preceding speech at Birmingham, or from the construction put upon it ; and I thank you for the effort you have made.

On the other hand, I venture to anticipate your concurrence on two points ; the first is, that though speech cannot universally be confined by a Minister within the limits of action to which he has conformed, yet that declarations, tending to place him markedly in advance or in arrear of his colleagues on subjects of high politics, or otherwise delicate, should be made as rarely and reservedly, and if I may say so, as reluctantly as possible. If, for example, the Government were about proposing a County Suffrage Bill as the measure proper, in its province, to meet the wants of the country, it is evident how its dignity and weight would be lessened, and the prospects of the measure itself put in jeopardy, if the slowest "boy in the class" were then to signify his apprehensions that it went too far, and the quickest his readiness to go a good deal further.

My second point is that, as Ministers, we are bound to recognise the balanced character of the system under which we live, and of which we are the official defenders ; so that the rights of the Crown, guaranteed by the Constitution, and not less sacred in the eyes of the people than are their own liberties, and not these only but all that belongs to the person and family of the Sovereign, are specially in our charge, and are to be watched over by us with careful and even jealous respect. Of course I am not using words as a test or formula, but simply as expressive of a general spirit, and mode of action, which, so far as I know, have been loyally acknowledged by all statesmen of liberal opinions, and have left them

¹ The speech contained a defence of the right of a Radical in a Liberal Government to maintain his own distinctive point of view, while acquiescing in decisions not so advanced as he could have desired ; but there was no reference to the sneer at Royalties.

abundant scope for the purposes of public duty. Believe me always, sincerely yours, W. E. GLADSTONE.

Mr. Chamberlain to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

Private.

2nd July 1883.

MY DEAR MR. GLADSTONE,—I thank you very much for your kind letter, and I am glad that you are able to approve of what I said at the Dinner last Saturday.

I believe that I can accept without reserve your two points.

As to the first, I will only say that it must be to the interest of every Government that its several Members should not entirely lose their individuality in the corporate existence; but that they should retain their representative character, and thus continue to bring to the Government of which they form part whatever influence they may have possessed in this capacity.

As regards your second point I accept that also without hesitation; and I have never consciously failed in respect to the Sovereign or the Royal Family.

I have seen in Tory newspapers comments on a detached passage in my Birmingham speech, which imputed to me a meaning not intended by myself and, I think, not consistent with the plain sense of the whole passage. I was contrasting the two great demonstrations which had taken place in the course of a single fortnight—the Coronation at Moscow and the Bright celebration at Birmingham. I noticed the presence at the former of the high officials of the Empire and of the representatives of foreign States. I pointed out that at Birmingham there were neither the dignitaries of State nor the representatives of Royalty, and I added that no one missed them because it was essentially a popular demonstration. In fact, I was indicating the different character of

the two events, but without intending any invidious disparagement of either ceremony.

I make this explanation, because I assume that you must have had these comments in your mind, in laying down the general principles contained in your letter, and to which I have no difficulty in yielding a willing assent. I am, yours very truly,
J. CHAMBERLAIN.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 3rd July 1883.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty and humbly recalls your Majesty's attention to his previous communications on the subject of Mr. Chamberlain's speech at Birmingham, and of his effort to obtain the adoption of a different tone in the speech made on Saturday at the Cobden Club.

After perusing that speech, and observing the reception it met with in various quarters, Mr. Gladstone addressed a letter to Mr. Chamberlain, and received a reply, which he thinks does as much as can be done under the circumstances to repair an error. Of these letters, which he hopes may be considered as in some degree making provision for the future, Mr. Gladstone encloses copies¹: being desirous that in the case of Mr. Chamberlain, as in that of Sir Charles Dilke, your Majesty should be possessed with the greatest exactness of all means of judgment. Both have shown, in various ways, undoubted power to serve the public, and their time of life, together with their capacity and the positions they have severally attained, enhance the importance of any question relating to their political demeanour.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 6th July 1883.—General Sir Henry Ponsonby presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

Perhaps, as the general opinion is that Mr. Cham-

¹ *I.e.* the two preceding letters.

berlain's speech was to some extent a retraction, it would be better to say nothing. And if your Majesty approved Sir Henry Ponsonby would merely tell Mr. Gladstone that your Majesty has read them.

The copies are for your Majesty to keep. In reality Mr. Gladstone himself is not quite satisfied, but does not like to proceed any further as Mr. Chamberlain has shown a readiness not to make any more "advanced" speeches.

Sir William Harcourt to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

30th July 1883.—Intelligence just received that James Carey, the informer, was shot dead yesterday on board the steamer *Melrose* at Port Elizabeth, the Cape, by a man named O'Donnell. Carey had his wife and six children on board.

WHITEHALL, 1st Aug. 1883.—Secretary Sir William Vernon Harcourt presents his humble duty to your Majesty. Sir William has received no further information as to Carey beyond that which appears in the newspapers. He has seen Mr. Jenkinson and other persons from Ireland to-day. There can be no doubt that the effect produced has been one of extreme exultation amongst the disaffected (unfortunately the greater portion) Irish population. It is to them a triumph, and it is to be feared may have very bad results.

Sir William fears that the despatch of Carey was not managed with the caution which ought to have been observed. It seems certain that his wife and children were watched to London, and their destination ascertained. O'Donnell then seems to have secured his passage and Carey subsequently embarked. But he ought never to have been sent with his family. They should have joined him abroad.

Sir William has directed enquiries to be made what is being done with O'Donnell at the Cape, and

will inform your Majesty of that and any other particulars as soon as they arrive.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 7th Aug. 1883.—After luncheon saw the great Poet Tennyson, who remained nearly an hour, and most interesting it was. He is grown very old, his eyesight much impaired, and he is very shaky on his legs. But he was very kind, and his conversation was most agreeable. He spoke of the many friends he had lost, and what it would be if he did not feel and know that there was another world where there would be no partings, of his horror of unbelievers and philosophers, who would try to make one believe there was no other world, no immortality, who tried to explain everything away in a miserable manner. We agreed that were such a thing possible, God, Who is Love, would be far more cruel than a human being. He quoted some well-known lines of Goethe, whom he so much admires. He asked after my grandchildren, and spoke of the state of Ireland with abhorrence, and the wickedness of ill-using and maiming poor animals. "I am afraid I think the world is darkened; but I dare say it will be brighter again." I told him what a comfort *In Memoriam* had always been to me, which seemed to please him; but he said, I could not believe the numbers of shameful letters of abuse he had received about it. Incredible! When I took leave of him I thanked him for his kindness, and said how much I appreciated it, for I had gone through much, to which he replied, "You are so alone on that terrible height. I have only a year or two more to live, but I am happy to do anything for you I can."

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 23rd Aug. 1883.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for all his letters, and is especially

glad that this Act altering the Criminal Law respecting Lunatics has been passed, and in so quiet a way. It will be, she feels sure, a great security.¹

The Queen feels very strongly that the withdrawal of our troops from Cairo and Egypt must be put off, she believes *sine die*; for the state of utter corruption and helplessness there is quite dreadful.

Sir E. Wood can confirm this better than anyone. The Queen is glad to see that both on this point and on South Africa the language of the Speech is of a nature not to hamper or fetter our necessary action.

As regards Madagascar, the Queen is not easy: this country has, she fears, been insulted by the French and *ought* to insist on due reparation.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 24th Aug. 1883.—The poor Comte de Chambord,² who has been very ill for two months, died this morning at Frohsdorf, after a sad life; he was an honourable, chivalrous man, the last of his race, always a sad thing. What will happen? Paris³ is now the head of the Royal Family of France.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 18th Sept. 1883.—Though the Queen expects to hear from Lord Granville she cannot delay writing to him to express more fully what she has done in cyphered telegrams, viz. her unfeigned astonishment at Mr. Gladstone's want of *all knowledge*, apparently, of what is due to the Sovereign he serves—in going on a cruise far away, without asking the Queen or at least submitting to

¹ The verdict in cases where the jury found the prisoner to have been out of his mind at the time of the crime was altered from "Not guilty on the ground of insanity" to "Guilty but insane."

² The Legitimist head of the Royal Family of France, "Henri Cinq."
See Second Series, Vol. ii, pp. 139 and 234.

³ The Comte de Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe.

her that it was his wish and intention, and then going off to Norway, where affairs are very critical, and still worse to Copenhagen, where the Emperor of Russia and King of Greece are staying!!

The Prime Minister—and especially one *not* gifted with prudence in speech—is not a person who can go about *where* he likes with impunity. At *this moment* too, when our relations with France are *not* of the best, and when affairs between France and China require very careful handling, and the question of Bulgaria is also a very serious and pressing one, his absence is a great inconvenience and his presence at Copenhagen may be productive of much evil and certainly lead to misconstruction.

The Queen believes everyone is much astonished at this *escapade*. But what would they say, if they knew that the Queen knew nothing whatever of it? Indeed he told the Queen he was not going on a cruise this year, and his private secretary informed us he was not to cross the border as he was not to go to Midlothian!

The Queen must say she is very indignant. Will Lord Granville convey the substance of what she has written to Mr. Gladstone, or should she write direct to him? ¹

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

ON THE NORTH SEA, 15th Sept. 1883. (Posted at Copenhagen, 16th Sept. 1883.)—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has to offer his humble apology for not having sought from your Majesty the usual gracious permission before setting foot on a foreign shore. He embarked on the 8th in a steamer of the Castle Company, under the auspices of Sir Donald Currie, with no more

¹ In reply Lord Granville wrote: "Mr. Gladstone ought to have informed your Majesty, but Lord Granville is *sure* he did not *intend* any want of respect to your Majesty. The whole thing seems to have been done on the spur of the moment." And, further: "It will be difficult to make Germany believe it; but Lord Granville is certain that Mr. Gladstone had no political object in going to Copenhagen."

ambitious expectation than that of a cruise among the Western Isles. But the extraordinary solidity, so to call it, of a very firm ship (the *Pembroke Castle*, 4,000 tons, 410 feet long) on the water, rendering her in no small degree independent of weather, encouraged his fellow-voyagers, and even himself though a most indifferent sailor, to extend their views, and the vessel is now on the North Sea running over to Christiansund in Norway, from whence it is proposed to go to Copenhagen, with the expectation, however, of again touching British soil in the middle of next week. Mr. Gladstone humbly trusts that, under these circumstances, his omission may be excused.

Mr. Tennyson, who is one of the party, is an excellent sailor, and seems to enjoy himself much in this floating castle, as it may be termed in a wider sense than that of its appellation on the register. . . .

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 20th Sept. 1883.—The Queen received Mr. Gladstone's letter posted at Copenhagen yesterday.

She gives him full credit for not having reflected at the time when he decided to extend his cruise to Norway and Denmark, that he ought not to do so without communicating first with the Queen.

The Queen cannot deny that she *was very much* surprised, to say the least, at his visit to the latter country, especially at this moment when the Emperor of Russia and King of Greece are staying there, and there are so many topics which cannot be discussed with foreign Sovereigns by the Prime Minister without due consultation with the Foreign Secretary and the sanction of the Sovereign.

The Queen fully believes that Mr. Gladstone will have avoided politics with the Sovereigns he met at Copenhagen; but she doubts the public believing this, and many remarks and surmises have already been made and hazarded which may prove incon-

venient. The Prime Minister of Great Britain cannot move about (especially when every step he takes is reported, she knows not by whom or whether a reporter was on board with him?) as a private individual and any trip like the one he has just taken will lead, as she has above observed, to political speculations which it is better to avoid.

*Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.*¹

10 DOWNING STREET, 22nd Sept. 1883.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has to acknowledge your Majesty's letter of the 20th, giving him full credit for not having reflected at the time when he decided, as your Majesty believes, to extend his recent cruise to Norway and Denmark.

He may humbly state that he had no desire or idea beyond a glance, if only for a few hours, at a little of the fine and peculiar scenery of Norway. But he is also responsible for having acquiesced in the proposal (which originated with Mr. Tennyson) to spend a day at Copenhagen, where he happens to have some attractions of literary interest; for having accepted an unexpected invitation to dine with the King some thirty miles off; and for having promoted the execution of a wish, again unexpectedly communicated to him, that a visit of the illustrious party to the *Pembroke Castle* should be arranged. Mr. Gladstone ought probably to have foreseen all these things. Increasing weariness of mind, under public cares for which he feels himself less and less fitted, may have blunted the faculty of anticipation, with which he was never very largely endowed.

With respect to the construction put upon his act abroad, Mr. Gladstone ought again, perhaps, to have foreseen that, in countries habituated to more

¹ In a previous letter dated "Ship *Pembroke Castle*, mouth of the Thames, 20th Sept. 1883," the greater part of which is printed in *Life of Gladstone*, bk. viii, ch. 7, Mr. Gladstone had given the Queen an account of his intercourse with the royal personages gathered as a family party at Copenhagen.

important personal meetings, which are uniformly declared to be held in the interests of general peace, his momentary and unpremeditated contact with the Sovereigns at Fredensdorp would be denounced, or suspected of a mischievous design. He has, however, some consolation in finding that, in England at least, such a suspicion appears to have been confined to two secondary journals, neither of which has ever found (so far as he is aware) in any act of his anything but guilt or folly.

Thus adopting, to a great extent, your Majesty's view, Mr. Gladstone can confirm your Majesty's belief that (with the exception of a sentence addressed by him to the King of the Hellenes singly respecting Bulgaria), there was on all hands an absolute silence in regard to public affairs. He repeats his regret for having found himself at Kirkwall in a position in which, anxious not to disappoint a party of friends, he had to assume beforehand your Majesty's gracious permission; and he assures your Majesty that nothing but necessity will hereafter induce him, in his present charge, to raise any question of quitting for ever so short a time your Majesty's dominions.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 23rd Sept. 1883.—The Queen has to thank Mr. Gladstone for two letters, the one from the Nore dated on Friday, and the other of yesterday's date.

His interesting account of the Royal Danish family, etc., only confirms what she has always heard to be the case from all those who have been there. But so many have rarely been assembled at the same time. The King and Queen of Denmark are singularly fortunate in their children. . . .

The Queen hopes that the Emperor of Russia's name has been used in vain in Bulgaria; still he should not allow his civil and military agents to behave

in the disgraceful way they have done in that country lately.

The Queen quite understands how Mr. Gladstone was led on to visit Copenhagen, and how the Poet Laureate wished to visit that country. She will gladly sanction a Barony being conferred on him, but thinks it would be well to delay it till the beginning of next year. . . .

Sir Henry Elliot to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

VIENNA, 23rd September 1883.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,— . . . Mr. Gladstone's visit to Copenhagen, while the Emperor of Russia was there, created immense sensation among the Austrians, none of whom will believe for a moment that it had not some deep political object, and that a combination unfavourable to this country was [not] being concocted. Many of the newspapers quoted the famous "Hands off" speech as showing what the real feeling of her Majesty's Prime Minister towards Austria is, and for the moment the old distrust of us, which for the last three years I have been labouring to remove, has been revived, although, no doubt, it will be only temporary.

Things in Bulgaria, I hope, look more promising; for the Russians had tried to carry matters with so high a hand as to make the rival parties among the Bulgarians forget their animosities for the moment and united them against the two Generals.

The Prince's position is not an easy one, but there can be no doubt that what he has now to do is to try to get the support of his own people, and to govern them in a reasonably constitutional manner. When he suspended the Constitution two years ago he flattered himself that he was going to be entirely his own master; but he has not the character or qualifications for such a part, and he soon found himself the helpless servant of the Ministers sent to him from St. Petersburg, who proved harder masters

than the Bulgarian Assembly. Yours sincerely,
HENRY ELLIOT.

The Marchioness of Ely to Sir Theodore Martin.

BALMORAL CASTLE, 4th October 1883.

MY DEAR SIR THEODORE,—The Queen desires me to return you these remaining proof sheets ¹ from Miss Macgregor, with some of whose corrections she does not agree. She cannot understand her idea that the mention of drinking the healths of the Royal Family on their home-coming etc. should be almost entirely omitted, to please the total abstinence movement! There is not a wedding, nor a christening, or coming of age anywhere in the United Kingdom, where healths are not proposed, and naturally drunk. The Queen feels sure that you will agree. Her Majesty wishes to observe that the National Monument, unveiled the other day in Germany, which you allude to, is not one which she thinks the Prince would have approved, as it is rather boastful, and some of the southern German Sovereigns did not even attend it on account of the events of '66. . . . Believe me, Yours truly, JANE ELY.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 12th Oct. 1883.—The Queen has not yet answered Lord Granville's last letter relative to Bulgaria. She can only repeat her strong conviction that our object is to *prevent* Russia forcing this Prince to resign, and thus to see a Russian vassal placed there. Whether he has made mistakes or not is of far less importance than his being driven away, and Russia having all her own way. And this the other Powers who placed him there should try and prevent.

As regards Egypt and our troops, Lord Granville and Lord Hartington both told the Queen that they

¹ Of *More Leaves from the Journal of a Life in the Highlands*. See below, p. 466.

would do nothing till they had consulted Sir E. Wood on his return. The Queen knows what his opinion is and what he has told Lord Hartington, and will tell Lord Granville if he has not already done so. It is, that *if* it is desired to leave Egypt to the Egyptians then *we* must not leave Egypt for a long and indefinite time. Otherwise they will inevitably become French or Italian. That he thought we might possibly (but he did not say *immediately*) leave Cairo and *remain on the Coast*, and that we ought to have 4 *battalions* there. Three would not be enough.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 13th Oct. 1883.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He agrees entirely with your Majesty that it is probably the desire of the Russian Government to get rid of the Prince of Bulgaria, and that it is desirable that the Powers should prevent any such policy being carried out. Lord Granville hopes that this may be done, but it appears that the Prince told Mr. Lascelles that the only word of support and advice which he had received was from your Majesty's Government. It requires tact on the part of the Prince under these circumstances to hold his own; and [he] will not be able to do it, unless he secures the support of his subjects. Mr. Lascelles seems to be judicious in what he has said to the Prince.

Lord Granville saw Sir Evelyn Wood on his arrival from Egypt. He said almost the same things about the troops as he did to your Majesty, excepting that he was positive that Cairo might be safely evacuated now, and that it was better that all should leave the capital if any did. He was very strong in what he said to Lord Granville as to the danger of leaving Egypt altogether. He told Lord Granville that 3,000 men should be kept near Alexandria. He is coming here again next week.



W. & D. Downey

Granville George, 2nd Earl Granville, K.G.
(circa 1880)



Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

Confidential.

BALMORAL CASTLE, 22nd Oct. 1883.—The Queen thanks Lord Granville for his two last letters and his cyphers.

She has no doubt that Lord Granville feels as Lord Palmerston did; who with all his many faults, had the honour and power of his country strongly at heart, and so had Lord Beaconsfield. *But* she does *not* feel that Mr. Gladstone has. Or at least he puts the House of Commons and party *first*; thinking *no doubt* that he *is* doing what is best by keeping this country out of everything and swallowing offences like the conduct of the French at Madagascar. However, if Lord Granville thinks Lord Palmerston would have been satisfied with what the French are to do, *she* will rest content.

As regards *Egypt* and the Troops, the Queen will not give her consent to their *withdrawal* from *Egypt*, as the interests of Egypt as well as of this country require their remaining. She believes many, if not most, of his colleagues will agree in this; but she fears Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington are inclined to be *weak upon it*. The Egyptians cannot govern themselves, that *everyone says* who is not inclined to yield to the *cry of non-interference in everything*. This must be met by an *honest* firm answer that it is impossible to say *when* the British troops *can* go, in the interest of Egypt and of this country.

We have not allowed precious British blood to be shed only to see Egypt fall into the hands of France and Italy. Three thousand men must remain; this withdrawal from Cairo is quite another question.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL, 25th October 1883.

DEAR LORD GRANVILLE,—In returning to you the accompanying draft of a despatch to Mr. Lascelles,

the Queen commands me to ask you the reason of the tone adopted by you in the latter part of the document which implies, if it does not assert, that the Prince of Bulgaria has not made it his object to secure the confidence and attachment of his subjects.

The Queen cannot find in Mr. Lascelles' letters any statement which would give support to such a view, and her personal knowledge of his Highness convinces the Queen that he has the welfare of his people sincerely at heart.

Standing alone, without aid from any of the Powers, he has relieved the Bulgarians from the presence of the irresponsible Russian Generals, he has induced the two opposing political parties to unite, he has been received with enthusiasm in the Chamber, and he is aiding his people to render themselves free and independent of Russia.

The Russians, naturally, object to these proceedings, the Germans and Austrians stand aloof, and this despatch reads as if you desired to preach to him on his neglect of the Bulgarian people; although much of what he has done has been in accordance with Mr. Lascelles' advice. The Queen had hoped that some words of encouragement would have been addressed to him, and trusts that Mr. Nicolson¹ may be instructed to give him a friendly support in the patriotic course he is following.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 25th Oct. 1883.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that the Cabinet reassembled to-day.

Lord Granville brought before his colleagues the draft of a despatch which dealt with the several questions raised in recent correspondence between the British and French Governments concerning occurrences at Madagascar. The Cabinet took into consideration the terms of this draft, and Lord

¹ British Agent in Bulgaria, now Lord Carnock.

Granville will submit it, as it has been agreed upon, for the sanction of your Majesty.

Lord Granville brought under the consideration of your Majesty's advisers the recommendation of Sir Evelyn Baring (following upon the judgment of Sir Evelyn Wood) for the reduction of the British force in Egypt, the entire withdrawal from Cairo, and a concentration of the force in Alexandria. The total number is at present between six and seven thousand. It is in contemplation that the reduction should be to about the number of three thousand recommended by Sir E. Baring, who had been in communication with General Stephenson.¹ The precise number to be placed at Alexandria (which must of course be limited by some considerations of local accommodation) would remain to be hereafter fixed, as well as other details with regard to retaining small contingents at Port Said, Ismailia, or points between them. All the authorities are desirous that proceedings should be taken on this subject with all possible promptitude. Your Majesty is familiar with the subject, and Mr. Gladstone humbly trusts that this brief notice of the present state of the facts may suffice to bring them, and the recommendation of your Majesty's advisers, under your Majesty's view and judgment.

Sir Evelyn Wood, not being as Egyptian Commander an officer in your Majesty's service, is not in a position to tender a formal recommendation on this subject, but his opinion is a material element in the case and, it having been expressed in a manner perfectly available, care will be taken to have it in such a shape as to place it within the cognisance of the public. . . .

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

27th Oct. 1883.—I approve of the withdrawal of the troops from Cairo and of their reduction to

¹ The British General in command in Egypt.

3,000 if really sufficient, *on the condition* that they remain indefinitely in Egypt and no promise of definite withdrawal or further reduction is made in Parliament.

Think the reparation for Madagascar insult not sufficient.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HAWARDEN, 28th Oct. 1883.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty acknowledges your Majesty's telegram which reached London after he had left it yesterday afternoon.

Mr. Gladstone can state with entire confidence that the recent advice of the Cabinet respecting the evacuation of Cairo and reduction of the force in Egypt was not intended to be accompanied with any declaration altering in any way the present understanding established in Parliament as to the occupying force in Egypt, so that the time of its final removal will remain as heretofore, and, as your Majesty desires, undefined.

With respect to the indemnity accorded by the French Government to Mr. Shaw, Mr. Gladstone humbly recalls to your Majesty's mind two considerations which bear upon the subject, and which, as he conceives, had an influence on the minds of his colleagues in giving the advice which they have dutifully tendered.

1. The law of nations in no way authorises a demand for compensation to a British subject in respect of *damages* which he has suffered as a result of military operations by a foreign Power. The sum of £1,000 is an acknowledgment in respect of discourtesy and harshness (as Mr. Gladstone believes) in the incidents of an imprisonment soon discovered to be causeless.

2. Your Majesty will remember the case of Mr. Pritchard. He had been your Majesty's Consul, a public officer : France was not engaged in belligerent operations. Under these remarkable circumstances,

your Majesty's Government of 1844 (to which Mr. Gladstone had the honour of belonging) asked as compensation no more than £1,400. France offered £440, and at last £880. This was not accepted : and finally nothing was paid.

Mr. Gladstone humbly conceives that your Majesty's succinct expression in the telegram is not meant to suggest that there would be public advantage in prolonging the controversy with the French Government on the point of pecuniary amount awarded for Mr. Shaw.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL, 30th Oct. 1883.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letters of the 25th, 26th, and 28th.

With respect to Egypt she believes Sir Evelyn Wood and others who understand the question consider that the "undefined period" of the troops remaining there for the benefit of Egypt as well as for our interests will probably be *many years*.

As regards Madagascar and the insufficiency of the reparation the Queen has telegraphed what she meant. What she fears is a growing tendency to swallow insults and affronts and not taking them up in that high tone which they used formerly to be, and which is so much the case in private transactions now-a-days.

Insults to the honour of men and women, slander and defamation of character since duelling (a thing in itself not to be defended but which still kept up a high tone) has ceased, are not resented or put down as a proper sense of chivalrous honour would demand them to be. This is an increasing evil which should carefully be watched.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL, 30th Oct. 1883.—The Queen has been much distressed by all she has heard and read lately

of the deplorable condition of the Homes of the Poor in our great towns.

She is well aware that this is a subject which has for a long time attracted public attention, and that Acts of Parliament have been passed and noble philanthropic exertions have been made to improve the wretched tenements and still more wretched occupants.

Notwithstanding the painfully depressing statements that have been published of the ever increasing misery, these laws and good works have not been without some happy results; and the Queen is therefore encouraged to hope that further steps in the proper direction will in course of time mitigate this great and growing evil which threatens the prosperity of the country.

The Queen will be glad to hear Mr. Gladstone's opinion on this question and to learn whether the Government contemplate the introduction of any measures or propose to take any steps to obtain more precise information as to the true state of affairs in these overcrowded, unhealthy, and squalid abodes.

She cannot but think that there are questions of less importance than this, which are under discussion, and might wait till one involving the very existence of thousands—nay millions—had been fully considered by the Government.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HAWARDEN, 3rd Nov. 1883.—. . . Mr. Gladstone fully appreciates the importance of your Majesty's remarks concerning the dwellings of the people: and it is a cause of satisfaction that there is now less cause than ever to apprehend that the interests connected with these subjects can be put in jeopardy by the conflicts of parties. Mr. Gladstone believes that his own colleagues are fully impressed with the necessity of using, or encouraging the use of, public powers, for preventing the existence of dwellings unfit for human habitation, and also, within the

limits of their legitimate province, for promoting the improvement of what may be termed the houses of labour. No better example, so far as he knows, has up to this time been set, than that which was set by the Municipality of Glasgow some years back upon the occasion when Glasgow College was removed to its present imposing site, and when the neighbouring quarter of the City was reconstructed.

Mr. Gladstone will not fail to communicate with Sir Charles Dilke, as the head of the Local Government Board, on the subject of your Majesty's letter. He himself does not doubt that improvements in Local Government, which he trusts are near at hand, will lead to a sensible progress in this great subject.

Mr. Gladstone was sure your Majesty would be much shocked at the two explosions in London.¹ It is difficult to understand how even the lowest wretches of mankind should set themselves (*sic*) which is at once so brutal, so irrational, so cowardly, and even so contemptible. Sir William Harcourt is, as your Majesty is aware, fully alive to his duties in the matter: and it is difficult to suppose, where the heart and mind of the people are so sound, that these outrages can be multiplied without detection, or that detection, once attained, will not tell powerfully against repetition.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 9th Nov. 1883.—Dear Bertie's 42nd birthday. May God bless and long preserve him for the good of his country! Warm-hearted, kind, and amiable, he is always a very good son to me.

14th Nov.—After luncheon saw Mr. Mitford, who explained a plan of tunnelling under the Parks, from Westminster, for the underground railway, which would enable Parliament Street to be widened. I said I would only give my consent on the condition that no air-holes, or smoke, or noise, should come near the Palace, or the former be seen in the Parks.

¹ See Introductory Note to this chapter.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Dufferin.

[Copy.]

Confidential.

BALMORAL CASTLE, 18th Nov. 1883.—The Queen has from time to time written to Lord Dufferin as a personal friend, and she therefore writes to him to-day to give him some information with respect to Bulgaria which she thinks ought to be given him, as she thinks it is of great importance.

Prince Alexander, who the Queen and her family know well and think highly of, is in *great difficulty*, and it is the *interest* of Europe and above all of *England* to support and encourage him.

The letter she sends him a copy of, she may tell him (though she asks him not to divulge it to anyone), is from her daughter the Crown Princess.

Again and again the Queen has *urged* the question very *strongly* on Lord Granville; but unfortunately the Government do not seem sufficiently alive to the immense danger of Russia getting a hold there, for these Principalities *ought* to be a safeguard for Turkey against Russian influence and encroachment. The Government will be much guided by Lord Dufferin's opinion and therefore it is she is anxious *he should* know the truth.

The Sultan, the Queen is convinced, is false, and his great civility and apparent friendship towards us at the present moment are a proof of this, she thinks. . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 22nd Nov. 1883.—. . . The Cabinet . . . agreed with Lord Granville in the opinion that, after the heavy disaster¹ which has now befallen Egypt in the Soudan, it would be well for Sir Evelyn Baring to invite the attention of the Egyptian Government, without waiting for an

¹ To Hicks Pasha at El Obeid on 8rd Nov. See Introductory Note.

invitation or enquiry, to the policy of endeavouring to effect an honourable withdrawal from its territorial engagements in that region.

The Cabinet also agreed with the report of its Committee recommending the acceptance of certain spots offered to the British Power in Western Africa, with a view to the maintenance of an unfettered trade, which unhappily is not favoured by the arrangements of the French in those latitudes. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 23rd Nov. 1883.—Saw Lord Granville, who is a very weak reed to lean upon; talked of Mr. Gladstone, of the Soudan, which the Khedive is to be advised to give up. Ships will be, or have been, ordered to protect Suakin and other Ports on the Red Sea.

Sir Evelyn Wood to Queen Victoria.

MINISTÈRE DE LA GUERRE, CAIRE, 27th November 1883.

YOUR MAJESTY,— . . . The Soudan is ever before Sir Evelyn. He is constantly sent for and asked what he thinks; but his advice is disliked. He believes that Egypt, which cannot produce capable and honest men in sufficient numbers to rule this country, is totally incapable of ruling the Soudan. The connection has been ruinous to both countries. Egypt has had there some 50,000 or 60,000 men—who have never been paid regularly, have lived on the country, and impoverished it, while Egypt has paid £400,000 or £500,000 yearly to Soudan officials—i.e. to Pashas sent from Egypt; or for supplies for the Soudan. Sir Evelyn believes the happiest result would be that Egypt should lose all the interior country south of Assouan. When people talk of holding Khartoum as a fine military position, they ignore the fact that as yet we have been sending all warlike stores, and even biscuits, from Cairo to Khartoum which can be reached only by two routes

(a) via Suez, Suakin, and Berber; this leaves 300 miles of desert with scanty water supply, which can be destroyed by Arabs, to cross; and (b) the Assouan-Korosko-Abu Hamed route, to Berber; from Korosko to Abu Hamed is 270 miles with one well only, and that so brackish that men cannot drink it. . . .

Sir Evelyn has been careful not to remind the Ministers, he forewarned them, as it would irritate them, and could do no good, but on the 11th August, six weeks before Hicks Pasha left Khartoum, Sir Evelyn told the War Minister, it was unwise to send a man to do a job to which he felt his means were unequal.

10th-11th Dec.— . . . Sir Evelyn thinks England would not be justified in putting down a rebellion in the Soudan, and then leaving the country to be administered by the class now there.

Sir Evelyn believes that with an honest administration there would, after the Mahdi has been beaten, be little difficulty in holding the Soudan by troops raised there. It is idle to send Egyptians there; they die, desert, and are never worth their food! . . .

The Egyptians have again been heavily beaten near Suakin, and by local tribes they ought never to have angered! and if necessary bribed into friendship. If neither England nor Turkey intervenes, then Khartoum will probably fall some time early next year, and some months later the Mahdi may trouble Egypt. Sir Evelyn believes that with the present English garrison, plus a brigade of Turks under English officers, Egypt proper can be held.

The Turkish brigade will cost £120,000 per annum. The Soudan has taken from Egypt in the last year about 15,000 Fellaheen soldiery, and £600,000. The soldiers were on an average, Sir Evelyn imagines, 45 years of age. There are no more in Egypt. Not a recruit has been trained since December 1882 for the Soudan. Sir Evelyn cannot learn that Sherif¹ has any definite plan in his head. No provision has

¹ Egyptian Prime Minister.

been made for a campaign. Egypt is no further advanced towards fighting the Mahdi to-day than it was 3 weeks ago. Sir Evelyn begs his opinion may be considered as confidential. Sherif asked, had he confidence in the loyalty of the troops if opposed by the Mahdi? Sir Evelyn answered, "Full confidence in those led by English officers, no confidence in the Egyptian brigade." The Queen's most humble servant, EVELYN WOOD.

P.S. 11th Dec. (9 a.m.)—Sir Evelyn sent early this morning for an officer who served with Chinese Gordon¹ in the Soudan, and asked, "Why do you suppose these people near Suakin have risen?" "Oh, because they see a chance of escaping from Egyptian misrule. When I was there passing up to Khartoum a tax-collector went round: his method was simple; he sent out and drove off by force as many sheep as he wanted: he gave me two"! . . .

Sir Evelyn believes the Mahdi's success is caused by discontent in the misruled people; and Sir Evelyn doubts very much if his followers will accompany him to Cairo on any pretence. . . .

If her Majesty believes any good can come out of the Egyptian Pasha folk, and their rule, Sir Evelyn hopes she will let one of her Secretaries mark for her perusal, *Col. Gordon in Central Africa, 1874-9*, by G. Birkbeck Hill, D.C.L.

Sir Evelyn has never met Gordon; but after allowing for all his peculiar views about religion, Sir Evelyn believes his account of Egyptian-caused-misery in the Soudan is accurate, and that he is the

¹ General Charles George Gordon (1833-1885), R.A., served in the Crimean War and subsequently in many different parts of the world. In his adventurous life two epochs stood out prominently: 1862-4, when, in China, at the head of a mixed force called the "Ever-Victorious Army" he put down the Taiping rebellion; 1874-9, when he laboured in the Soudan, first as Governor of the equatorial provinces, and afterwards as Governor-General of the country, to explore unknown regions, to bring some measure of decent government to the people, and to curb the rampant slave trade. In the winter of 1883-4 he had just accepted the offer of King Leopold to take charge of the Congo Free State, and came to London to make preparations.

only man who could do anything up there at this moment without a good army. It is right to add the Pashas here allege the rising in the Soudan was all originated by Gordon!—EVELYN WOOD.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

7th Dec. 1883.—A very important decision of the Australian Colonies. They declare that no Foreign Power shall be allowed to acquire possessions among the islands of the Pacific south of the Equator.

If the Home Government were to approve it would raise complaints over all the world. And, if refused, it will create indignation among all the Australian Colonies.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 9th Dec. 1883.—The Queen does not think it necessary to refer to any special words or sentences in Mr. Chamberlain's speeches, but must ask Lord Granville whether he himself does not consider that the recent announcements and writings of Mr. Chamberlain go beyond the freedom with which Cabinet Ministers declare their individual opinions.

The extension of the franchise, the demand for absolute manhood suffrage, and the inclusion of Ireland in the Reform Bill are all important matters on which the Queen hopes to hear the views of the Government from the Prime Minister.

But instead of this, one of the Cabinet Ministers lays down these points as those he is bound to carry through, and the tone in which he asserted his opinions was such as to make it difficult for the Queen to understand how he could remain in the same Cabinet as Mr. Gladstone, Lord Granville, Lord Hartington, and others.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

WALMER CASTLE, 13th Dec. 1883.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. Mr.

Gladstone has asked Lord Granville to inform your Majesty that there has been a mistake on the part of Mr. Chamberlain, as to there having been any decision of the Cabinet on the subject of the Franchise Bill, that it is difficult to blame him sharply for this, as the mistake was shared by another Member; that, even with this misapprehension, he was wrong in using words that implied that the Cabinet had decided. As soon as Mr. Gladstone found that he had done so, he wrote to Mr. Chamberlain urging on him reserve. Mr. Gladstone agrees with Lord Granville that Mr. Chamberlain ought not to have spoken about manhood suffrage, but that this is a matter on which it is difficult to found either quarrel or rebuke.

Mr. Gladstone asks Lord Granville to state as strongly as possible to your Majesty, that he entirely agrees with your Majesty's expectation to be informed on all such matters before the Cabinet can finally resolve, and that he would on no account fail in this duty.

[*Same Day.*].—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. The substance of the enclosed draft of a private telegram to Sir Evelyn Baring was agreed to by the Ministers in town (Lord Hartington, Lord Northbrook, and Sir Charles Dilke). Lord Carlingford had already given his opinion to Lord Granville—Mr. Gladstone has since given his sanction. Lord Granville hopes it will approve itself as the least objectionable of several courses, all of which are far from satisfactory.¹

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 15th Dec. 1883.—Much grieved to hear of poor Mario's death, which occurred on the 13th. He was 73. He was the greatest tenor that ever existed, and had a most heavenly, rich, full

¹ Recommending the Egyptian Ministers to abandon all territory south of Assouan, or at least of Wady Halfa, "excepting for securing the safe retreat of the garrisons still holding positions in the Soudan."

voice, without, excepting for some particular very high notes, any "voce di testa," and sang with such feeling. He was so handsome and acted so beautifully. Who could ever forget him as Gennaro in *Lucrezia Borgia*, or as the Prophète, in which he looked so magnificent in the Coronation scene. But above all, his rendering of Raoul in the *Huguenots*. That duet with Valentine, given by him and poor Grisi (she also gone), was the finest thing possible. His "Tu m'ami" was touching and exquisite. We used to go again and again to the Opera, only for that scene. He died of inflammation of the lungs. We heard the news through Mr. Cusins, and I had him telegraphed to, to attend the funeral, and place a wreath from me. Mr. Cusins saw Mario the day before his death, and he still sent me a message.

The Earl of Dufferin to Queen Victoria.

BRITISH EMBASSY, CONSTANTINOPLE, 13th Dec. 1883.—The Earl of Dufferin presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and is deeply moved by the terms of your Majesty's last letter, and the confidence your Majesty places in him.

Lord Dufferin quite coincides with your Majesty in thinking it a matter of great importance that the Prince of Bulgaria should be supported, especially now that he has thrown himself into the arms of his subjects, and presents himself to Europe as the champion and defender of their legitimate rights. This is undoubtedly the best line he can adopt. But Lord Dufferin has been always under the impression that your Majesty's Government were entirely of this way of thinking, especially as more than once the Prince has thanked Mr. Lascelles for the sympathy shown him by Lord Granville, and the countenance and good advice afforded to him by England at a time when both Germany and Austria were treating him with the coldest indifference. What Lord Dufferin has never been able to under-

stand is the reserved attitude of Austria in reference to Russian aggression in Bulgaria. He called Lord Granville's attention to the fact, and in consequence Lord Granville wrote a despatch to Sir Henry Elliot expressive of the desire of your Majesty's Government to see Bulgaria left in the enjoyment of its liberty and independence.

From the time he came here Lord Dufferin has never ceased to preach to the Porte and the Sultan the mutual advantage to be derived both by Turkey and Bulgaria from a sincere and friendly understanding; and it was only the other day that Lord Dufferin wrote a despatch reporting a conversation he had with the Grand Vizier in which his Highness voluntarily expressed himself in the same sense.

Lord Dufferin is glad to find that his action has been so completely in accordance with your Majesty's wishes and opinions.

Your Majesty is quite right in regarding the Sultan as utterly untrustworthy. He does not know the meaning either of truth or consistency; nor are his present demonstrations of friendship for us of any real significance. But Lord Dufferin does not think that too much importance need be attached to the recent complaints of the Sultan in regard to the Prince. They were excited by the use of the word "independence," to which the Bulgarian Parliament gave a very sinister interpretation. Lord Dufferin would venture to suggest that the Prince should avoid as much as possible irritating the susceptibilities of the Sultan by the use of such expressions. On the contrary, it would be well for him rather to insist than otherwise on the legal relations between himself and his Majesty. His doing so would have no practical effect upon the real independence of his position, and would do more than anything else to conciliate the Sultan's goodwill. Lord Dufferin knows for certain that the Prince's last letter to his Majesty gave him the very greatest satisfaction.

Lord Dufferin is sure that your Majesty will have been very much grieved by the catastrophe which has overtaken General Hicks's army in the Soudan. It is a very sad business, and so hazardous an expedition, in which the whole fate of the Soudan was risked upon a single cast of the die, ought never to have been undertaken. When Lord Dufferin was in Egypt such a move was never suggested, and as early as April he had strongly recommended the Egyptian Government not to attempt to re-establish their jurisdiction beyond the western bank of the White Nile. General Hicks having succeeded in reducing Senaar, and indeed all the Soudan proper, to subjection, the river would have proved an effectual barrier against any serious annoyance from the Mahdi.

Lord Dufferin has to apologise to your Majesty for the length of this letter.—DUFFERIN.

Earl Granville to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 23rd December 1883.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—I cannot help thinking that, when we say we *cannot undertake* to send troops, it leaves us perfectly free to do so, if we think proper under different conditions. I have desired a letter from the War Office on this subject to be sent to the Queen.

Lord Hartington and Lord Northbrook are also, at the request of Mr. Gladstone and myself, considering whether the troops at Alexandria might not be released for service in the interior of Egypt, by naval means—by the presence of men of war, and landing of marines. Yours sincerely, GRANVILLE.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

OSBORNE, [? 31st Dec. 1883.]—Would Sir Henry enquire why the Government are so very dilatory in their answers ?



INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER VI

THERE were two Parliamentary sessions in 1884, both mainly occupied, so far as home politics were concerned, with the question of Reform. The Government measure, which Mr. Gladstone introduced on 29th February, dealt solely with the franchise, and extended the household suffrage already enjoyed by dwellers in towns to dwellers in the country. The redistribution of seats, inevitable on a change of qualification which added two millions to the electorate, Ministers proposed to postpone till the following year, lest their bill should be lost by overloading. The Opposition claimed that the only fair method of procedure was to link franchise and redistribution together, so that dissolution with the new franchise and the old distribution of seats should be impossible. An amendment on these lines was moved to the second reading, but was defeated on 7th April by 340 votes to 210. The most important question that arose in Committee was that of including Ireland in the bill. Mr. St. John Brodrick's amendment to exclude her was, in spite of warnings that inclusion meant the return of 80 Parnellites, decisively defeated by 332 to 137. Before the bill reached the Lords, Lord Salisbury had expressed the hope that they would throw it out because it came unaccompanied by a "searching" measure of redistribution; and on the second reading in that House an amendment by Lord Cairns demanding "an entire scheme" was carried on 8th July by 205 to 146.

After this serious vote, party spirit was for a time too keen to admit of compromise. Mr. Gladstone refused to consider dissolution as a way out; but brought the session to a speedy close with a view to reintroduce the Franchise bill and send it again to the Lords in a new session in October. A vehement campaign of meeting and counter-meeting was immediately started. But in spite of violent language there was a constant undercurrent of feeling that, to prevent mischief to the Constitution, an arrangement ought to be made. The Queen was strongly of that opinion from the beginning, and brought all the pressure she could to bear on Mr. Gladstone, both personally and through the Duke of Argyll, and on Lord Salisbury, both by letter and through the Duke of Richmond. From September onwards she was unceasingly insistent and ultimately successful. The most hopeful suggestion came

from Mr. Gladstone when, in a letter of 25th September to Sir H. Ponsonby, he asked why Lord Salisbury did not say what was the nature of the Redistribution bill he wanted.

The new session opened on 23rd October ; and in a few days some informal meetings took place between Lord Hartington and Sir Michael Hicks Beach, in which it was discovered that the latter's views of Redistribution were more Radical than the former's. Meanwhile the Franchise bill went swiftly through the Commons, and on 17th November, the day before that fixed for the second reading in the Lords, Ministers made a conciliatory statement in both Houses, expressing a readiness to concert a Redistribution bill with the leaders of Opposition, the Franchise bill to proceed in the Lords while the agreed Redistribution bill was going through the Commons. The offer was accepted, the Franchise bill was read a second time next day in the Lords ; and Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote went to Downing Street and there proceeded to hammer out with the Government chiefs a Redistribution scheme based on the principle of approximately equal single-member districts. The Franchise bill became law on 6th December ; the Redistribution bill was read a second time in the Commons on 4th December, and was sure of an easy passage.

Besides Reform, Egypt and the Soudan were during the year the chief preoccupation of the Queen, Ministers, and the public. The Home Government advised the Egyptian Government to withdraw from Khartoum and abandon the Soudan, and instructed Sir Evelyn Baring that Egyptian Ministers must follow British advice in this and other matters, or else forfeit their offices. The policy of abandonment was unpopular in England as well as in Egypt, and special anxiety was felt about the fate of the scattered garrisons. The Government determined, amid general approval, to make use of the services of a popular hero, General Charles Gordon, who in the course of an adventurous career had spent several years at work in the Soudan. On 18th January he left London on a mission to make arrangements for evacuation and for saving the garrisons ; was appointed at Cairo Governor-General of the Soudan ; and reached Khartoum on 18th February, where he was received with enthusiasm. He managed to send down into safety some 2,500 of the women and children, and of the sick and wounded ; but, finding his difficulties enormous, he asked, earnestly and repeatedly, to have Zebehr Pasha, a former slave-dealer, but a man of great

influence in the Soudan, sent up to help him. Sir Evelyn Baring and the Prime Minister, Nubar Pasha, strongly supported him in this request, but the Government refused, fearing the anti-slavery feeling of the British public and perplexed by the variety of policies which General Gordon proposed.

On 18th March the Mahdists closed round Khartoum, and it was the safety of General Gordon rather than that of the garrisons which was in question. There were British troops at Suakin under General Graham, who had been sent to restore the position there and had just won two victories at El Teb and Tamai. General Gordon, with Sir Evelyn Baring's support, desired that these troops should open the Berber-Suakin road for a retreat from Khartoum. But the British Government refused once more, and recalled General Graham and his forces in April. Left to his own resources, General Gordon organised an heroic defence, but nothing was done by the Government to relieve him till August, when preparations for a river expedition up the Nile were begun. Eventually the troops under Lord Wolseley left Wady Halfa early in November, and in December reached Korti, whence a strong column was despatched on 29th December under Sir Herbert Stewart across the Bayuda desert to open up communication with Khartoum. Meanwhile, pressed by financial difficulties in Egypt proper, where by international arrangements all the Powers had rights, the Government had consented to oblige the French by fixing a provisional date, 1888, for leaving the country. But, in spite of this concession, a Conference on Egyptian finance called in London produced no result. The vacillations of the Government in regard to Egypt and the Soudan provoked constant criticisms in Parliament from both Conservatives and Radicals, and several abortive votes of censure.

The vigorous administration of Lord Spencer kept Ireland comparatively quiet during the year; but Irish-American plots produced serious explosions in important quarters of London—happily without loss of life. On 26th February Victoria Station suffered, while the simultaneous attempts at other stations, Paddington, Charing Cross, and Ludgate Hill, failed; on 30th May considerable damage was done to Scotland Yard and in St. James's Square, while an attempt on the Nelson Monument failed; and on 18th December an arch of London Bridge was injured. Under the pressure of a strenuous agitation, which succeeded in convincing the public that economy in naval expenditure had been carried danger-

ously far, the Admiralty asked from Parliament in December, and obtained, an additional vote of £3,100,000.

France was more occupied during the year with a partial revision of her Constitution than with colonial advance, though her difficulties in Tonquin brought her into a quarrel with Tonquin's neighbour, China, and caused her to bombard Foochow. On the other hand, Prince Bismarck (whose main interest at the moment was the successful prosecution of his schemes for insurance of workmen against accident and sickness) yielded to the growing desire in Germany for oversea possessions; and set to work to obtain them, mostly in territories adjacent to British colonies, with a promptitude, masterfulness, and duplicity which easily overmatched the dilatoriness, considerateness, and good faith of Lord Granville and Lord Derby. To the indignation of Australia, which was permitted to hoist the Union Jack only on the south coast of eastern New Guinea, he annexed to Germany the north coast and the adjacent islands of New Britain and New Ireland; to the disgust of Cape Colony, he took possession of Angra Pequena and of the broad territories behind it; and higher up on the West African coast he just got ahead of both English and French in annexing the Cameroons. Besides the German annexation of Angra Pequena, much happened of interest in South Africa. The Transvaal obtained still more favourable terms under the Convention of London, but Sir Charles Warren's expedition rescued Bechuanaland from predatory Boers; the restoration of Cetewayo proved a failure, and he himself died.

In the United States the first Democratic President since the Civil War was elected in the person of Mr. Grover Cleveland. In Central Asia, Russian troops occupied Merv in February, and an Anglo-Russian Commission was set up to delimit the northern frontier of Afghanistan.

The Queen had the sorrow of losing on 28th March, suddenly, at Cannes, her youngest son, Prince Leopold Duke of Albany, who had never enjoyed good health. In the early part of the year her Majesty published *More Leaves from the Journal of a Life in the Highlands*, a sequel to the volume issued in 1868. It was a satisfaction to the Queen, who had pressed the housing question on the attention of her Ministers, and to the Prince of Wales, who had shown a personal interest in the subject, that a Royal Commission, on which the Prince had a seat, was appointed in March to enquire into the housing of the working classes.



CHAPTER VI

1884

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

OSBORNE, 3rd Jan. 1884.—Think state of affairs in Egypt very alarming. Sir E. Baring's advice and opinion should be listened to and a decision taken. No half measures. As the Soudan cannot be reconquered we must be prepared to take the responsibility of the act. . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 4th Jan. 1884.—Mr. Gladstone submits his humble duty to your Majesty, and humbly reports that the Cabinet met this day to consider some leading points of Parliamentary business for the approaching Session.

They advise that the first great measure of the year should be a Bill for extending to the Counties the occupation franchise, and also the lodger franchise, now enjoyed in Boroughs, and for rendering it uniform as far as may be in town and country, and throughout the Three Kingdoms.

Certain limited franchises of a miscellaneous kind ought, as they conceive, to drop with the present holders: but they propose to leave the whole substance of the property franchises, now subsisting in Counties, unaltered, only making provision against

spurious votes by restraining subdivision and rent-charges.

The safe working of the household franchise in Boroughs has removed, in the judgment of your Majesty's advisers, all, even the most shadowy, grounds for apprehension from the enfranchisement of what may be considered as even a safer class of the population.

The reasons formerly urged for combining redistribution of seats with the franchise lose nearly all their force in view of a large though not absolute assimilation; while the reasons against it subsist in still fuller force than heretofore, and the Cabinet conceive the severance of the two measures to be recommended in the highest degree by public reasons.

But they think that the question of redistribution may conveniently be taken up by the present Parliament, in the year following the settlement of the Franchise. And they have sufficiently conversed upon the subject to warrant the belief that upon leading principles there is likely to be found much harmony in their practical views. . . .

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 4th Jan. 1884.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He encloses the telegrams which the Cabinet would wish to be sent to Cairo.

They are strongly convinced that the Egyptians cannot reconquer the Soudan, that it is out of the question to send British or Indian troops to recover this useless possession for Egypt, and that the Turk will not attempt the work.

The Egyptian Government does not believe in the Turks attempting it. Sir Evelyn Baring, Sir Evelyn Wood, and General Stephenson are of opinion that the only defence is on the Nile at some spot like Assouan or Wady Halfa. . . .

Lord Granville hopes that Sir Evelyn will be strengthened by the telegram which requires him

to insist upon his advice on all important matters being followed.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

OSBORNE, 10th Jan. 1884.—The Queen is very anxious about Egypt. Half measures and indecision will never do.

The Queen acquiesced, though with regret, in the abandonment of the Soudan by Egypt, as this step was considered unavoidable by Lord Granville. She has not heard what was done as regards the communication to the Porte on the subject, and she does not understand whether the relinquishing of this province will relieve Egypt of the payment made to Turkey on behalf of the Soudan.

But since this policy has been adopted the Queen is very anxious that every effort should be made to save the lives of those who have been loyal to the Khedive and to secure the safety of the Garrisons.

Lord Granville has approved of the new Brigade being raised for the Egyptian Army, and it is therefore very necessary that no time should be lost in completing this organisation, but the Queen regrets to perceive that Sir Evelyn Baring's repeated requests for an answer on the employment of English officers are not noticed, nor has any reply been given to his enquiry respecting the Suakin telegraph. She fears that this neglect of his enquiries must place him in an awkward position as regards the Egyptian Government, who are now bound to act by his orders.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 12th Jan. 1884.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He quite understands your Majesty's anxiety about Egypt, and objection to indecision and to half measures.

With regard to the abandonment of the Soudan, there is no doubt whatever that the Egyptians were incapable of reconquering it. The question remained whether your Majesty should send a force of 20,000

men to get back for them a vast country which they have wretchedly misgoverned, and which was a source of annual expense to them. To do this would, as was stated in a letter from the War Office, which your Majesty has seen, require volunteers to be asked for, the reserves called out, and millions paid by the British taxpayer, to be raised for a purpose in which it is difficult to see any English interest. Apart from the merits of the question, the opposition to such a step would have been overwhelming in the House of Commons.

The question of the tribute to the Sultan will have to be considered ; but it has no great practical bearing, as it never came from the Soudan, from which district Egypt has never received a farthing, but from the revenues of Egypt proper.

Lord Granville does not know what efforts can be made, more than have been ordered, to relieve the garrisons, in the absence of an army large enough to undertake the work. Authority to withdraw has been sent. Lord Granville has asked Sir Evelyn Baring twice, whether Chinese Gordon would be of any use. Sir Evelyn Baring agreed first with Sherif, and now with Nubar,¹ in negating the proposal.

The request for permission to have officers and non-commissioned officers was contained in a telegram of the 14th ult., which also stated what further reinforcement might be required for the English army. A draft reply was submitted to your Majesty after consultation with Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington. Your Majesty objected to a portion of it, but subsequently withdrew the objection, but remarked that the draft telegram appeared to be superseded by later telegrams from Sir E. Baring. These were discussed by the Cabinet. The request was repeated by Sir E. Baring on the 7th of January with further enquiries as to Cyprus and the Lebanon,

¹ Sherif Pasha had resigned office when it was laid down that Sir Evelyn Baring's advice must be followed by the Egyptian Ministers on all important matters ; and Nubar Pasha had become Prime Minister under the new conditions.

and again on the 8th, with a change of intention on the latter point. Lord Granville was surprised, believing the authority had already been given, but found that, in the answer to the second telegram, this point had been unfortunately overlooked. He repeated the direction for an answer in the affirmative.

As respects the Suakin telegraph, there is only Mr. Pender's Company who can lay it down at once. Any other firm would take 3 months. He profited by this to demand a perpetual monopoly. This was strenuously opposed by the India and Post Offices. Mr. Pender was induced to reduce his terms, and Lord Granville obtained Mr. Gladstone's sanction to overrule the remaining objections of the Post Office. The Egyptian Government have agreed to the terms, and Lord Granville believes the telegraph will be in operation in a few days.

Lord Granville apologises for troubling your Majesty at such length . . .

Earl Granville to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

HALTON, TRING, 15th January 1884.

DEAR PONSONBY,—Gordon is not turned out of the army.

In the autumn he applied for leave to enter the service of the African Association. After communicating with Gladstone and Hartington, I gave my opinion that it was better that an officer on full pay should not be placed at the head of this association, which is not self-supporting, which can hardly expect long to receive £80,000 a year from the King of the Belgians, and which may lead to international difficulties.

The object of the association is excellent, but the balance of argument seemed to be against allowing Gordon to accept. Hartington therefore telegraphed to Gordon, "The S.S. declines to sanction arrangement." But Gordon came from Syria, and accepted the appointment, and thus according to army regulations could not remain in the army, and lost his rank

and his pay. But it has turned out that the telegram reached him in this form, "The S.S. decides to sanction the arrangement." Under these circumstances, although the original objections remain, we thought it better to avoid subjecting the Queen's service to such a loss, and inflicting such a heavy penalty on so distinguished a man.

He is a genius, and of a splendid character. It is a great pity that there should be some eccentricity.

I have enquired (now for the 4th time) whether he could be utilised in Egypt. This has been done secretly. Yours sincerely, GRANVILLE.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 16th Jan. 1884.—Saw some soldiers dressed in Khaki or even a rather darker, very ugly *café au lait* colour, which is proposed for a service and fighting dress, but which is very ugly and I do not want to hear of, excepting for *foreign* service in *hot* climates. The whole dress, including helmet, is of the same colour.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

OSBORNE, 16th Jan. 1884.—The Queen observes that Lord Granville considers some delay was occasioned by her objections to his telegram of the 13th December, but this could only have been a delay of a few hours, and the Queen's desire was that no obstacle should be raised to English aid being afforded in Egypt if necessary, which Lord Granville assured her was also his intention.

She has therefore been expecting to see a telegraphic compliance with the request contained in Sir E. Baring's No. 19, and No. 32 (asking for English officers and for 2 English Battalions and a Mountain Battery to be ready), but the Queen has received nothing decisive yet.

Lord Granville assumes that all is being done that can be done to save the garrison of Khartoum, and the other places; but he is apparently not fully

informed yet, as he has telegraphed to enquire what further measures are being taken. As we are responsible for this retreat, it would seem to the Queen to have been advisable to send up steamers and reinforcements as far as possible to help the fugitives in case they are harassed on their retreat.

The Queen cannot help thinking this ought to have been done some time ago.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

18th Jan. 1884.—Humble duty:

Sir E. Baring having now expressed a wish to have Chinese Gordon,¹ Lord Granville has assumed that your Majesty will approve of his proceeding to Egypt. He starts to-night accompanied by Colonel Stewart, with instructions to report on the military situation in the Soudan, on measures for the security of Egyptian garrisons and of European population of Khartoum, on best mode of evacuating the interior and of securing safe and good administration of the sea coast by the Egyptian Government, also as to the steps to counteract the slave trade. He is to be under Sir E. Baring's instructions, and to perform such other duties as may be entrusted to him by the Egyptian Government through Sir E. Baring.

He will place himself in communication with Sir

¹ Sir E. Baring (Lord Cromer) had twice declined the proposal to send General Gordon, and his final consent was somewhat reluctant. "I would rather have him than anyone else," he telegraphed, "provided there is a perfectly clear understanding with him as to what his position is to be and what line of policy he is to carry out. Otherwise, not." When Lord Cromer had left Egypt, he wrote in 1908 in *Modern Egypt*, pt. iii, ch. 22: "Mr. Gladstone's Government made two great mistakes in dealing with Soudan affairs in their early stages. Of these one was a sin of omission and the other a sin of commission. The sin of omission was that the Government did nothing to stop the departure of the Hicks Expedition. The sin of commission was the despatch of General Gordon to Khartoum. Looking back at what occurred after a space of many years, two points are to my mind clear. The first is that no Englishman should have been sent to Khartoum. The second is that, if anyone had to be sent, General Gordon was not the right man to send."

E. Baring, who will probably meet him at Ismailia and concert with him whether he should proceed to Suakin or go on himself, or despatch Colonel Stewart, to Khartoum by the Nile.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 23rd Jan. 1884.—Saw Lord Northbrook, who read me some letters from Gen. Gordon, whom he knows well, and says is an extraordinary man, with an enormous power over uncivilised people. His attempt is a very daring one. Lord Northbrook thinks the frontier towards the Red Sea safe. Sinkat and Tokar are, of course, in great danger. He, too, does not seem to see that we ought to have acted much sooner.

Queen Victoria to Sir Evelyn Wood.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 1st Feb. 1884.—Much has taken place since the last letter she received, and what Sir Evelyn suggested in one of his letters as the best solution of the Soudan difficulty, has taken place, viz.: the employment of General (China) Gordon. Why this was *not* done long ago and why the right thing is never done till it is absolutely extorted from those who are in authority, is inexplicable to the Queen. Over and over again she has urged by letter and by cypher that energetic measures were necessary; but *not* till the whole country became alarmed—and, she flatters herself also, in deference to her very strong pressure—was anything done. It is true the Egyptian Government was said to be very averse to employing General Gordon till now, and that was a difficulty. The Queen fears Sir Evelyn must have great worries and troubles, with the people he has to work with, and she feels for him.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 3rd Feb. 1884.—In submitting, with his humble duty, the enclosed recommenda-

tions,¹ Mr. Gladstone presumes to add the following particulars of information respecting the two distinguished persons.

1. Dr. Ridding (son-in-law to Lord Selborne *en secondes nocés*) has raised Winchester to a level hardly before known; and, among all the Headmasters of the great schools, he has been perhaps the most distinguished and successful. A deeply religious man, he is considered to rank with the "broad" school in the Church of England, but he is, as Mr. Gladstone believes, a man of large, tolerant, and sympathetic mind, from whom all will receive justice, while his energy seems to fit him in a remarkable degree for the work of organising a new See.

2. Canon Stubbs, who is recommended for the now very greatly reduced See of Chester, was appointed by your Majesty, on Lord Derby's recommendation, to be Professor of History at Oxford, and, on the recommendation of Lord Beaconsfield, to be Canon of Saint Paul's. He has never, so far as Mr. Gladstone knows, been associated with any party in the Church; and he is known for a singularly calm and judicial mind, which, together with vast knowledge, has placed him in the first rank of living British historians, and perhaps even at their head. At the same time, his active powers have been made known in the organisation of historical studies at the University of Oxford, and Mr. Gladstone has been induced to submit his name by a combination of qualities which seem eminently to fit him to be a member of the governing body in the Church. Of his religious character Mr. Gladstone need not speak particularly, as your Majesty may rest assured he will never knowingly recommend anyone for a Bishopric who falls short in this respect.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE, 4th Feb. 1884.—General Sir Henry Ponsonby humbly begs leave to enclose the Dean

¹ For the sees of Southwell and Chester.

of Windsor's¹ opinion of Canon Stubbs, which he wrote some time ago, and his telegram with reference to Dr. Ridding. On the whole he thinks both satisfactory appointments.

Sir Evelyn Wood to Queen Victoria.

MINISTÈRE DE LA GUERRE, CAIRE, 29th January 1884.

YOUR MAJESTY,—Gordon Pasha is now between Luxor and Assouan, and will, Sir Evelyn hopes, reach Khartoum in safety. When Sir Evelyn met him at Port Said he was unwilling to pass through Cairo, but he soon learnt the impossibility of getting up via Suakin. He asked in a beseeching tone—"Must I see the Khedive?" "Yes—I think it is essential," Sir Evelyn replied, and Gordon Pasha acquiesced. His manners are very pleasant, and, as H.H. the Khedive can also be remarkably pleasant, the interview passed off very well. That between Gordon Pasha and Zebehr was painful, although Zebehr clearly showed he was more anxious to prove his property had been unjustly confiscated, than he was concerned for the memory of Suleiman his son, whom Gordon had shot. M. Barrère warned Sir Evelyn Baring of the likelihood of Gordon being assassinated *en route*, and Sir Evelyn Wood has persuaded Gordon to abandon his idea of travelling without escort. There are 500 Bedouins at Korosko, and Sir Evelyn has Gordon's promise he will take on from them an escort if what he calls his *antennæ*—Egyptian satellites—show any signs of fear. . . .

Sir Evelyn Wood ventures to tell the Queen he thinks her Majesty is very fortunate in having now in Egypt a man like Sir Evelyn Baring. He is very clever, but—what is more important—firm and decided. Sir Evelyn Wood is obliged to spend several hours a day with Sir E. Baring and has therefore many opportunities of judging his character. . . .

The Queen's most humble servant, EVELYN WOOD.

¹ Dr. Davidson, now Archbishop of Canterbury.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 9th Feb. 1884.—The Queen has to thank Mr. Gladstone for several letters. She feels very strongly about the Soudan and Egypt, and she must say she thinks a blow *must* be struck, or we shall *never* be able to convince the Mohammedans that they have not beaten us. These are wild Arabs and they would not stand against *regular* good troops at all. The Queen *trusts* Lord Wolseley's plan¹ WILL be considered, and our *whole position remembered*. It is true that the troops who were defeated and were so cowardly were Egyptians, but they were *commanded* by an *Englishman*, and the fact of this following upon General Hicks' destruction *must* lower us in the eyes of all the world, and most particularly of India. We have taken a great deal of responsibility upon us in Egypt; but not enough to make us able to act as we ought. We are hampered by the Egyptians. Nubar Pasha is said to be very nervous. We *shall* have to take some strong measures, and let us not wait till it is too late.

We must make a demonstration of strength and show determination, and we must not let this fine and fruitful country, with its peaceable inhabitants, be left a prey to murder and rapine and utter confusion. It would be a *disgrace* to the British name, and the country will *not* stand it.

The Queen trembles for General Gordon's safety. If anything befalls *him*, the result will be awful.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 12th Feb. 1884.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty and reports to your Majesty that the Cabinet met again to-day at an

¹ That a force of four battalions of infantry, together with other arms, should be sent to Suakin, with a view to the infliction of severe chastisement upon the Arab forces in that district of the Soudan. The Cabinet, before whom the plan was laid on 8th February, "saw many objections" to it, wrote Mr. Gladstone to the Queen.

early hour to consider intelligence received from Admiral Hewett and likewise a letter from Col. Stewart,¹ which as the Cabinet generally considered threw an important light upon the views and intentions of General Gordon in their relation to the case of the garrisons of Tokar, still holding out, and of Sinkat, now a victim to the Soudanese policy of Egypt.

From Admiral Hewett the Cabinet learned the amount of force likely to be required for any operation of relief, and Col. Stewart's letter was considered to show that General Gordon would regard a movement in relief of Tokar as auxiliary rather than adverse to his purposes. There was also to be considered the position of Suakin in relation to the force which has taken Sinkat.

The Cabinet were of opinion that a force should at once be collected at Suakin, with the object—if possible—of relieving the garrison of Tokar if it should hold out, and of taking any measure necessary for the defence of the ports. The case was urgent, and Lord Hartington and Lord Northbrook undertook to give the necessary directions.

The Cabinet also considered and arranged generally the line to be taken in debate this evening.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

OSBORNE, 12th Feb. 1884.—I am glad that my Government are prepared to act with energy at last.

May it not be too late to save other lives! The fall of Sinkat is terrible!

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 21st Feb. 1884.—Leopold started for Cannes to stay at the Villa Nevada, Capt. Per-

¹ Col. Stewart had accompanied Gen. Gordon to Khartoum. He was murdered on the Nile below Abu Hamed on 18th September, having been sent down by Gen. Gordon to explain to the authorities the desperate situation in the Soudan.

ceval's little villa there, as he thinks he requires a little change and warmth, but he is going alone, as Helen's health does not allow her to travel just now. I think it rather a pity that he should leave her.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF LORDS, 22nd Feb. 1884.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. Lord Salisbury moved for the Royal Commission,¹ in an eloquent speech. He was careful not to announce any plan. Lord Carrington spoke clearly and sensibly in reply. The Prince of Wales took a general view of the subject, with a happy allusion to what he had personally done on this matter. Lord Shaftesbury followed, giving an exceedingly interesting account of what had been done, and what remains to be done on this subject. The Bishop of London supported the Commission, but warned the House against too much being expected from it. Lord Wemyss spoke strongly against unnecessary State intervention, and feared that the Commission would only cause delay and discouragement. Lord Cranbrook said a few words deprecating the idea that the Commission meant State aid. The Bishop of Rochester spoke in the sense of the Clergy being more useful for this purpose than the Government.

Lord Selborne pressed with great feeling the fact of the unanimity of the House. He paid a great compliment to the Prince of Wales, and also to Lord Salisbury and other Peers.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 28th Feb. 1884.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his very full and interesting Reports both of the Cabinets and Parliament.

She would wish [him] to express from her *personally* to Sir Henry Brand her high sense of the services he has rendered to the Sovereign and Country during

¹ On the Housing of the Poor, on which the Prince of Wales sat.

the time he was Speaker, the last few years of which were most arduous and trying.

The Queen would also ask Mr. Gladstone to say to the present, or rather, new Speaker, with what true interest she will watch the career of the son of her dear and valued friend and great Minister Sir Robert Peel!

The Speaker bears three great names, of which she is sure he will ever try to prove worthy: Arthur Wellesley Peel.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 29th Feb. 1884.—This is very important and Sir E. Baring certainly speaks out very strongly.¹

Pray cypher that I trust the *good and permanent tranquillity of Egypt* will be looked at and thought of—and *not public opinion* HERE which is fickle and changeable.

The last sentence of Sir E. Baring is very *remarkable* and just what the Queen has felt on so many, many occasions, and warned the Government. Sir E. Baring is evidently *not* pleased at what the Queen *must* call the miserable, weak, and “too late action of the Government.”

Sir William Harcourt to Queen Victoria.

WHITEHALL, 29th Feb. 1884.—Secretary Sir William Vernon Harcourt presents his humble duty

¹ This refers to an important telegram to Lord Granville from Sir Evelyn Baring, dated the 28th February, in which he said that he entirely agreed with General Gordon that every practicable effort should be made to set up some settled form of government in the Soudan before evacuating it. He added: “I have no doubt as to the most advisable course of action. Zebehr Pasha should be permitted to succeed General Gordon. . . . I believe General Gordon is quite right when he says that Zebehr is the only possible man. . . . Nubar Pasha is strongly in favour of him.” His last sentence was: “It is for her Majesty’s Government to judge of the importance to be attached to public opinion in England, but I venture to think that any attempt to settle Egyptian questions by the light of English popular feeling is sure to be productive of harm, and in this, as in other cases, it would be preferable to follow the advice of the responsible authorities on the spot.” See Lord Cromer’s *Modern Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 487–498.

to your Majesty, and begs leave in this box to forward to your Majesty some photographs which have been taken of the explosion at Victoria Station.¹

The failure of the other two attempts at Charing Cross and Paddington Stations must be regarded as most merciful escapes, as there can be no doubt that the plots were all planned and executed by the same people and in precisely the same manner.

A very distinct clue has been obtained to the perpetrators, but whether they will be caught is of course doubtful, as they naturally left the place to which they have been traced before the explosion took place.

The origin of these devilish schemes is certain. They are planned, subsidised, and executed by the Assassination Societies of American Fenians, who announce their intentions and advertise them openly in newspapers published without the smallest restraint in the United States. Your Majesty will remember that the Government addressed to the Government of the United States a strong remonstrance of this subject in the Spring of last year. To this no reply was made at the time, but at the end of last month a reply of a most unfriendly character was sent through Mr. Lowell, to which it is now proposed at once to send an energetic rejoinder in particular relation to the recent transactions. No other civilised country in the world does or would tolerate the open advocacy of assassination and murder.

It is needless to assure your Majesty that every exertion is being made and has been long made by the police both in England and Ireland to avert these dangers. And there is good reason to believe that many attempts have been frustrated which but for this vigilance might have succeeded. Many suspected men are under observation and have been so for a long time, for Sir William, as your Majesty

¹ In the cloakroom. Portmanteaux containing dynamite were found at the other stations. See Introductory Note to this chapter.

knows, has long been of opinion that the danger is great and not diminishing. If it were only the United Kingdom which had to be dealt with the task would be comparatively easy and security might be counted [on], but as long as it is possible for a man of whom nothing is known or can be known to come over the seas with the materials of destruction in his portmanteau it is hardly possible to be sure of catching them all. The one mitigating feature in these horrors is that *at present* at least the aim of these villains appears rather to alarm by attacks on property than direct attacks on life, though of that too they are reckless enough.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 1st Mar. 1884.—General Sir Henry Ponsonby humbly begs leave to say he is not surprised at the Cabinet being puzzled by General Gordon's telegrams.

But they have full confidence in him. Lord Kimberley said that he telegraphed strange suggestions, but all his acts were wise and not in any way strange.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 6th Mar. 1884.—The Queen has not yet thanked Lord Granville for his letter of congratulation on our brilliant victory at El Teb, though she grieves over the loss of valuable lives and over the many wounded. She is glad to see that a severe blow is to be struck against Osman Digna, without which *no good result* could be obtained.

The Queen fears, however, that, unless we comply with General Gordon's earnest request (backed by Sir E. Baring) relative to Zebehr, we run great risk of not settling affairs in the Soudan, and of General Gordon's resignation.

The Queen wonders *how* the Russians with *their* designs on our Indian frontier can remonstrate, as they seem inclined to do, about our difficult task and inevitably indefinite prolongation of our occupation of Egypt.

Pray take *care*, and give NO pledge *whatever* as to *what* we may or may *not* be *obliged* to do, beyond that all foreign interests will be respected.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 11th Mar. 1884.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. Your Majesty will have seen the telegraphic message which the Cabinet to-day agreed to recommend to your Majesty respecting General Gordon and Zebehr.

The difficulty of the question is immense. There is on one side the immense authority of Gordon, Baring, and Nubar. But the opinions of the two former have not been consistent.

General Gordon's preoccupation on going out was principally the belief that Zebehr would get him murdered. In the interview which he had with him before Sir Evelyn Baring, the hatred of Zebehr was described by the latter as violent. Baring was convinced that, if the two were together in the Soudan, both would not come back. Zebehr in Gordon's journal is described as a murderer and king of the slave-hunters. He says he is a great General, which, although it may help at this moment, is awkward for the future safety of Egypt. He might spend the £50,000 a year in organising a formidable army for when his time would be ready. It is difficult to believe that he can be a changed man, and that no one else can serve Gordon as a Mohammedan assistant. The public opinion of this country, however unreasonable, would be violently excited.

The telegram does not altogether shut the door to the future consideration of Zebehr being used.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

WINDSOR CASTLE [14th Mar. 1884].—This¹ is unanswerable.

IF this is refused the Queen will *hold* the Government responsible for any sort of misfortune which *will* happen. Parliament should be *told* the truth and how Gordon has again and again told them what to do, and that they have refused.

Pray cypher substance, or speak very strongly to Sir Wm. Harcourt about it.

Surely Sir Henry cannot defend the miserable policy pursued for so many months which has led to such a lamentable loss of life ? . . .

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

14th Mar. 1884.—Referring to your telegram No. 142 to Sir E. Baring. Having placed entire confidence in Gordon, have you now decided to throw over his advice and that of Baring and risk loss of all the garrisons ?

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 14th Mar. 1884.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He has circulated your Majesty's late Minutes on General Gordon among his colleagues. There has been some difference of opinion as to which of two painful alternatives was abstractly the least bad, but all those of the Cabinet who are in the House of Commons (Mr. Gladstone was absent from the last two Cabinets)² were positive that no Government, Liberal or Conservative, would send Zebehr.

¹ Presumably the reasoned telegram from Sir E. Baring, dated the same day, urging the Government to reconsider their decision to refuse General Gordon's request for Zebehr. See *Modern Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 523–525.

² Mr. Gladstone was himself in favour of granting General Gordon's request for Zebehr, backed as it was by Sir Evelyn Baring, Colonel Stewart, and Nubar Pasha. A Minister who went to see him in his bed reported to the Cabinet "that Mr. Gladstone considered it very likely that they [his colleagues] could not bring Parliament to swallow Zebehr, but believed that he himself could." See *Life of Gladstone*, bk. viii, ch. 9.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 15th Mar. 1884.—The Duchess of Roxburghe, Sir Wm. Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain, and Sir H. Ponsonby dined. Sir Wm. Harcourt was very low about Egypt and everything, and said the difficulties were enormous. I said, I thought the Government would be blamed for not sending Zebehr, after having been so urgently pressed to do so by both Sir E. Baring and General Gordon, who must know better than those at home. Sir Wm. Harcourt admitted this; but said the feeling in this country was so strong against Zebehr, as an unscrupulous old slavedealer, that the Government would have been turned out if they had sent him. The Opposition were also pledged against Zebehr. Sir William said he felt very strongly that party feeling was carried too far, and that the Government's, or indeed any Government's, difficulties were immense. They ought not to be embarrassed, harassed, and attacked in moments like these, which they generally were. He means to take an opportunity of stating this. Found Mr. Chamberlain very sensible and reasonable about the question of Egypt, which he thought most distressing and almost hopeless. I think him decidedly pleasanter and more unobtrusive in manner than Sir C. Dilke.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Hartington.

25th Mar. 1884.—Sir E. Baring's No. 246¹ is alarming. Gordon is in danger: you are bound to try and save him. Surely Indian troops might go from Aden: they could bear the climate. You have incurred fearful responsibility.

¹ He telegraphed on 24th March that the question was how to get away Gordon and Stewart. Only two solutions appeared possible. Gordon might be able to maintain his position till the autumn; or English troops might be sent to open up way to Khartoum, an operation of very great difficulty but possible—not, however, without great risk: no time to be lost.—*Modern Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 540–542.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 25th Mar. 1884.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. Lord Hartington, Lord Northbrook, and Lord Granville had a long conversation with Lord Wolseley and Sir Charles Wilson this morning. In the evening the Cabinet met at the House of Commons. After some conversation on . . . Sir E. Baring's telegram recommending, contrary to his former opinion, an advance to Berber, the Cabinet came to the conclusion, that anxious as they were to afford every assistance to General Gordon that was practicable, it would be unjustifiable to send a British force as proposed, and that objections, though not of the same character, existed to sending an Indian expedition. Lord Granville was directed to submit the enclosed telegram¹ to your Majesty. It is believed to be impossible for the tribes to take Khartoum by assault. The garrison have six months' provisions. Even if it were desirable to expose more British troops, the operation would be an easier one, when the water is high.

Instructions to General Graham were discussed, but it was considered better to wait for his report, after the movement which he is to begin to-morrow.

The Cabinet approved of the draft to Musurus Pasha, which Lord Granville begs to submit to your Majesty.

The Marquis of Hartington to Queen Victoria.

WAR OFFICE, 26th Mar. 1884.—Lord Hartington with his humble duty and in reference to your

¹ The telegram, which was despatched on the same day, was a refusal to send a British expedition to Berber, accompanied by permission to General Gordon either to remain at Khartoum, or to retire from it by any available route. Sir Evelyn Baring was so moved by this refusal that, before carrying out his instructions, he telegraphed a strong remonstrance to Lord Granville on the following day. He pleaded that we had sent General Gordon to Khartoum, had refused his urgent request for Zebehr, and it was our bounden duty not to abandon him. He urged that at least Gordon should be told to try and maintain his position during the summer, and that then, if he was still beleaguered, an expedition would be sent early in the autumn to relieve him.—*Modern Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 542-544.

Majesty's telegram of yesterday begs to state that he understands that Lord Granville wrote an account to your Majesty of the deliberations of the Cabinet on the position of General Gordon at Khartoum.

Lord Hartington begs to add that in his opinion, however critical may be General Gordon's position, and however strongly the Government would desire to render assistance to him, the risk and difficulty of despatching a military force to Berber and thence to Khartoum would be so great as to make the attempt an unjustifiable one.

At this time of year, in addition to the sufferings to which the troops would be exposed from the great heat, it would be impossible on account of the difficulties of the water supply to send more than very small bodies of troops from Suakin to Berber; and in the present condition of the country surrounding that place it is doubtful whether a small force could render any effectual assistance to General Gordon, or whether it would even be able to maintain its own position. Although it is possible that General Gordon may be surrounded and besieged in Khartoum, there is no reason at present to doubt that he will be able to defend himself there, and the place is known to be well supplied with provisions and stores. If it should be eventually necessary to relieve him by force, such an operation could be more effectually carried out, and with less risk to the health and safety of the troops engaged, in the autumn than now when the great heat is commencing.

H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge concurs with Lord Hartington in the opinion that an expedition to Berber would be too hazardous, and would also involve too great loss of life by sickness, to be undertaken at present.

General Gordon certainly when he left England distinctly understood that no British troops would be employed in relieving him or the garrisons and was confident of his ability to accomplish his task without such assistance.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 27th Mar. 1884.—The Queen merely wished to cypher as follows to Mr. Gladstone :

“ Am greatly distressed at the news about Gordon and think Sir E. Baring only states my feelings. British troops cannot be sent ; but you told me, when I last saw you, Gordon must be trusted and supported ; and yet what he asked for repeatedly nearly 5 weeks ago has been refused. If not only for humanity's sake, for the honour of the Government and the nation, he must not be abandoned ! ”

The Queen has no confidence in Lord Granville ; he is as weak as water and she fears Lord Derby's influence is harmful.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 27th Mar. 1884.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. Lord Hartington and Lord Granville thought that Sir E. Baring's protest against the last instructions was so serious that they went down this morning to see Mr. Gladstone. The conclusion to which they came was subsequently confirmed by the Cabinet, where all the other members, excepting Lord Spencer and Mr. Chamberlain, were present. All the alternatives were discussed very fully. An immediate expedition, one in the autumn, an authoritative declaration that none would be attempted, and a promise that such a one might be promised to Gordon. Lord Granville forwarded to Mr. Gladstone the result, to which he has just sent his approval. Lord Granville submits it to your Majesty. . . .

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

WINDSOR CASTLE [27th Mar. 1884].—The Queen *highly disapproves* this telegram.

Under *any* circumstance the first sentence should be *altered*, it is almost offensive to Sir E. Baring. No representatives of any employer have ever been treated with so little respect ! The beginning *should*

be: "Have given your tel. of ——— our most serious consideration, and with the greatest wish to assist Gen. G., do not see how we can well alter our instructions of the 25th." ¹

But the Queen cannot say even then she approves of it, for she does not. Pray write to Lord Granville and make the alteration.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 28th Mar. 1884.—Another awful blow has fallen upon me and all of us to-day. My beloved Leopold, that bright, clever son, who had so many times recovered from such fearful illnesses, and from various small accidents, has been taken from us! To lose another dear child, far from me, and one who was so gifted, and such a help to me, is too dreadful!

Was expecting to hear about dear Leopold's leg. Received a letter addressed by Horatia S., saying nothing, but enclosing a note from Sir H. Ponsonby, who had received a telegram from Cannes with the news that dear Leopold was "worse," indeed "seriously ill." I sent for Horatia, who said there was another cypher come, from Mr. Royle, saying he, with extreme regret, had to announce that my darling Leopold had died at 3.30 this morning quite suddenly in his sleep, from the breaking of a blood-vessel in the head. Am utterly crushed. How dear he was to me, how I had watched over him! Oh! what grief, and that poor loving young wife, who has been kept on her sofa, more or less since the middle of January, for fear of any accident, how may this news affect her! Too, too dreadful! But we must bow to God's will and believe that it is

¹ The telegram of refusal, as originally drafted, began: "We cannot accede to the proposals in your telegram. We adhere to the instructions of the 25th." In deference to the Queen's remonstrances, there were inserted, after the word "telegram," the words, "We have given it our most serious consideration and, with the greatest wish to assist General Gordon, we do not see how we can alter our instructions of the 25th."

surely for the best. The poor dear boy's life had been a very tried one, from early childhood! He was such a dear charming companion, so entirely the "Child of the House."

We were in such distress about poor Helen. Fortunately Lenchen settled to go to Claremont this morning, so Beatrice telegraphed to her, and we sent off endless telegrams to all relations and friends. The whole house is in consternation. Darling Leopold was so generally beloved! Heard that poor Lenchen had to break the dreadful news to Helen, who was greatly overcome, but quite quiet and natural. It was piteous to see her, for she was so good and patient. Such a tragedy, for they were so happy and devoted to one another! The dear Empress came over to enquire after me, but did not wish to disturb me and went to Beatrice. I hastened there to see her for a moment. She was so kind, so full of feeling, very much shocked and upset, as she loved dear Leopold (who was so popular) and felt so much for me, Helen, and Beatrice.

I went back to rest a little, feeling stunned, bewildered, and wretched. I am a poor desolate old woman, and my cup of sorrow overflows! Oh! God, in His mercy, spare my other dear children!

The Marquis of Hartington to Queen Victoria.

WAR OFFICE, 28th Mar. 1884.—Lord Hartington with his humble duty ventures to tender to your Majesty the expression of his sincere sorrow and respectful sympathy with your Majesty in the great affliction which your Majesty has sustained in the death of H.R.H. the Duke of Albany.

Lord Hartington has received so many marks of your Majesty's kindness and condescension, and especially on an occasion not very remote when his family and himself were suffering under a great and sudden calamity, that he is led to hope that your Majesty will pardon his addressing your Majesty at this moment of grief. . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

COOMBE WARREN, 28th Mar. 1884 (1 p.m.).—
... Your Majesty refers, with your habitual accuracy, to the language in which Mr. Gladstone when last at Windsor signified his opinion that General Gordon should be trusted and supported. Undoubtedly that was and is his opinion, and he thinks it is to a large extent the predisposition of his colleagues. On the other hand, he believes he also indicated to your Majesty a sense of difficulties which attach to any full action upon it, from the number and rapidity of his various declarations, in some instances from their want of consistency, and from his much too free communication with persons who act as correspondents of public journals. It would not be fair to this remarkable man to omit a reference to the most serious item of all, namely the very imperfect knowledge with which the Government are required at the shortest notice to form conclusions in respect to a peculiar, remote, and more than half-barbarous region, with which they have but a very slight and indirect connection in the ordinary sense, although character and responsibility are involved in all the transactions.

Mr. Gladstone thought yesterday, with Lord Granville and Lord Hartington whom he saw at this place, that British troops could not be sent to Khartoum, and he is much gratified to find that this opinion has the sanction of your Majesty.

Sir Evelyn Baring has, Mr. Gladstone thinks, shown conspicuous ability and excellent sense in the office he holds : but the difficulties are such that it is no wonder if occasionally he treads awry.

On this occasion he makes a recommendation (in what can hardly be considered as an official document) that amounts to a reversal of policy ; he overrides the most serious military difficulties ; he acts, so far as it appears, alone ; he proposes to provide for dangers to General Gordon, of the existence

of which at the present moment your Majesty's Government do not possess evidence; and he does this in ignorance of what are at the time General Gordon's circumstances, opinions, and desires.

In conversation here yesterday the joint feeling was that an effort should be made to ascertain these, although it cannot be done with the rapidity which was ensured by the telegraph when it was open to Khartoum. The attainment of this end was contemplated by a telegram drawn yesterday evening in London, and concurred in by Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Gladstone hopes that it will draw from General Gordon valuable information, especially after the success which has happily attended the movements of General Graham. General Gordon is of course quite free to revert to the subject of his recommendation that Zebehr should be sent: a recommendation, in declining which Mr. Gladstone thinks that the Cabinet may have been a good deal influenced by the fear that, if it were adopted, a violent outburst of popular and Parliamentary feeling might at once compel its reversal.

Mr. Gladstone humbly joins with your Majesty in the hope that, when adequate intelligence shall have been received from General Gordon, there will be every disposition to support him to the full extent which national interests will permit, and without too nice a computation of risks merely Ministerial.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 29th Mar. 1884.—Had a very kind letter from Bertie, who asked me to let him go to Cannes to fetch the precious remains, to which I consented. When I awoke, I cried very much, feeling all pleasure has gone for ever for me. After breakfast, reading and looking at some of the beautiful articles in the papers. It is touching to see such universal feeling shown, and how my beloved child was appreciated and looked up to.

At quarter to 11 left for Claremont in the landau. Went at once to Helen's sitting-room. She got up to meet me, in tears, but so gentle, and so sweet and touching. Was much overcome, for it is quite overwhelming to see her deep, unmurmuring grief. She laid her hand on my shoulder, and kept saying: "Poor mother," and looked so sweet, young, and touching. She is so good and patient, and thankful that there had been so little suffering. Left her after a little while, to go and see Lenchen. Took luncheon with poor dear Helen in her sitting-room, she lying on the sofa. It was piteous to look at her poor young face. The dear little baby came in, and was so merry and lively that it was quite painful. She looks very well, and stands at a chair quite alone, and pushes it about. Sat a little while with Helen, and then went up to my room.

Lenchen came up and told me that a letter from dear Leopold to Helen had been found, with his last directions, expressing a wish to be buried in St. George's Chapel,¹ as he had been married there, and because there would always be singing over him! Of course I could say nothing against this, as I consider a wish of that kind as sacred. But personally, I should have liked the Mausoleum. I said he should be carried by the Seaforth Highlanders. Lenchen went at once to tell Helen I consented, for which she was so grateful. When I went down to see her, before leaving, she thanked me herself most lovingly.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 7th-8th April 1884.—Mr. Gladstone offers his humble duty to your Majesty, and humbly reports that he returned to London to-day to attend the debate on the amendment of Lord John Manners, moved against the second reading of the Franchise Bill. Being advised by Sir A. Clark to speak at an early hour of the evening, he rose at about half-

¹ The funeral was accordingly in St. George's Chapel, on 5th April.

past six, and made it his main endeavour to show that the Franchise Bill had been framed in all particulars for the promotion of national objects, and not of the narrower objects of the Liberal Party. . . .

Sir Stafford Northcote rose at a little before midnight. His speech . . . contended that the indications given by the Government as to a scheme of redistribution were at once insufficient, shifting, and alarming, and that the House was therefore not in a condition to proceed with the consideration of the Franchise Bill. . . .

The House divided at half-past one, when the numbers were :

For the second reading	.	340
For the amendment	.	210
Majority	.	130

The friends of Mr. Parnell on this occasion, for only the second time during this Parliament (in cardinal divisions), voted with the Government.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 13th May 1884.—Had a good deal of interesting conversation with Sir E. Baring, just come from Egypt, who is very anxious about the state of affairs, which he considers very serious, and has spoken in strong terms about it to the Government, with, however, little effect. Mr. Gladstone seems to think the whole matter of “secondary importance, whereas it is most vital.” Sir E. Baring had enormous difficulties to contend with, owing to the Government having no decided policy, and changing it continually. It was really almost impossible to carry out their wishes, and not sending Zebehr had been a fatal mistake. It was too late now. Gen. Gordon was a very strange man, and very impulsive. He praised Sir E. Wood very much.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 13th-14th May 1884.—Mr. Gladstone submits his humble duty to your Majesty, and reports that the debate on the Vote of Censure¹ in the House of Commons has been prosecuted to-day with much energy both during the morning and the evening sittings. In the morning, Lord Randolph Churchill delivered against the Government the ablest speech, in Mr. Gladstone's judgment, which he has yet made in the House of Commons. He said that, if a Tory Government came in, the relief to General Gordon would be given certainly and now, instead of being uncertain and deferred until October. Also the question of the Franchise would be in no danger, for it would be the duty of the new Government to bring in a larger Bill than that of the present Administration. . . .

Mr. Forster delivered a speech of great length and ability against the Government, which, however, appeared to them to be also one of remarkable bitterness and hostility. His main argumentative position appeared to be that it was the duty of the Government to have sent before this time military assistance to General Gordon, while he predicted terrible consequences from delay. Lord Hartington followed Mr. Forster in a speech of the greatest ability. Deprecating the personalities of the speech, he examined with care and minuteness the military recommendations which it contained. He showed how untrustworthy was the doctrine of moral effect, according to which wonders were to be wrought by sending a handful of soldiers to Khartoum; how heavy would have been the risks and losses incurred to produce a valueless result; how the sending of any force adequate to a military purpose had been at the time of the recommendation impossible, and how far General Gordon himself had been from desiring an expedition of British soldiers to Khartoum. Deal-

¹ On the Egyptian policy of the Government.

ing with General Gordon's phrase of indelible disgrace, he asked by what authority the General's opinion was made the measure of the obligations of this country? Supplying an omission in the statement of Mr. Gladstone, Lord Hartington, while he denied our responsibilities for the Egyptian garrisons, stated that it would be the duty of the Government, in the event of an expedition, to do their best for those who might have served General Gordon, or encountered special or increased dangers on his account.

During the evening, Mr. Cowen delivered an energetic speech, and an eloquent one, against the Government, as is his wont. His colleague Mr. Morley¹ replied to him with great ability, in a speech which considerably advanced his position in the House. Mr. Goschen followed Mr. Forster in making a speech against the Government, but he laboured in good faith to exclude from his argument anything that could justly offend. . . .

Sir Charles Dilke wound up the debate on the part of the Government in an able speech which was well received by the House. Sir Stafford Northcote followed him, and insisted at a late hour, which probably did not allow him to do full justice to his case, on the positions taken by his friends in the debate, and on the responsibility which the House would assume by refusing to condemn the conduct of the Ministry.

Before two o'clock, the House divided, when the numbers were:

For the motion	275
Against it	303
Majority	28

The party of Mr. Parnell voted with the Opposition and thus reduced the majority.

¹ Afterwards Chief Secretary for Ireland (1886 and 1892-5), Secretary of State for India (1905-10), and Lord President of the Council (1910-14). Created Viscount Morley of Blackburn in 1908.

They are accused of having deliberately spread a report that they were to vote with the Government, in order to induce Liberal Members who were in doubt to go away without voting, under the idea that the Government were to have an ample majority. This accusation appears from various indications to be true. The Irish who acted thus were, so far as is known, thirty-three in number.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 14th May 1884.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. The Cabinet of to-day wished that Lord Granville should introduce Mr. Childers to M. Waddington to-morrow, in order that he might discuss generally the alteration in the law of liquidation which her Majesty's Government approve. Lord Granville previously to tell French Ambassador, in answer to his statements made in two conversations recorded by Lord Granville, that your Majesty's Government appreciated the self-denying ordinance which the French Government had offered; that they are willing to increase the powers of the Caisse Publique (English, French, Austrian, and Italian), not to succeed to the powers of the late control, but to have a restraining power on any excess of expenditure over the gross amount laid down. This power to begin in one year.

Your Majesty's Government would agree to name 5 years as the term of their occupation of Egypt, subject to the desire of the Powers that it may be further extended, reserving a right to propose hereafter if they shall think fit a plan of neutralisation of Egypt.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 14th May 1884.—The Queen has received Lord Granville's report of the decision of the Cabinet with respect to the affairs of Egypt,

but does not understand the necessity of, and most strongly objects to, fixing the limit of the term of our occupation, which should be guided by circumstances and not defined on the request of foreign powers. It will only involve us in fresh difficulties, which we surely do not require at the present moment, and hamper our actions seriously.

The Queen deprecates the assembly of a Conference, unless it is only for the purpose of discussing the financial difficulties of Egypt.

Lord Granville will remember how he lamented 2 years ago before the war the existence of a Conference which bound us and prevented our free action.

The dangers seem daily to increase.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 15th May 1884.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

He begs to thank your Majesty respectfully for your Majesty's letter, which he forwarded to Mr. Gladstone. He did not like to put off M. Waddington's appointment, as time is very important, and if the Powers do not assent to a change of the law of liquidation Egypt will be bankrupt. But he avoided giving any answer to the French Ambassador as to a term to the occupation of Egypt. He was enabled to do this, by referring to a discrepancy in the statements made by M. Waddington, at the first and second interviews. M. Waddington explained that he had deprecated the use of the word "maximum" as an invidious expression, but that his Government considered it a *sine quâ non* that your Majesty's Government should volunteer a declaration as to the number of years during which they desired to remain, subject to a prolongation by communication with the Powers. That their own volunteered promise never to occupy Egypt, without the consent of England, was made in anticipation of some such declaration. He believed that the opinion of other

Powers was in accordance with that of the French Government.

Sir E. Baring agrees with the Cabinet, in thinking a term should be named.

Would your Majesty graciously direct Sir H. Ponsonby to telegraph, whether a Cabinet should be summoned to consider your Majesty's objections?

HOUSE OF LORDS, 16th May.—. . . In obedience to your Majesty's commands, [Lord Granville] requested Mr. Gladstone, Lord Hartington, Lord Northbrook, and Sir Charles Dilke to consider the question of the term of 5 years, subject to prolongation with concurrence of Powers. Lord Spencer, as not previously consulted, was asked to attend.

The question unfortunately is not between a good and a bad alternative, but between several courses, against each of which, as unfortunately happens in these Egyptian questions, there are strong objections to be urged.

The Ministers present varied as to the exact amount of advantage or disadvantage belonging to the present plan, but they were unanimous in thinking it ought to be adopted, if it be adhered to by the French. The Egyptian finances cannot be put right without a modification of the Law of Liquidation; that alteration cannot take place without the consent of the Powers. The French offer certain conditions. We have no reason to believe that the other Powers will support us against the French. There is no chance of their forcing France to agree to our terms.

Germany and France [? Austria] give us hints that they wish us to come to terms with the French; the country is pledged not to occupy Egypt permanently; and by agreeing to a fixed term, which may be prolonged by the consent of the Powers, we obtain the important pledge of the French that they will not enter Egypt for the future without our consent; and it will be on the condition that the financial arrangements which we approve are carried out, that any assurance is given.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 17th May 1884.—The Queen cannot really understand what *all* this means. Why are we suddenly to be hampered and interfered with by the other Powers? Why are we to be bullied and frightened by other Powers?

The conduct of the Government in this Egyptian business is *perfectly miserable*; it is universally condemned; and this weakness and vacillation have made us despised everywhere. The Army and Navy extricated us, or at least saved our name, in '82 and again this year. But now Lord Granville *says* we *must* make this *promise*. Why? The Queen must make an effort to save her country from disgrace; *if* they must make a declaration it must be with this *provision*, *after the five years* are mentioned, "Provided the state of Egypt is *such* as to enable *us* to leave the country without the danger of anarchy and confusion." . . .

The Queen feels *much* aggrieved and *annoyed*. She was never listened to, or her advice followed, and *all* she foretold *invariably* happened and what she *urged* was *done* when *too late*! It is dreadful for her to see how we are going downhill, and to be unable to prevent the humiliation of this country.

What *has* brought on this complete change, when again and again the Queen urged the Government only not to *bind themselves* by any promise of this kind but to be free?

The Government will rue the new line they are entering on. The Conference is a great, great mistake. . . .

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 17th May 1884.

DEAR MR. GLADSTONE,—In order to prevent your misapprehending the Queen's views in objecting to the fixed limit of 5 years for our occupation of Egypt, I may explain that her Majesty has no wish

to prolong our stay in that country unnecessarily, but the Queen maintains emphatically that it would be unjust to this country and to future Governments to make a promise now which it may be out of their power to keep without making serious sacrifices.

If the present Government are then in office they would be able to defend the policy they now advocate, but another Ministry would find themselves hampered by this blind engagement, and the Queen, if she now approved, would be involved in the difficulties which may arise from definitely fixing the policy of this country 5 years in advance.

In his last despatch to Lord Lyons, Lord Granville declares himself ready to give an assurance that we will retire as soon as we can do so without inconvenience, and the Queen is ready to approve of these words, but she must protest against our giving a promise to France that, come what may, we shall leave Egypt in May 1889. Yours etc., HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 19th May 1884.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. M. Waddington called on him this afternoon, giving him M. Ferry's answers. There was no time for discussion, as Lord Granville was summoned to an informal meeting of colleagues on the Bright clauses of the Irish Land Bill. Lord Granville was glad to have an opportunity of consulting them, before seeing M. Waddington again to-morrow.

M. Ferry agrees to our proposal that the explanations should be preliminary, and that, if an agreement is arrived at, the scope of the conference should not be enlarged.

He also agrees to give up the International Commission, with the powers of the dual control. He agrees to taking the "Caisse" as it is, without power to interfere in the Egyptian administration, but he wished it to be consulted about the Budget.

(This would not do exactly as proposed, but may be managed by giving them a power of vetoing expenditure over the normal Budget, which the English Plenipotentiaries will exhibit to the Conference.)

But on the point of the stay of the troops, M. Ferry appears to be perfectly firm, and even suggesting that the term should be two years, excepting with the consent of the Powers.

Sir H. Ponsonby suggested a proviso dictated by your Majesty which would be excellent, but too good for the French to accept; as it would leave entirely to our discretion to decide whether the state of the country was such as to permit evacuation.

The Cabinet doubt the French Government accepting a modification of this proviso, which would run thus—"Her Majesty's Government appreciate the importance of the declaration volunteered by the French Government that they will not enter Egypt upon the withdrawal of the British troops, or do so for the future without the consent of England, and they are willing to declare their intention of withdrawing the troops within five years, provided that at the time the Powers are of opinion that the evacuation can take place with safety to the peace and order of Egypt."

The difference of this form of words is that it will require the unanimous opinion of Europe to let us go, instead of, as the French propose, unanimity to keep us in. The Cabinet for this reason doubt the acceptance of this form by the French.

The French are ready to accept the proposal made in the circular of 1883 on the subject of the Suez Canal.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 21st May 1884.—Mr. Gladstone submits his humble duty, and reports to your Majesty that the morning sitting of to-day has been given to the Franchise Bill, and that the House has been occupied with a further prolonged discussion

of the proposal to exclude Ireland from the operation of the Bill.

Lord Randolph Churchill opened the debate in a speech which was argumentative, quiet, and, except some references to Mr. W. H. Smith,¹ quite free from personality. He said his mind had wavered (he had, as Mr. Chaplin showed, spoken strongly on the other side in the autumn), but the progress of discussion convinced him that the extension was just and safe, and he would vote with the Government.

The debate was continued throughout the sitting by Lord Claud Hamilton, Lord E. Cavendish, Mr. Chaplin, General Macartney, and others, without any marked feature, until Mr. Staveley Hill, a stout Tory, not associated with Lord R. Churchill, rose and took the same course in a decided manner. Lord George Hamilton delivered a speech of considerable spirit in support of the amendment.

The prevailing stream of reproach against Lord Randolph Churchill was that he endeavoured to associate Toryism with democracy.

The House divided at a little before seven, when the numbers were found to be:

For admitting Ireland	.	.	332
For excluding Ireland.	.	.	137
Majority	.	.	195

¹ Mr. W. H. Smith had argued in the recess that no votes should be given to Irish peasants who lived in mud-cabins. Lord Randolph Churchill replied in this speech: "The difference between the cabin of the Irish peasant and the cottage of the English agricultural labourer is not so great as that which exists between the abode of the right honourable Member for Westminster and the humble roof which shelters from the storm the individual who now has the honour to address the Committee.

Non ebur, neque aureum
Mea renidet in domo lacunar;
Non trabes Hymettiae
Premunt columnas ultima recisas
Africa."

Mr. Smith, who sat for Westminster, who had been First Lord of the Admiralty in Lord Beaconsfield's Government, and who was shortly to be Leader of the House of Commons for some years, was, as head of the great firm of W. H. Smith & Son, a wealthy man.

At the evening sitting the House was counted out.

23rd May.—Mr. Gladstone reports to your Majesty with his humble duty, that the morning sitting of to-day has again been spent upon the Franchise Bill.

The first point raised bore upon the question at what time the Act was to come into operation. The Bill, as it was drawn, contemplated its immediate operation. Some of the Conservative Party, and some Liberals, desire that a date, with a moderate interval, should be fixed. The Government, desirous to smooth the way, agreed that the question of time should stand over for future discussion and settlement.

Then arose a discussion of importance much exceeding the former. Col. Stanley moved a provision which was intended to secure that the Franchise should only come into operation after a Bill of Redistribution should have been passed. Mr. Gladstone replied from the point of view taken by Ministers, and was seconded by Mr. Forster. But the debate was in the main a battle between different sections of the Conservative Party. Not only Lord R. Churchill and Mr. Gorst, but Mr. Raikes, one of the closest adherents of the Leaders, opposed Colonel Stanley's amendment, which Mr. Stanhope and Sir S. Northcote defended.

It is now therefore pretty clear that a section of the Opposition are really willing and desirous that the Bill should pass, provided only the Bill be so framed, as by the provision of an interval to give with certainty an opportunity for the discussion of Redistribution next year: and they deprecate the very perilous contingency which will arrive if the House of Lords should, on such a question as this, rush into conflict with the House of Commons. The other, and, it is to be feared, much larger section of the Party, carry their objection either to extension of the suffrage, or to dealing with that subject alone, up to such a point, that they are willing to encourage the House of Lords in rejecting the Bill, and thereby

rendering the settlement of the question impracticable during the present Parliament.

Sir Stafford Northcote and Mr. Gorst spoke with much acuteness on their respective sides.

On a division the numbers were :

For Col. Stanley's amendment	182
Against it	276
Majority	96 ¹

In this division it appears that Lord R. Churchill and Mr. Gorst voted in the minority, causing much surprise. But Mr. Gladstone believes that his account of the feelings indicated in the debate is strictly accurate. . . .

The German Crown Princess to Queen Victoria.

POTSDAM, 25th May 1884.

MY BELOVED MAMA,—Fritz has seen Ct. Hatzfeld, who gave him the following answer (which I hope you will be able to read—in Fritz's writing). The German Press has been *so* rude and *so* *impertinent* lately about England, saying that the English behaved so badly to Germany on all occasions—and in the "Fiji Islands" the Germans were badly treated—in the Congo question etc., and Prince Bismarck is very cross with England and is much inclined to give a spiteful *coup de patte*—when he gets an opportunity.

All this irritates one extremely. If I may say, the Germans are of an *arrogance* that one *longs* to see put down, especially their tone towards England. Their ideas of Colonies I think very foolish and I do not fancy they will succeed, but they are as *jealous* of England as they possibly can be. As for our policy in Egypt, I cannot help thinking that we are making many mistakes and showing great weakness! Prince Bismarck all along has been animated by the most

¹ This is apparently a mistake for 94.

kindly desire that England *should* act according to her *own* interests and should *not* be hampered or interfered with by *any* foreign Power; he would far prefer to see Egypt in English hands altogether for ever, therefore I am sure what you were told from France was a mistake.

About the Russian advance in India one feels equally anxious; something surely *must* be done to *stop* them.

How I wish, dear Mama, you would read that *admirable* little book, *The Expansion of England*, by Prof. Seeley!! It is wonderful and so statesmanlike, so farsighted, clear, and fair. . . .

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 30th May 1884.—The Queen has to acknowledge Mr. Gladstone's letters of yesterday and to-day.

She is sorry to see that Mr. Gladstone thinks even the 5 years should *not* be adhered to if the French wish to make a stand upon it. This the Queen could not consent to, really for the honour of this country, but still more on account of the extreme danger of finding ourselves hampered to such an extent as to be *obliged* to leave Egypt (and without *any* troops *anywhere* she feels strongly convinced we can *not* do it for much longer) when that country is still in so unsettled a state as to be a danger to Europe.

The lesser time Mr. Gladstone proposed would bring it to only 3 years and half. Four years the Queen thinks ought to be the *very shortest* time admissible.

What is going to be done about General Gordon?

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HAWARDEN, 1st June 1884.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty acknowledges your Majesty's gracious letter of the 30th, and humbly submits some considera-

tions which he hopes your Majesty may think not to be without weight. Although speaking on his own account only, he conceives that the same ideas are prevalent, not in the Cabinet only, but in the House of Commons, and on both sides of the House.

He has already signified to your Majesty that in his opinion there is likely to be much difference of sentiment on the Egyptian plans of the Government : or, he might perhaps add, on any others that could be devised in lieu of them.

But while many indications as to the nature of the objections likely to be taken have been given, none of them have as yet appeared to turn on the precise length of the term of years on which the Cabinet are desirous, if need be, to agree with France. The ideas which are likely to be taken up by objectors appear to be that it is folly to surrender (what they think) a privileged position ; to establish (as they erroneously anticipate) a multiple, instead of the dual, control ; to use the financial resources of this country on behalf of Egyptian credit ; and to appoint a date on the arrival of which we shall no longer be sole judges of the propriety of continuing the military occupation of the country. Criticism does not appear to turn on the particular length of the term before that date, and though without doubt objectors would prefer a longer term to a shorter one, probably as offering greater chances for establishing a dominion in Egypt, there seems no reason to suppose that the difference between $3\frac{1}{2}$, or 4, or 5 years would sensibly affect the nature or the amount of opposition to be expected.

Ministers, while anxiously awaiting news from General Gordon himself, and finding little occasion for present anxiety, have been and are very seriously engaged in examining the various routes and methods by which in case of need aid could be supplied ; a question of great complexity, in which, however, much progress has been made.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 5th June 1884.—The Queen has to acknowledge Mr. Gladstone's letter of the 1st.

She cannot alter her *decided* opinion that to put *any* limit to our occupation of Egypt is a very *fatal* mistake. But to lessen this 5 years even when the state of Egypt is such that one cannot at all foresee any speedy improvement (in which case other Powers would *inevitably* step in) would be most *shortsighted*, and truckling to insolent France, and have the very worst effect and results. *One year*, if a great object is to be obtained by it, might be yielded but *not more*, and the Queen will *not* give *her consent* to it. How *often and often* on many questions within the last few years have her warnings been disregarded, and alas! (when too late) justified! Let this not happen again now!¹

21st June.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his various letters.

On the eve of his explanation to the House of Commons the Queen cannot refrain from recording her deep concern at the course taken by the Government; a course which will *not* produce any favourable effect on France, and a very unfavourable one on the rest of Europe. We stood in a high position, we had supreme power in Egypt which it is most important we should have; and we have now sacrificed them by fixing a term, and a very short one, for our evacuation of that country—which must have a very bad effect there. Is a present financial difficulty of more importance than the large question of our interests in Egypt, involving as they do the far larger and all important ones of India? The Queen

¹ In his reply on the 7th, Mr. Gladstone wrote that he "could hardly with propriety refer to the closing part of your Majesty's letter, further than humbly and dutifully to say with how much pain his colleagues and he himself have at various junctures found that their views upon questions oversea were not in accord with those of your Majesty."

most truly and deeply deprecates the course which has been decided on—and which she is sure will cause much alarm in this country. She wishes Mr. Gladstone to communicate her views to the Cabinet.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 23rd–24th June 1884.—Mr. Gladstone humbly acknowledges the receipt this day of your Majesty's letter concerning Egyptian affairs. He has lost no time in making it known to his colleagues, in obedience to your Majesty's gracious command.

Concerned as he is at finding that the views of the Ministers do not, on this question, carry your Majesty's assent, he ventures on his own behalf to say that his regret is qualified by perceiving how completely the ends which approve themselves to your Majesty are also those which your Majesty's advisers desire to attain, and that the difference of view is only as to the means. . . . Mr. Gladstone can undertake humbly to assure your Majesty that the Ministers, while sensible of the fallibility of their own judgments, have no other object than that which your Majesty has at heart, namely to provide for the permanent, and not only the temporary, interests which are involved in the Egyptian question.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 28th June 1884.—The Queen has to acknowledge Mr. Gladstone's last letters.

No one can more deeply regret any great divergence of opinion between the two Houses of Parliament, and especially anything approaching to a collision than she does.¹ But on the other hand she does think that the House of Lords *cannot* be expected merely to acquiesce in and pass a Bill of vital importance to the balance and well-being of the British Constitution, which has been carried through the House of

¹ The reference is, of course, to the Franchise Bill, which had recently gone to the Lords.

Commons. The House of Lords must give its opinion, and could not be respected if it *did not* do so.

It is for this reason that the Queen cannot but regret the strong language used by the Prime Minister on Thursday night,¹ and trusts that he will adopt a more conciliatory tone, which would be far more likely to conduce to an impartial and peaceful solution of the many difficulties which are so threatening at present.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 30th June 1884.—Mr. Gladstone begs to acknowledge, with his humble duty, your Majesty's letter of Saturday, in which your Majesty has, with a condescending frankness, expressed regret at strong language presumed to have been used by him in a speech on the third reading of the Franchise Bill in the House of Commons.

If Mr. Gladstone has, contrary to his intention, used any language of an unbecoming character in relation to the House of Lords, it is a serious error, and must cause him deep concern; but he observes that your Majesty has not pointed out any language of this character as employed by him.

He felt it to be impossible, after all that had occurred, to maintain to the close an absolute silence in regard to the manner, little less than insulting, in which the House of Commons had been treated. Long before the Bill was approaching the House of Lords, Lord Salisbury had, at one or more public meetings, threatened its rejection. His nephew and private secretary had made bold to indicate, in the House of Commons, the same result; and the same thing had been done by Mr. Lowther, from the front bench of the Opposition, in language alike violent and boastful.

¹ On the third reading of the Franchise Bill, which was carried on 26th June. On that occasion Mr. Gladstone, as he wrote to the Queen, felt compelled to refer to the threats which had been uttered by important personages "that the Bill was doomed on its arrival in the House of Lords." He believed that a collision between the two Houses on this subject would be "fraught with danger to our institutions, and sure not to end in the defeat of the House of Commons."

It was not, however, for the sake of the House of Commons, mainly, that Mr. Gladstone spoke, but for the sake of the House of Lords, and with a view to the peaceful maintenance of our Parliamentary constitution.

Twice, in his recollection, the House of Lords has gone into a distinct conflict with the House of Commons ; and both times it has suffered severely. When in 1831 it had (not in Mr. Gladstone's judgment without much excuse) rejected a Reform Bill, it had to undergo the humiliation of passing a like measure after a few months under threat of a creation of Peers which would have wholly overborne its independence. When in 1860 it rejected (again not without some excuse) the Paper Duties Bill, it virtually lost all power of dealing with taxing Bills, and since that epoch financial debates in that House have all but ceased.

When conduct much more rash is openly and repeatedly threatened, without the smallest check or protest from any Tory quarter, Mr. Gladstone cannot by persistent silence appear to think lightly of these or other such crises, and is compelled by his duty to the Crown to make some effort to avert them, always, however, subject to the condition that it is done in proper and respectful language.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 3rd July 1884.—After luncheon, saw Lord Rowton, who said the meeting of Conservative Peers had been most satisfactory. Lord Salisbury, much more moderate and prudent, as regards the Franchise Bill. The idea was to speak in favour of the lowering of the Franchise, but to insist on its being coupled with Redistribution, and therefore to reject it in its present form. It was believed this would result in an Autumn Session, when the Lords would do the same and bring on a Dissolution. I urged most strongly that Lord Salisbury, etc., should make it clear they were not against a

lowering of the Franchise. Lord Rowton entirely agreed and said he would speak in this sense to Lord Salisbury. Lord Cairns and the Duke of Richmond were acting cordially with him.

9th July.—The Government has been beaten by 59¹ in the House of Lords yesterday, about the second reading of the Franchise Bill. Received a letter from Lord Granville, reporting that he had made “a very confidential communication to Lord Cairns and the Duke of Richmond, to the effect that the Government were ready to pass identical Resolutions saying that they had passed the Bill, in the full hopes of introducing one of Redistribution next Session.” After consideration, Lord Cairns had said he and Lord Salisbury could not accept this, and could only propose that the date of the operation of the Franchise Bill should be delayed till after the Redistribution had passed. This the Cabinet would not accept, a similar proposal having been defeated in the House of Commons. Heard soon after from Mr. Gladstone, who said it would not do to dissolve after an adverse vote of the House of Lords, and that they would advise me to bring the Session to *as rapid* a close as possible, and have an autumn one. He then hinted at the agitation this might produce, but which the Government would try to prevent. After dinner Lord Granville spoke to me for some time, much distressed and very anxious, fearing nothing could be done, but greatly regretting Mr. Gladstone’s threatening language about the House of Lords, which had no doubt done great harm; that he himself wished for a dissolution now, as likely to prevent the 3 months’ agitation for an imaginary evil! Felt tired and worried. Sent for Sir H. Ponsonby to speak about Mr. Gladstone’s proposal.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 10th July 1884.—The Queen has to acknowledge Mr. Gladstone’s letter of yesterday.

¹ The figures were, for the second reading 146, against 205.

She will not withhold her assent to his proposal for an Autumn Session in order to reconsider the Franchise Bill; but in doing so she must express her opinion that it would have been a more fair and judicious course to have dissolved Parliament so as to have obtained the opinion of the country on the questions raised in the House of Lords.

This would have prevented any agitation which the Queen fears may be raised by the postponement of the measure. The opinion of the people constitutionally given at the polling booths is far more valuable than the excitement forced on by noisy demagogues.

The Queen is glad to observe Mr. Gladstone's assurance that the Members of the Government will not promote or support any such agitation.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 11th July 1884.—Mr. Gladstone has the honour to acknowledge with his humble duty your Majesty's cyphered telegram in which it is stated that Sir Charles Dilke has already begun to attack the Peers.

Sir C. Dilke stated to the Cabinet that he was engaged to speak on Wednesday to his constituents; and from this engagement he could not properly withdraw. It appears therefore that the occasion of his speaking was not self-sought. If your Majesty will graciously point out any language used by Sir Charles Dilke which attacks the constitution of the House of Lords (for Mr. Gladstone himself has had no time to read the speech), Mr. Gladstone will lose no time in expostulating with him on a course, which would have been at variance with the assurance given to your Majesty.

But the whole contention of the Government is that the House of Lords has committed a gross and deplorable error, and your Majesty will be the first to see that, when occasion calls on them to speak,

they must, in becoming language, endeavour to expose this error, and to prevent its repetition by what they deem just reasoning.

Mr. Gladstone has felt a great anxiety that there should be no mistake as to the assurance which he ventured to convey to your Majesty about the House of Lords. He stated yesterday to the Liberal majority, assembled at the Foreign Office, his own intention to avoid at the present time all discussion as to the character, recent history, composition, and future prospects of the House of Lords.

Being very desirous to know whether he could reckon on the concurrence of Sir C. Dilke and Mr. Chamberlain in this view, he requested an interview with them last night, and found that they were quite satisfied with the basis thus laid down. Mr. Gladstone considers that this understanding covers the whole period between this date and the next submission of the Bill to the House of Lords.

Should the prophecies¹ of Mr. Balfour then be fulfilled, there will be a new point of departure, and Mr. Gladstone does not conceal from your Majesty his conviction, his painful conviction, that new and grave issues will be raised. But he will use no language of this kind in public.

WARREN HOUSE, COMBE WOOD, 13th July 1884.—Mr. Gladstone . . . wrote to Lord Winmarleigh as an old friend, suggesting to him on personal grounds that he might usefully exert himself, and naming one or two Peers with whom he might like to communicate. Lord Winmarleigh has in reply promised to exert himself.

Early yesterday forenoon, Lord Rosebery called on Mr. Gladstone, anxious to exert himself in the same sense. Mr. Gladstone cannot better put your Majesty in possession of what passed than by sending

¹ Mr. Gladstone had in a previous letter reported that in debate in the House on the 10th “Mr. Balfour, nephew and private secretary to Lord Salisbury, again threatened the House with the certainty, as he said, of a second rejection of the bill.”

herewith a copy of an account which he sent off at once in a letter to Lord Granville.¹

Since coming down to Lord Wolverton's Mr. Gladstone has received various intimations, showing that the leaven works, although he of course cannot venture to anticipate the result.

He ventures, however, to say that further reflection respecting Lord Rosebery's suggested addition to the Joint Address (which is also taken up by Lord Wemyss) in no degree lessens his disposition to adopt it so far as this, that (supposing the Franchise Bill to be passed now) the Parliament might meet before instead of after Christmas and a Redistribution Bill might be presented to it at that period.

With regard to any exertion your Majesty might be graciously disposed to make, Mr. Gladstone would certainly not now repeat the observation he reported from the Cabinet, that there did not appear to be an opening. He therefore humbly leaves the consideration of this matter to your Majesty's skilled and experienced judgment : subjoining only for himself that his best hope of the accession of the leaders of the Opposition is in reliance upon the indications that an accommodation is seriously desired by the Members of the Party.

Mr. Gladstone postpones every other matter ; but adds that Lord Granville and Lord Hartington agree with him respecting this addition to the Joint Address.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 13th July 1884.—The Queen has to acknowledge Mr. Gladstone's letters of the last few days.

She certainly thinks it would have been more in accordance with the assurance given her by Mr.

¹ Lord Rosebery's main suggestion was an addition to the Joint Address of the two Houses that they should pray the Queen to summon Parliament in the autumn, that a Redistribution Bill might then (the Franchise Bill passing now) be presented to it.

Gladstone, if Sir Charles Dilke at the outset had avoided the allusions to the House of Lords which he made in his speech, but after the explanation given her by Mr. Gladstone it is unnecessary to revert to this point.

The Queen believes that Mr. Gladstone agrees with her desire that the question of the extension of the Franchise and its connection with Redistribution should be discussed in a fair and calm spirit.

The Queen therefore trusts that bitter recrimination and personal disputes may be avoided on both sides.

As she has already said, the Queen would decidedly have preferred to have heard the opinion of the people on the question legally expressed at a General Election; but since her Ministers think that the views of the country may be learnt from the meetings and speeches of the recess, it is the bounden duty of the Government to prevent the movement from degenerating into a senseless and turbulent agitation which may lead to deplorable consequences.

Mr. Gladstone's promise to introduce a Redistribution Bill next Session and to do his best to pass it, is a proof that he does not consider [that] the wish of those who desire that such a measure should be enacted before a General Election is unjust, and the Queen must earnestly impress on Mr. Gladstone the importance of maintaining the constitutional balance, and of opposing the demands of those who desire to wreck existing institutions.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 14th July 1884.—Mr. Gladstone has the honour humbly to acknowledge your Majesty's letter of July 13th, which met him on his arrival in London this forenoon.

Mr. Gladstone has, in public and in private, done all in his power to keep every question relating to the general merits of the House of Lords, and to its future constitution, entirely outside of and apart

from the discussions, and very warm discussions, which (should the present efforts fail) are sure to take place in the three months that have to elapse between the present date and an October Session. He has no expectation of complete success in this attempt, but he thinks and hopes many will be influenced by the example which Ministers will set by their own conduct and language.

A main reason with Mr. Gladstone for entertaining, not less warmly perhaps even than your Majesty, the desire to separate effectually between the recent act of the House of Lords and its general position and constitution, is the conviction he entertains that a repetition of the act in the autumn will in all likelihood bring into question that position and constitution.

Mr. Gladstone knows, like the rest of the world, how formidable an opponent the House of Lords has habitually been, and especially for the last thirty years, to the Liberal policy, which has had the nearly uniform assent of the nation. He perceives with pain that the tendency of the Lords to separate from the people becomes more marked with the lapse of years, indicated as it is by the increase of the Tory majority in that House. Nevertheless he is willing, for himself, to continue to bear what has been borne so long, rather than to run the risk of seeing the wreck, as your Majesty has phrased it, of an existing institution.

Great discretion and moderation in the use of a vast and wholly irresponsible power will probably suffice to prolong, and that possibly even for a lengthened period, the existence and use of that power; but in no other way known to Mr. Gladstone can it be done. This week it is again, in some degree, placed upon its trial by Lord Wemyss.¹

With respect to the suggestion, fully considered by the Cabinet, that the Parliament might have been dissolved on the occasion of the recent vote, your

¹ See next page.

Majesty has not perhaps been fully informed as to the depth and strength of the objections that are felt to such a plan. Mr. Gladstone will not trouble your Majesty with details, beyond observing that at no period of our history, known to him, has the House of Commons been dissolved at the call of the House of Lords, given through an adverse vote; that in his opinion the establishment of such a principle would place the House of Commons in a position of inferiority, as a Legislative Chamber, to the House of Lords; and that the attempt to establish it would certainly end in organic changes, detrimental to the dignity and authority of the House of Lords.

A portion of the Liberal Party are at this moment undoubtedly in harmony with the Tory leaders in so far that they desire the crisis should be not terminated, but prolonged. Your Majesty may rely on the exertions of the Cabinet in the opposite direction.

And Mr. Gladstone presumes to express his hearty and entire concurrence with your Majesty's desire that a just measure of redistribution shall precede the next General Election. He sees no serious obstacle to the attainment of this end, except there be prolonged opposition by the House of Lords to the passing of the Franchise Bill.

Lord Rowton to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

Confidential.

CARLTON CLUB, 15th July 1884 (Tuesday, 3 p.m.).

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—The meeting is just over. There were present at it 150 Peers, and 170 Members of the House of Commons. Lord Salisbury gave the reasons, which are familiar to you, why he felt bound to advise us to reject Lord Wemyss's resolution: and Sir Stafford Northcote followed, strongly supporting Lord Salisbury.

Lord Wemyss then advocated and defended his proposal¹; and a long discussion followed, in which

¹ To pass the Franchise Bill now, and call an autumn session for the consideration of a Redistribution Bill.

the not many who differed from Lord Salisbury prominently took part, being rather specially called upon by him to do so. Lord Randolph Churchill did not speak, but ostentatiously cheered the dissidents. The vast majority of the meeting, however, were earnestly in favour of the course recommended by Lord Salisbury, who, at the end, announced his intention, in view of the manifest deep feeling of the meeting, to adopt the course he had designated.

Lord Salisbury desires me humbly to assure her Majesty, through you, that he has profoundly considered her Majesty's representations: and that he would be glad indeed to come to any arrangement in this matter, *consistent with the attitude* which he and his political friends have felt it to be their imperative duty to adopt. I feel sure, from his assurances to me, that his actions and speeches will not fail to give evidence of this: but I am bound to add that nothing has yet come from the Government which affords promise of bridging over the wide gulf between him and them.

I have, since I was at Windsor yesterday, also seen Sir Stafford Northcote, and can only say that he and Lord Salisbury (as indeed the whole of our "front benches") are of one mind.

Lord Wemyss's resolution will be defeated by a considerable majority. I am, very truly yours,
ROWTON.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 15th July 1884.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letter received this morning. She is sorry that she cannot agree with Mr. Gladstone in his opinion of the House of Lords, which has rendered such important services to the nation, and which at this moment is believed by many to represent the true feeling of the country. The House of Lords is in no way opposed to the people.

The existence of an independent body of men

acting solely for the good of the country, and free from the terror which forces so many Commoners to vote against their consciences, is an element of strength in the State, and a guarantee for its welfare and freedom.

To protect the moderate men from being swamped by extreme partisans, as the Peers now desire to do, is an object in which by itself Mr. Gladstone himself concurs, and the Queen cannot therefore understand why this legitimate act of theirs is to expose them to the storm which noisy agitators for their own ends are preparing to raise against the House of Lords. Many most useful measures for the benefit of *the people at large* which had taken a long time to pass in the House of Commons, passed the House of Lords at once!

The Queen fears that the passions once roused by an imaginary grievance will not be easily quelled but will threaten the existence of the Monarchy, and the stability of the Empire itself. Those who do *not* do all in their power to prevent such wild and senseless passion from being raised incur a frightful responsibility.

Queen Victoria to the Duke of Argyll.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 17th July 1884.

MY DEAR DUKE,—I told you the other day that I had no one to help me, or to turn to, in my anxiety to prevent such an unnecessary *breach* between the two Houses. Let me now ask *you*, as a personal friend of mine, as a great statesman, and as a friend of Mr. Gladstone's, to go to *him* and speak to him very strongly. You can use my name if you like, but I appeal very strongly to you to point out to him what you say in your letter of yesterday: "that the Government ought to agree to bring in *both Bills* at the Autumn Session, accepting the vote of the House of Lords, as a virtual acceptance of the Bill on the Franchise." He forces his followers to do what he likes, against their will, and he is supreme,

so that, if he chooses, he *can* tell them *now*, that it is *for* the very passing of the Bill, which the Liberals wish to have, that he proposes this course to them. Pray try this, and then perhaps you could also speak to Lord Salisbury.

I ask this act of friendship of you, for the sake of our country.

I have purposely delayed my departure till quite early on Monday, and could see you to-morrow afternoon, or Saturday, if you thought it would be useful.

My messenger can wait and take a letter from you to Mr. Gladstone, asking to see him and *Lord Granville* too, before the Cabinet to-morrow.

We must leave no stone unturned to *try* and prevent great agitation in the country.—V. R. & I.

The Duke of Argyll to Queen Victoria.

18th July 1884.

MADAM,—I had a long conversation to-day with Gladstone, but I did *not* use your Majesty's name, as I thought it not expedient to do so; as the letters your Majesty sent to me made it clear that he knew very well your Majesty's opinions. I thought it best to speak from my own point of view; which sincerely is, that the question of Redistribution could *best be settled by him*. I do not think him indisposed to concession, if some device could be arrived at which would not demand from him certain things which he regards as inadmissible.

I then went to Lord Salisbury; but did not find him at home. I saw Lady Salisbury, to whom I spoke strongly on the necessity in the public interests of *not* aiming at forcing a Dissolution. She declared that they did not wish to *force* a Dissolution, provided they had some security as to the kind of Redistribution that is to come.

All depends on *that*—whether any means can be found of giving the Conservatives *some* confidence in a FAIR scheme of Redistribution. In my opinion there ought to be no great difficulty in this; because

my belief is that Mr. Gladstone's general ideas on this head are *not extreme*, but on the contrary are reasonable. I shall continue to do all I can to get some agreement come to on this head.

I am very anxious that your Majesty should not quote anything as coming from me, because it might possibly do harm if I am thought to be *meddling*. I beg your Majesty, therefore, to consider all I say as confidentially addressed to your Majesty alone. . . .

22nd July.—I said a few words in the Lords to-night, showing how *near* the two Parties have come in admissions, and what a scandal to Parliamentary Government it would be if a peaceful settlement were not reached. I showed also how moderate and fair were the *bases* laid down by Mr. Gladstone in his speech on the second reading. The Peers who were present seemed much pleased with my speech.

But such impressions are transient, and I did not get much to hope for in my interview with Lord Salisbury. On the other hand, he seemed sure of extensive support in the country.

I am, your Majesty's faithful and affectionate Subject and Servant, ARGYLL.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

CLAREMONT, 25th July 1884.—The Queen had not intended replying to Mr. Gladstone's letter of the 23rd, but she feels bound to observe upon the language of *defiance* in the speech of one of the Cabinet Ministers,¹ one whom she has long considered as most dangerous in the Cabinet and one to whom she fears Mr. Gladstone is inclined to listen far more than to those who hold moderate opinions. His speech, which Mr. Gladstone *should read*, is most dangerous and tending to stir up class against class in a very reckless manner. Mr. Gladstone in his letter to the Queen says: "he does not think it practicable to

¹ Mr. Chamberlain.

impose on all the Members of the Administration the same degree of restraint as he hopes *and believes the Members of the Cabinet* will endure, *but all that Mr. Gladstone can fairly do* WILL BE DONE *in conformity with the assurances he has given to your Majesty in regard to the present stage of the controversy.*"

Since Mr. Gladstone gave her these assurances (which he did repeatedly), hardly a day passes without some violent contemptuous language used towards the House of Lords, used by people *belonging* to the Administration. Mr. Gladstone must feel that language coming from the son of the Prime Minister *must* be and *will* be considered by the masses as inspired by *his father*.

According to Mr. Gladstone's observations there ought to be a Radical House of Lords (for it is *not* the moderate Liberals, but the *Radicals*, many of whom should be called *Destructives*, who are *supposed* to represent *the people*), as well as the House of Commons, so that any Radical measure should pass ! The Monarchy would be utterly untenable were there *no balance* of power left, *no restraining power* ! The Queen will yield to no one in TRUE LIBERAL FEELING, but not to destructive, and she calls upon Mr. Gladstone to *restrain, as he can*, some of his wild colleagues and followers.

Mr. Gladstone has great power over his Cabinet, and he should exert it for the benefit of peace and not allow agitators or demagogues to mislead the people.

The Duke of Argyll made an excellent speech and Sir R. Cross also a very moderate one.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 25th July 1884.—Mr. Gladstone has the honour humbly to acknowledge your Majesty's letter just received. Your Majesty will readily believe that he has neither time nor eyesight to make himself acquainted by careful perusal with all the speeches of his colleagues, and from such

comments as he had seen on the recent speech of Mr. Chamberlain he judged that it was in conformity with the assurances given to your Majesty. He now does not lose a moment in saying that he will read this speech which your Majesty has been good enough to forward with the utmost attention, and will have the honour subsequently to address to your Majesty what he may have to say upon it.¹ Will your Majesty graciously forgive his observing in the meantime, that so far as he can judge, and certainly so far as his intention is concerned, the Franchise Bill could not rank among measures properly considered Radical, inasmuch as its main enactment is to extend a principle, established by a Conservative Government in the towns and working beneficially there, to the Counties, where the corresponding class of householders are certainly more Conservative than in the towns?

Mr. Gladstone is convinced that the English rural voters, forming the majority of those to be enfranchised, may prove to be "Conservative" even as matters stand, and would unquestionably have so voted but for the strange and (as it seems to him) suicidal resistance offered to the Bill of Enfranchisement.

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

COLONIAL OFFICE, 6th Aug. 1884.—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, submits to your Majesty the decision of the Cabinet held this afternoon, subject to your Majesty's pleasure, to extend a British protectorate over so much of the island of New Guinea as is not claimed by the Dutch.

The reasons for this decision are : the strong and

¹ In a letter to the Queen on the following day, Mr. Gladstone discussed Mr. Chamberlain's speech in detail, and arrived at the conclusion that the only part which could be considered to violate the Cabinet understanding was his statement that "the future prospects" of the House of Lords would now be discussed everywhere. This, however, seemed to Mr. Gladstone to be an "isolated expression, due probably to inadvertence." "Merely the incidental mention of a fact" was Mr. Chamberlain's own explanation, in a letter to Mr. Gladstone.

unanimous wish of the whole Australian population ; the fear entertained lest convict settlements should be formed there ; the encouragement which Prince Bismarck is supposed to be giving to plans of German colonisation ; and lastly the impossibility by any less stringent means of preventing disturbance and lawless acts committed on the natives by adventurers of all countries, who, if not British subjects, are at present not punishable by any jurisdiction.

The responsibility of this act is grave, but Lord Derby does not believe that there is serious danger of the interference of any foreign State, and a large part of the necessary expense will be borne by the colonies ; which is only just, as the thing is done in their interest.

Lord Derby respectfully asks your Majesty's sanction to this decision, which will then immediately be made public.

Queen Victoria to the Earl of Derby.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 8th Aug. 1884.—The Queen acknowledges Lord Derby's letter respecting the course intended to be taken by the Government with respect to New Guinea. It is no doubt a serious step, but she rejoices at it as it will enable us to protect the poor natives and to advance civilisation, which she considers the mission of Great Britain. It is for this reason that the Queen so much deplores the course taken in Zululand, contrary to the repeated earnest advice of the responsible Agent on the spot, who knows the true state of the case and all the difficulties and dangers, whereas the Government, and especially the Cabinet, are utterly ignorant of it. The Queen deeply regrets the decision come to here about South Africa.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 8th Aug. 1884.—Saw a rather unwise letter from Lord Northbrook, not taking the right

view of the dangers from Russia and the Afghan frontier. Also one from Mr. Gladstone about another speech of Mr. Chamberlain's, in which Mr. Gladstone again maintains he could not prevent his colleagues doing such things. I replied with much astonishment that he did not try to control his unruly colleague.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, 10th Aug. 1884.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letter and the draft of the Speech. The latter she thinks unobjectionable and not too long, which she always considers an advantage.

What the Queen meant to convey to Mr. Gladstone was her regret that in his letter to Sir Henry Ponsonby he seemed rather to withdraw from his first promise. In his letter of the 25th July, he said "it was not practicable to impose on *all* members of the Administration the same degree of restraint which he hoped the Cabinet would endure." Immediately after this, Mr. Chamberlain made that speech, which the Queen thought very objectionable, and in Mr. Gladstone's letter of the 26th he says, after having perused it: "The remarks on the future of the House of Lords are *certainly at variance* with the general wish of the Cabinet, and with which Mr. Chamberlain concurred, and with the assurances made to the Queen, and that he would point this out to Mr. Chamberlain, who he felt sure would at once agree it should *not be repeated*."

He sent, two days after, Mr. Chamberlain's "straightforward letter," as Mr. Gladstone termed it, and yet not a week after Mr. Chamberlain *does repeat* it, and she regrets to see Mr. Gladstone's answer to Sir Henry, on his attention being drawn to it, in which he blames the quotations, but says: "But I have *no general jurisdiction* over the speeches of my colleagues, and *no right* to prescribe their tone and colour."

The Queen thinks, and maintains that the Prime

Minister *has* and *ought to have* that power, and that former Prime Ministers did exercise it. The House of Lords may be blamed and attacked, but the more they *are*, the *more* determined they will become; and as it is the Queen's anxious object to *prevent* unnecessary violence and antagonism, which may be excited into most unjust and dangerous hatred of classes, she holds Mr. Gladstone as responsible, if he does not repeatedly remind his colleagues of this danger, and she would wish them to know what her feelings, as above *all*, *all* party strife, are.

The Queen thought that Mr. Gladstone would suffer greatly from coming here and going back again, in this great heat, and as she hears he will be at Invercauld early in September, he could easily come over to see her at Balmoral.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 11th Aug. 1884.—Mr. Gladstone humbly thanks your Majesty for the gracious letter of yesterday.

The point on which he fears that he has failed to express himself clearly to your Majesty is this: he obtained from his colleagues an assurance that they would at this stage of the controversy abstain from raising questions of organic change in the House of Lords, but they entered into no engagement to be silent as to its past and present working.

With regard to the right of the Prime Minister to regulate the expression of opinion by his colleagues, Mr. Gladstone would humbly receive from your Majesty all instruction which your Majesty's lengthened experience may provide.

Your Majesty is well aware that there is no code or record from which he may learn the powers of his office in such matters, and he has formed his estimate simply according to such knowledge as he has gathered under the heads of the Cabinets in which he has served. As he would be sorry to exaggerate the rights appertaining to his office, so he would deem

it a serious offence knowingly to allow any of them to fall into abeyance.

He does not doubt that there are many cases in which the Prime Minister can interfere, both as to acts and language : for instance cases which affect duty to the Crown, or cases where a Minister undertakes to commit his colleagues. But the present instance appeared to him to raise two questions only, exaggeration in an historical statement being one, and goodness or badness of taste the other. . . .

The Marquis of Hartington to Queen Victoria.

WAR OFFICE, 23rd Aug. 1884.—Lord Hartington presents his humble duty to your Majesty and begs to submit to your Majesty that the telegrams recently received from Sir F. Stephenson¹ have caused him considerable anxiety. It appears to Lord Hartington that the plan of operations which has been decided on here, in the event of its becoming necessary to send an expedition for the relief of General Gordon, is imperfectly understood in Egypt, and that, so far as it is understood, great doubts are entertained of its practicability. This plan has been adopted on the advice of Lord Wolseley, and of other officers who took part in the Red River expedition in 1870, who feel confident that the difficulties of the Nile navigation in boats of small size suitably constructed and fitted are less than those which were then successfully encountered, and the preparations which are now in progress are mainly based upon it. Lord Hartington feels that there is considerable risk of failure if the conduct of this operation and of these preparations is entrusted to officers who have little faith in their practicability ; and that it is scarcely fair either to those officers who have advised him, or to those whose duty it will be to execute the plans in Egypt, that it should be so entrusted. Lord Hartington therefore proposes to ask Lord Wolseley

¹ Who was in command of the British troops in Egypt.

temporarily to assume the command of the troops in Egypt, not necessarily of an expedition if it should be despatched, but to direct and superintend the preparations and the organisation of the force.

In Lord Hartington's opinion there would be this additional advantage in this measure; that he has been in very confidential communication with Lord Wolseley for some time past upon this subject, that this officer is very fully acquainted with the views of your Majesty's Government and the extreme unwillingness which they would feel in despatching an expedition except in case of absolute necessity, although they consider it now necessary to make such preparations as will place them in a position to undertake it without further delay.

Lord Hartington therefore feels that he could rely with much confidence on Lord Wolseley's complete co-operation with Lord Northbrook¹ and the Government on what may be considered the political side of any questions which may arise.

Lord Hartington would propose, if your Majesty approves of this appointment, to communicate it to Sir F. Stephenson in the manner least likely to wound that officer's feelings. Sir F. Stephenson has most ably discharged very difficult duties in Egypt, and he has only done his duty in pointing out the objections which he sees to the plan which has been adopted. Lord Hartington proposes to express a hope that Sir F. Stephenson will remain in Egypt, but if he should be unwilling to do so, he would suggest that he should temporarily undertake the duties of the Adjutant-General during Lord Wolseley's absence.

H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge is out of town and Lord Hartington has not therefore been able to consult him before writing to your Majesty, as time presses, but he is writing to H.R.H. on the subject to-day.

¹ Who had been sent to Egypt with a temporary commission as High Commissioner.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 25th Aug. 1884.—Terribly shocked, though unfortunately not unprepared, to hear by a telegram (which Dr. Reid brought), that good excellent Lord Ampthill had died! Another of the bright useful lives gone, another who was a great help to me and mine. Verily God's hand is heavy on us and "His ways are not our ways." Am greatly distressed and know what this will be to my poor dear Vicky. Soon after she arrived, while I was resting, saying she had lost her dearest friend, who was ever so kind and true to her, whose house was the only one she could go to for help and comfort. And poor dear Emily, she loses everything, they were so devoted to one another, and he used to do everything in the world for her.

Queen Victoria to Lady Ampthill.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 26th August 1884.

DEAREST EMILY,—Oh! that I could fly to you and fold you in my arms and weep with you! Could I but tell you verbally *how* I feel for you! Words seem all too weak and poor to express all I feel!

I *know* what you suffer, for I know what you have lost, and what we all have lost. Next to yourself and your children perhaps *none* have *lost* so much as my poor eldest child, who is in the deepest distress! You and dear "Odo" have been her greatest comfort and support, and you have both been so kind to her that we know not what she will do!

But we must not think of ourselves but of *you*, poor dear Emily, who have been so rarely blessed in such a husband! who was as good as he was gifted!

The nation and I—and *Europe*, not to speak of Germany—have lost *one* who cannot be replaced.

God bless and support you, dearest Emily; let *someone* write how you are and give me some details. Ever yours most affectionately and sympathisingly,
V. R. & I.

Beatrice wishes her warmest sympathy and truest regret to be expressed.

Mr. Gladstone to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

HAWARDEN, 25th August 1884.

MY DEAR SIR H. PONSONBY,—I send the queries and propositions, longer than I could wish, but still less than a fourth of the original “Secret” paper.¹ I have left out everything that relates in any manner to myself personally.²

As to any touches beyond the limits of the paper now enclosed, her Majesty’s discretion will be a perfect guide.

I may be biased, but it seems to me clear, almost glaring, that the further stoppage of the Franchise Bill involves a great Constitutional hazard; with regard to which loyalty, patriotism, and selfishness alike make me desire to clear my conscience.

To your question, why not join Franchise with Redistribution, my reply will be best given in Midlothian. Believe me, sincerely yours, W. E. GLADSTONE.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

OSBORNE, 26th Aug. 1884.—The Queen sends Mr. Gladstone’s Memorandum and must say she is greatly struck by the fairness and impartiality of it, and thinks everything *possible* ought to be done to avert the dangers which Mr. Gladstone apprehends. He may overrate them and the Opposition *vice versa*.

Sir Henry should, she thinks, read it in strictest confidence to Mr. Goschen, without *giving it him* to read; and [she] would like to *have* his opinion on it and on what can be done.

¹ An elaborate memorandum, on the political situation, submitted by Mr. Gladstone to the Queen.

² The final paragraph of Mr. Gladstone’s memorandum was as follows: “Yet I may say in conclusion that there is no personal act, if it be compatible with personal honour, and likely to conduce to an aim which I hold very dear, that I would not gladly do for the purpose of helping to close the present controversy, and in closing it to prevent the growth of one probably more complex and more formidable.”

*Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Hartington.**[Cypher Telegram.]*

26th Aug. 1884.—While having every confidence in Lord Wolseley I am decidedly opposed to the practice of sending out the Adjutant-General to a distant command. Under the circumstances, however, I will not withhold my consent to his appointment; but think, if his absence should be prolonged, he ought to resign his office at the Horse Guards. Let the Duke of Cambridge see this.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

WALMER, 29th Aug. 1884.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He received a letter from Count Münster on Wednesday evening, deploring the loss of Lord Ampthill, and deprecating the appointment of Sir R. Morier as his successor.¹ Count de Plessen came here yesterday with a telegraphic message from Prince Bismarck to the same effect. Lord Granville pointed out that Sir R. Morier, from his cleverness, his knowledge of German, and of Germany, and the friends he had at Berlin, was one of the obvious candidates, but that it was not for the interest of this country, independent of the desire to meet the Chancellor's wishes, that your Majesty's representative should not have the confidence of Prince Bismarck. . . .

The German Crown Princess to Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE COTTAGE, 30th August 1884.

MY BELOVED MAMA,—I feel I have not *half* thanked you for the *charming* stay you allowed us to have in this sweet, peaceful little cottage which I love so much! It was indeed delightful in every way, and I know not how to express all my gratitude, also for letting my little people stay here while I am away. I shall feel they are so safe, and well cared for.

¹ The Prince of Wales had suggested this appointment in a letter to the Queen on 28th August.

The *more* I think of Berlin, and poor dear Lord Odo's successor, the more I fear that amongst the diplomatists the *right* person *does* not seem to be at *present* forthcoming. The next *few* years are the most important; later, who could be better than Morier; but just now I really *only* see two *men*, the one, Lord Acton,¹ and the other, Lord Arthur Russell²! *Whether* Lord Granville *could* do it, *whether they* would be willing, are questions of course I know nothing about.

My opinion you must take at what it is worth, but it is the only conclusion I can come to, after long reflection, and I sadly fear it will be disagreeable to poor Lord Granville, who is already so much worried and troubled.

Good-bye dearest, beloved Mama, I wish I could put all the love and gratitude I feel into these few lines. Kissing your dear hand, I remain, ever your most devoted and dutiful daughter, VICTORIA.

Lord Arthur has some diplomatic training, as he was the secretary of his uncle Lord John.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

WALMER CASTLE, 31st Aug. 1884.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He is extremely obliged for your Majesty's letter, and is very glad to find, although he did not doubt it, the attention the Crown Princess is paying to the subject.

Lord Lyons is here, and Lord Granville discussed confidentially with him the question of Berlin. He hesitates to give a positive opinion on so difficult a choice, but Lord Granville was glad to find that there was a general concurrence of opinion as to principles and persons between them.

Lord Lyons says that the Corps Diplomatique acquiesced in the appointment of Lord Ampthill,

¹ The learned historical scholar.

² Elder brother of Lord Ampthill, M.P. for Tavistock, 1857–1885 from 1849 to 1854 private secretary to his uncle Lord John Russell.

although it was over the heads of many of his seniors, because of his personal qualities, and of his successful experiences in the United States, Rome, and the Foreign Office.

They did the same with regard to men of European reputation such as Lord Dufferin and Mr. Goschen. But they would consider it an insult to the profession, if they were all suspended in favour of men who, however cultivated, have neglected, up to middle age, to show their aptitude for public business either in Parliament or in office. . . .

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Mr. Gladstone.

OSBORNE, 31st Aug. 1884.—The Queen has read your abbreviated Memo.—which she likes very much. And has desired me to make a shorter abstract of your arguments, without any reference to your name, that she may quote from if necessary.

Private, 1st Sept.—When the Queen remarked on the possible serious crisis that you indicated might arise if the Franchise Bill did not pass through the House of Lords in the autumn, her Majesty seemed inclined to take some steps for ascertaining the opinions of the leaders of the Opposition with a view to attempting [to get] them to modify their expressed determination on the subject.

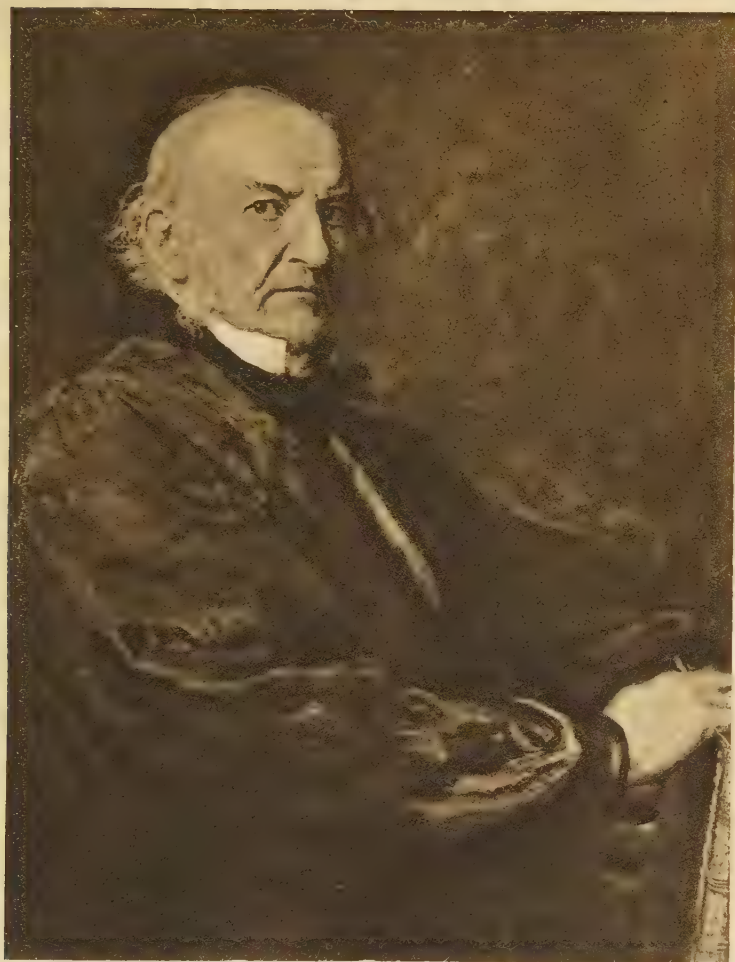
But in discussing this point the Queen asked me if the Government would make any concession, and if so, what the nature of such concession would be.

Mr. Gladstone to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

DALMENY, 2nd September 1884.

MY DEAR SIR H. PONSONBY,—I thank you much for your letters, and I do hope that I have kept my line at Edinburgh: where my work is now done except a short and rather bellowing speech that I must make to-night in the vast Waverley Hall at Edinburgh.

There is, however, the point relating to the



The Rt Hon. W. E. Gladstone
1885

*From a picture by Sir John Millais, P.R.A.
at Christ Church, Oxford.*



feeling or non-feeling of the people for organic reform in the House of Lords, on which I hope to draw my line with entire clearness.

I have nowhere assumed that the nation has made up its mind to this organic change. I have even expressed the opinion that it is still possible to prevent the Liberal Party as a whole from adopting this article into its creed. And further, I have supposed, for the sake of argument, that the Tories think, and are right in thinking, that the nation is with them.

It is after all these assumptions that I come to the points which I think to be indisputable—namely :

1. That after another rejection of the Bill we cannot prevent the Liberal Party from taking this article into its creed.

2. That the articles so taken have uniformly, one after another, with more struggle or less as the case might be, found their way to the Statute Book.

3. That therefore according to the laws of *probability*, the only guide we can have to the future, a second rejection of the Franchise Bill (unless followed as in 1832 by an instant settlement), will *mean* organic change in the House of Lords.

We go to Invercauld to-morrow. Yours sincerely,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

I hope there are good accounts of the young Duke of Albany.¹

Upon the question of further concessions I may say generally that after so many bids we can bid no more without encouragement. All such bidding is really bidding *down* the value of your own article.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 6th Sept. 1884.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. Lord Lansdowne was the first person of whom Lord Granville thought. He would be excellent. But Lords

¹ Born posthumously, 19th July 1884.

Derby and Kimberley thought, Mr. Gladstone concurring, that the Canadians would be affronted at so early a removal.

Lord Granville does not know whether Lord Lansdowne would like it. He doubts whether Lord Rosebery would accept Canada.

Lord Granville would be glad if the choice should be made in the diplomatic body—and the three names which combine the most advantages with the least disadvantage seem to him to be Sir J. S. Lumley, Sir H. Elliot, and Sir E. Malet. Of these the last is the most promising. He was much liked, and did very well, at Versailles during the war. He behaved pluckily and judiciously at Paris as *Chargé d’Affaires* during the Commune. In Egypt he had more influence, and was more popular, than anyone else, though the strain injured his health for a time. He has tact, is very fond of Germany, where he passed his youth. Lord Granville is almost sure that he would suit the Crown Princess. He was welcomed by Prince Bismarck as the son of his old friend Lady Malet.

He has gained the affections of the daughter of the Duke of Bedford, but not yet the consent of the Duke. Such a marriage would add to his position, and to his means, and would be a resource to the Crown Princess. It is the daughter who likes society. This marriage, or rather hope of a marriage, ought to be kept an absolute secret, as any premature announcement of it might be fatal with the Duke. Otherwise it is difficult to doubt his acquiescence in the wishes of a lady of 28 years old, with regard to a man of character, and who has done much successfully in his career.

Sir H. Elliot declared, when offered Rome, that he would not re-enter the profession. It is early to remove Sir J. S. Lumley from an important Embassy, to which he has been so recently appointed. Sir E. Malet’s knowledge of Egypt would be useful at Berlin at the present juncture.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 8th Sept. 1884.—Had some conversation with [Mr. Gladstone]. He said he had tried to be very moderate (I do not consider in the right way) but that the cry was for the reverse. That there was a very strong feeling in the country. Whilst in the first Reform Bill the enactment had hardly touched the people, now it did, and they would resent a second refusal very deeply, and he feared it might cause many disorders. They were prepared to bring in a Redistribution Bill as soon as possible. Mr. Gladstone said he was positively informed, the feeling of the people against the House of Lords was increasing. This I consider entirely owing to the speeches of the Ministers, including Mr. Gladstone, who had pointed out to the people how wrong the House of Lords was, which I consider a great mistake. I offered again to try and bring about a compromise, and said that I meant to see the Duke of Richmond shortly, which Mr. Gladstone seemed to like, saying that he was most anxious not to have a contest, or a bad feeling between the two Houses. Speaking of Ireland and the necessity of renewing the strong Peace Preservation Act, he hoped a milder one might be brought in. He never will see how wrong such a policy is.

14th Sept.—Saw the Duke of Richmond and talked with him of the serious state of affairs, which Mr. Gladstone had said was very alarming. The Duke does not think it is so. The meetings and agitation had been “got up to order,” which I am inclined to believe is the case. The fear, however, is that all these dreadful speeches will excite the minds of the public. The Duke is a little nervous about Lord Salisbury, who is rather impulsive, and Mr. Gladstone, who is too imprudent. The Duke is ready to try and do what he can, and later sent me a Mem. asking if it would not be possible to insert a clause in the Franchise Bill, by which it would come into

operation at the same time as the Redistribution Bill.¹ If not, he thinks the Lords will again reject the Franchise Bill, in which case they think an appeal should be made to the country. It would never do to have a Dissolution, after the Franchise, and before the Redistribution Bill. The Duke asked to be allowed to communicate with Lord Cairns. Lord Salisbury, he felt sure, would do as they wished.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

WALMER CASTLE, 15th Sept. 1884.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. The appointment of Sir E. Malet would be most agreeable to the Emperor.

The former arrived here yesterday. He was acquainted, but not intimately, with Lord Ampthill. He used to speak German as well as French (which he speaks very well, with possibly a slight German accent). He believes that a very short time in Germany will rub off the rust which has accumulated. He is much surprised and pleased with your Majesty's appointment. He is modest about his own qualifications, but talks with good sense of the position he ought to occupy as the English Ambassador.

He is perplexed about his matrimonial prospects ; the only answer he got from the Duke was that he was flattered at the communication, which had taken him completely by surprise, and to which he could give no answer till October, if then. Sir E. Malet has written a very good letter to the Duke this morning announcing to him his appointment in very fitting terms, and adding that he understands from Lord Granville that he will be required to go almost immediately to Berlin. He goes back to Brussels tomorrow, and will be at Balmoral on Friday. He has been told by Lord Granville that your Majesty has been quite confidentially informed of his attachment. . . .

¹ Mr. Gladstone, on being consulted by Sir Henry Ponsonby on the Queen's behalf, said that this proposal was "simply a request that the Government should abandon all they had striven for."

Mr. Gladstone writes delighted with your Majesty's kindness to him at Balmoral.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

BALMORAL CASTLE, 16th Sept. 1884.—. . . Sir Henry must write somewhat strongly to Mr. Gladstone. He makes great shows of alarm and anxiety, but goes on agitating by his *constant* speeches at every station, without which the country *would not* be *excited*.

He must be quiet now, and he *must* be ready also to meet any proposal in a conciliatory spirit. But this she fears is not in him.

The Queen is *utterly* disgusted with his *stump* oratory—so unworthy of his position—almost under her very nose.¹

The Duke of Richmond to Queen Victoria.

GORDON CASTLE, FOCHABERS, N.B., 20th Sept. 1884.—The Duke of Richmond and Gordon with his humble duty to your Majesty. The Duke communicated to Lord Cairns the substance of the conversation the Duke had the honour of having with your Majesty, and also the Memorandum the Duke received from Sir Henry Ponsonby.

The Duke entirely concurs in all that Lord Cairns says in his letter.²

¹ "Even at Ballater," which is within a few miles of Balmoral, wrote the Queen next day in her Journal; "I think it very unbecoming for the Prime Minister."

² Lord Cairns, in his letter dated the 19th September, wrote that, when there comes a disagreement between the two branches of the legislature, he would always be very glad to see it settled by a compromise, but the compromise must be really a compromise, not a surrender. The only modes of compromise which seemed to him to be open were (1) to provide in the Franchise Bill that it should come into effect on a day to be named in the Redistribution Bill, (2) to provide in the Franchise Bill that it should come into effect on the 1st January 1886, unless the Redistribution was passed sooner. But the Government could hardly, after what they had said and done, accept either of these proposals. He therefore suggested (3) that the House of Lords should read the Franchise Bill a second time and then pass a resolution "that H.M. Government having undertaken to introduce and use their

The Duke would venture to remind your Majesty that the one thing the Conservative Party contend for is that a General Election should not take place under the new Franchise without a Redistribution Bill having been passed.

The pledge of the Government to endeavour to pass such a measure would not be sufficient.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Hartington.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL, 22nd Sept. 1884.—Although the Queen scarcely understands the object for which reinforcements to Egypt are being prepared, she will sanction the creation of the Camel Corps which the Government have decided on forming by detachments taken from 26 different regiments and battalions.

As her own Life Guards, Horse Guards, and Foot Guards are among those selected, the Queen's permission ought to have been specially asked before the Government announced their decision.

The Queen believed that the system of breaking up regiments had been condemned as unsound, and she would therefore be glad to learn the reasons for reverting to this principle. And whether, if further reinforcements are called for, the regiments at home can furnish the men for service and at the same time maintain their efficiency for duty.

The Queen would be seriously alarmed if any doubt existed on this question and is very anxious to learn if Lord Hartington is satisfied with the condition of the Army, and whether he considers it prepared to meet the demands that may be made upon it at home and in the Colonies. . . .

The Marquis of Hartington to Queen Victoria.

WAR OFFICE, 24th Sept. 1884.—Lord Hartington presents his humble duty to your Majesty and has best endeavours to pass a Redistribution Bill, this House will go into Committee on this (Franchise) Bill as soon as the Redistribution Bill shall have come up to this House."

received your Majesty's gracious letter of the 22nd inst.

Lord Wolseley has explained very clearly, in a despatch dated the 11th inst., the reasons which had induced him, with the concurrence of Lord Northbrook, to ask that certain reinforcements should be at once sent to Egypt. A copy of this despatch will be forwarded to your Majesty. The substance of this despatch had previously been telegraphed by Lord Wolseley and preparations for complying with his requests had been commenced in anticipation of its receipt.

Lord Hartington has endeavoured to explain in a letter to Sir H. Ponsonby the reasons why your Majesty was not kept so fully informed as should have been done, of the preparations which were being made, and why your Majesty's special permission had not been obtained before detachments of the Household troops were placed under orders to form part of the Camel Corps to be organised. At a time when the Members of the Government and H.R.H.¹ are so widely separated in different parts of the country, and when the necessary communications occupy a considerable time, it is difficult to arrange that every step should be taken exactly in its proper order, as would be the case under different circumstances. Nor was Lord Hartington aware of the exact practice relating to the Household troops, the submission respecting which should, it appears, have been made to your Majesty by H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge.

The practice which Lord Hartington believes has been condemned as unsound was that of breaking up regiments or battalions for the purpose of raising others about to proceed on foreign service to the necessary strength. The same objections do not appear to apply to forming a special Corps by small drafts under their own officers from regiments at home which are not likely to be immediately required for active service. There was indeed no other way

¹ The Duke of Cambridge, the Commander-in-Chief.

in which the Cavalry at home, many regiments of which are over their establishment, could be utilised on the present occasion.

Lord Hartington does not consider that it would be easy for the Infantry at home to supply further reinforcements if required for Egypt or other service, unless the Guards were employed. Whether any portion of the Reserves should be called out on account of the state of affairs in Egypt is a question which must be considered by the Cabinet when it reassembles, and which will depend to some extent on the news which may shortly be received from the Soudan. Lord Hartington considers, however, that the existence of this body of men, which could be called out at very short notice and which would raise the home battalions to any required degree of efficiency, ought to prevent any serious anxiety on account of the state of the Army.

*Mr. Gladstone to Sir Henry Ponsonby.*¹

Private.

DALMENY, 25th September 1884.

MY DEAR SIR H. PONSONBY,—I cannot answer your letter briefly, and yet I fear it will be answered insufficiently, for it opens many considerations.

Let me begin by making these preliminary remarks. That I write at the first moment, and for myself alone. That I will cheerfully summon the Cabinet for the consideration of any proposal on which the Queen may have any desire that they should be consulted. That the question what arrangement the Government can adopt and become responsible for is not precisely the same with the question what they might accept in a Parliamentary crisis; though I cannot define the amount of difference between them, which might according to

¹ Sir Henry Ponsonby had passed on Lord Cairns's suggestions, without mentioning whence they came, to Mr. Gladstone, adding that the Queen was cognisant of all his (Sir Henry's) correspondence on the subject and earnestly hoped Mr. Gladstone would see some means of accepting one of the proposals.

circumstances be considerable or insignificant or none at all. . . .¹

I should be sorry, however, that this letter should be negative only. I will try to make it indicative. In my personal opinion, these proposals are, as I may say, on the wrong lines.

I consider that the difficulties of the question of Redistribution, the varieties of opinion on some of the points in the Liberal ranks, and the existence of two Oppositions, which, except on the Franchise, have commonly voted together, amply ensure to the Tory Opposition the fullest fair play on this subject, whatever unfairness of intention may be imputed by accusers to the Administration.

I do not, however, desire to view the matter in the light of what they are entitled to ask, but of what it is practicable for us to concede, without putting to hazard the whole of a great undertaking, and betraying our trust.

It has always appeared to me plain that, if the Opposition do really and unconditionally desire the settlement of the whole question in the present Parliament, their course plainly is to demand from us clearer specifications and more binding pledges in regard to the *principles* of Redistribution. *What, in this respect, do they want?* I have honestly tried to learn, and have totally failed. Does not Lord Salisbury seem even to fondle a little the numerical principle, which we have rather eschewed, and sought also to attract them by eschewing? This is the first question. Why should they not reply? It would then appear whether we were tolerably agreed. I admit there are some things which they are justified in anxiously striving to secure. But these things present in my eyes no insurmountable difficulty.

So much for the substance. Then as to the form. They may say they cannot rely on what my colleagues

¹ Mr. Gladstone then states, at considerable length his objections to the proposals suggested by Sir Henry Ponsonby.

and I have said about Redistribution. Our pledges, conveyed in speeches, are not sufficiently clear, stringent, binding. There are, I reply, not only different stages of Bills, but different forms of proceeding in Parliament, devised to ease and help the work of legislation. When we know what the Opposition want and we can agree to, why should we not then consider the best form of securing it ?

I have now, I think, said enough to show that my humour is not one of negation. I know that I move, in every step of a correspondence like this, with considerable risks. But it is pre-eminently my duty to look at both sides of the question : and I have here been looking at one of them. I must now say a word on the other. Since I saw you last, I have had pretty large means of judgment as to the popular sense, and I could give you many details of evidence. The upshot is, that, in my firm conviction, the question really (I do not now say immediately) depending is, not whether the enlarged representation of the people shall be settled, but whether we can exclude from the arena of political conflict the organic reformation of the House of Lords. I answer for nothing, after the next rejection. Dissolution thereupon, or no dissolution, makes, I think, only this difference ; that the first of these alternatives precipitates the issue, for it would be a dissolution on the reform of both Houses, and yet more of the Lords than of the Commons. Believe me, sincerely yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

WALMER CASTLE, 26th Sept. 1884.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He is much pleased at hearing of the favourable impression which Sir E. Malet has made upon your Majesty. He ventures to think that your Majesty's description of him is very accurate. Sir Edward is delighted with all your Majesty's kindness. Lord Derby tells Lord Granville confidentially that it is

all right about his marriage, but that the Duke, having mentioned October, is not likely to anticipate the date of the consent. He believes that the Duke will behave as he did to Lord Ampthill, very liberally but keeping everything in his own power.

Lord Granville has confidentially conveyed to Mr. Gladstone your Majesty's regret at his agitation of Scotland, accompanying the communication with your Majesty's kind words about his visit to Balmoral. Lord Granville thinks it is not Mr. Gladstone, but others who encourage the reporters.

In judging of his speeches, it must be remembered, that the Conservative leaders began stumping the country, and making violent speeches; that Lord Salisbury taunted the Government with there being no enthusiasm in the country for the Bill, and there is the great difficulty of resisting the immense pressure put on Mr. Gladstone. Your Majesty would hardly believe the almost daily appeals made to himself to attend meetings and make speeches, which he receives probably in common with all his colleagues. It is much easier to refuse all than to attempt to discriminate.

The Duke of Richmond to Queen Victoria.

GORDON CASTLE, FOCHABERS, N.B., 27th Sept. 1884.—The Duke of Richmond and Gordon with his humble duty to your Majesty.

The Duke expects Lord Salisbury to pay him a visit here on Tuesday, October 7th. The Duke would be glad to know if your Majesty would approve of the Duke telling Lord Salisbury the audience the Duke had the honour of having with your Majesty at Balmoral, and the views your Majesty was pleased to express on that occasion.

The Duke does not intend to mention that Lord Salisbury is coming to Gordon Castle, as he wishes to avoid any application from Conservative associations in this neighbourhood that Lord Salisbury should address them.

Queen Victoria to the Duke of Richmond.

[Copy.]

Confidential.

BALMORAL CASTLE, 28th Sept. 1884.—The Queen thanks the Duke of Richmond and Gordon for his kind letter just received : as well as for the previous one. She rejoices to hear that Lord Salisbury is coming to him, and equally that he means to keep it quiet, and prevent his being asked to speak. If only the same had been done by other people, the deplorable speeches lately made in every direction with a lamentable want of dignity would not have taken place.

Pray impress upon Lord Salisbury the necessity of looking to the future, beyond party, and to resist the temptation of answering ill-judged speeches. And to remember what dangers there are of matters becoming much worse if the *conflict* is envenomed and *brought* to a serious issue, the result of which may not be what he expects. The great object must be to maintain the important position of the House of Lords unimpaired, which might be endangered by exciting a serious conflict. The Duke of Richmond will, she hopes, have received Sir Henry Ponsonby's letter. The Queen feels sure that the Duke will do all he can to further her views. She is doing all *she* can with the Government in a similar sense.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 2nd Oct. 1884.—Saw Lord Hartington, and spoke to him of Egypt and Gen. Gordon, who he thinks will come out safely, and then of the terrible deadlock about the Franchise Bill, which I said ought to be got over. He thinks Lord Salisbury's speeches were not very promising, and Mr. Gladstone's were very unwise. As to the Redistribution Bill, he thinks there is really very little difference between the Government and the Opposition, only that Lord Salisbury appeared to have a much larger scheme.

Queen Victoria to the Duke of Argyll.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 7th October 1884.

DEAR DUKE,—I thank you very much for your kind letters and was very glad to hear from you. . . . I do wish that there was some patriotism instead of "Party," "Party," in all this painful agitation. I am now in confidential communication with the Duke of Richmond, and through *him* with the others, as to some sort of compromise which Mr. Gladstone says he is anxious to effect; but his foolish (for I must call them so), imprudent, and most undignified speeches have made it most difficult. From the *very* first, I asked *him not* to attack the House of Lords, and to prevent others from doing so, but all in vain; he promised he would, and immediately these imprudent speeches began; I had a correspondence with him, in which I expressed my opinion very strongly, and he—though not *as* I should have wished—admitted that the promise had not been properly kept. This was before his own really indecorous proceedings and unwise speeches in Scotland. I have heard from *impartial* people that the agitation was greatly "*got up*"; if people are told how ill the House of Lords have behaved, of course they believe it. And this taunting and misrepresenting by Members of the Government of course *enrages* the people like Lord Salisbury.

Mr. Gladstone was plausible and amiable when *here*; but as soon as he got amongst his foolish adorers, all was forgotten; and he *also* spoke, in a letter in answer to communications on the subject of a compromise, of "breaking up the party!" Party will ruin the country.

I long for the moderates of both sides to form a third party which would be a check to both the others and prevent this mischief the violent are making! This might eventually lead to the formation of a third Party in the House of Lords, and is what Mr. Goschen was very eager for, under possibly

your Leadership. He spoke very strongly to me of this, when I saw him six weeks ago at Osborne. We must save the country and the Constitution. I look very much to your help. You will feel for me, who am greatly, I think, to be pitied. I cannot do the good I wish, or prevent the evil I see. The Government altogether don't behave loyally to me.

I was a good deal disappointed with Lord Hartington too. . . .—V. R. & I.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 9th Oct. 1884.—Mr. Gladstone wrote yesterday that the Cabinet thought the tone of the Opposition most unfavourable to an agreement, and I wrote to him to-day, calling his attention to a speech of Mr. Chamberlain's, and saying it was impossible for the Government to expect any success in an arrangement being come to, if a Cabinet Minister held such language.

10th Oct.—Heard from Mr. Gladstone, defending Mr. Chamberlain's speech, and attacking the Tory leaders. Had also a letter from the Duke of Richmond, saying Lord Salisbury and Lord Cairns had met at Gordon Castle. They were in no way opposed to a compromise, which they hoped might be come to, on the basis of a speech of Lord Hartington's.¹ The Duke enclosed a Mem. by Lord Salisbury, in which he says he agrees with Lord Cairns's letter of Sept. 19. They contend that a Redistribution Bill is necessary to make the Franchise Bill equitable, when that measure shall come into operation. Lord

¹ "If Lord Salisbury had said that, upon seeing our Redistribution Bill and satisfying themselves that it was founded upon fair principles, that it was intended to secure a fair representation, irrespective of party, to the whole population, whether town or country . . . and, without pledging themselves to every detail, that it was one which could be made the basis of a settlement, they would proceed to take up and dispose of the Franchise Bill and then join with us in the consideration of the Redistribution Bill, relying on the good faith of Ministers and upon the good sense of Parliament, there would . . . have been some of the elements of a compromise."—Lord Hartington at Rawtenstall on 4th October.

Salisbury does not think the present agitation dangerous, but artificial; he wishes for a compromise, but fears it is impossible, on account of Mr. Gladstone's attitude and speeches. I cyphered to Lord Hartington, asking him if he could not meet Lord Salisbury, and to Mr. Gladstone to inform him of Lord Salisbury's Mem. I also wrote to the Duke of Richmond, telling him what I had done, and said that Mr. Gladstone, with whom I had remonstrated, thought himself very moderate.

*Sir Henry Ponsonby to Mr. Thomas Sanderson.*¹

[Copy.]

10th October 1884.

MY DEAR SANDERSON,—The Queen observes that draft despatches are often sent here the contents of which imply that immediate action is contemplated, but as no request accompanies them asking for the Queen's approval by telegraph her Majesty supposes that the urgent nature is such as can wait till the box returns from Balmoral, or that the despatch is sent before her approval.

Earl Granville to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 12th October 1884.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—I am assured that the usual practice has been generally adhered to, and I will give orders that it should be observed, but I trust that a certain discretion may be used, such as the Queen has hitherto allowed, and which is sometimes necessary when the Queen is far from London. Some despatches are records of conversation, which cannot be corrected, though they might of course be disavowed, as not approved of by her Majesty or by the Cabinet.

There are other cases such as when, from indiscretion at Cairo, the Egyptian decree for the suspension of the Sinking Fund was announced in the morning papers.

¹ Then private secretary to Lord Granville, afterwards (as Sir Thomas Sanderson) Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and on his retirement created Lord Sanderson.

It made an important difference that the announcement to the Powers should be at the earliest date.

The acceptance of the West African Conference at Berlin, in principle, subject to further explanations, was most unlikely to be disapproved by her Majesty, and sending it at once enabled us to answer before we got any communication from the French.

In nearly all cases, the answer by the Queen per messenger is in time, a telegraphic objection would almost always be in time, but I quite admit the justice of her Majesty's comments, if a certain amount of elasticity is allowed. Yours sincerely, GRANVILLE.

Sir Henry Ponsonby's Note :

Her Majesty wishes that, in cases where special haste is necessary, the despatches should be accompanied by a Memo. or note asking for a telegraphic reply.—H. P.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HAWARDEN CASTLE, 13th Oct. 1884.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty offers his grateful thanks to your Majesty for all the well-timed efforts your Majesty has graciously made to bring about an accommodation on the question of Parliamentary representation, and thus to avert a great public mischief and a fierce controversy.

Mr. Gladstone cannot feel sanguine as to obtaining any concession from the leaders, but he is very glad that Lord Hartington should try, as Lord Salisbury appears to be of opinion that the present difficulties would have been avoided, had the chief management of affairs been in the hands of Lord Hartington. . . .

The Marquis of Hartington to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

CHATSWORTH, CHESTERFIELD, 13th October 1884.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—I received your letter of the 11th this morning : but I do not think that I can add anything to what I wrote on Saturday. I do not understand from your letter that the leaders

of the Opposition have shown any inclination to accept the suggestion¹ in my speech of the 4th as a settlement, and indeed Lord Salisbury appears in his speech at Acton to have distinctly repudiated it.

So long as they continue to insist on their original contention that the Franchise Bill is not to become law without Redistribution, I fear that there is no use in discussing the possibility of a settlement. And as Lord Salisbury has distinctly rejected my suggestion, it would be impossible for me to propose to discuss it further with him. If anything is to be done, it will have to come, I think, not from the leaders but from the Party. Yours sincerely, HARTINGTON.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[Copy.]

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 17th October 1884.

DEAR LORD SALISBURY,—I received your telegram on my arrival in London, and in accordance with your suggestion I write the substance of the communication which I was commanded by the Queen to convey to you. Her Majesty observed in your Memorandum enclosed by the Duke of Richmond that you thought it possible some agreement might be arrived at, if you had to deal with Lord Hartington. The Queen asks if you think this might be facilitated by your meeting Lord Hartington, and if so whether you could suggest to her any basis on which the discussion might take place.

The Queen is sincerely desirous of doing her utmost to bring about an understanding on the question at issue which she cannot but believe is capable of being satisfactorily arranged. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

CUMLODEN, NEWTON STEWART, N.B., 20th October 1884.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,—I wish I saw in the condition of public affairs any ground for giving to the

¹ See above, p. 548.

Queen's question such an answer as I should like to be able to give.

First let me say that there is a slight, but material, variation in the words you quote from my memorandum of October 9. My words were, "If we had to deal with Lord Hartington *alone*, I believe we should obtain a friendly issue to the present difficulty." I must lay stress on the word "*alone*." I do not feel any confidence that a conference with Lord Hartington would lead to a useful result, so long as he is compelled to conform his view to those of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chamberlain. This view is confirmed by a letter from Lord Hartington's secretary, which I saw just before coming here. The secretary wrote to Mr. Balfour, my nephew, intimating that Lord Hartington had seen my memorandum, that he did not feel disposed, at the point to which the discussion had reached, to make any proposition, but that he expected me to do so. I wish I saw my way to any that would satisfy the Government: but the speeches of Mr. Chamberlain, Sir W. Harcourt, and Lord Hartington himself (since Rawtenstall) seem to place the controversy on a ground from which issue is difficult. They insist that the House of Lords has no right to say that it will not pass the Franchise Bill till a Redistribution Bill accompanies it: and they do so on the ground that the Franchise Bill has been sanctioned by a large majority of the House of Commons, and by certain popular demonstrations. This doctrine, if accepted, would reduce the House of Lords to impotence. A Minister always commands a majority in the House of Commons, and he can always get up demonstrations. The House of Lords, therefore, never could accept this doctrine. But unless they accept it by retracting their resolution of last July, and passing the Franchise Bill alone, the Ministry will not be satisfied.

There is little hope of discovering any middle term which will, at the present moment, reconcile divergences so large as these. It would seem that

the best course is to wait. I think that, as business develops itself in the House of Commons, the conviction will force itself on the public, and through them upon the Ministry, that it *is* possible to pass both bills in a single Session, if the Redistribution be reasonably fair. If so, the question will solve itself naturally. If not, the lapse of a very brief interval of time must bring us to a dissolution, even if her Majesty does not exercise her prerogative immediately: and when a dissolution has once taken place, the difficulty is at an end. But I hope for an earlier solution in the manner I have stated.

I venture to submit for her Majesty's perusal (in case she has not seen it) a letter from one of her Privy Councillors, a Judge of eminence, a Liberal Peer, recommended for his Peerage by Mr. Gladstone—Lord Penzance. It has appeared in *The Times*; but the Queen may not have seen it. He has reprinted it, and sent it to me, with a private letter warmly approving of the conduct we have pursued. It has a value which does not belong to most utterances in this voluminous controversy, in that it comes from one who is entirely free from partisan bias. Believe me, yours very truly, SALISBURY.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 22nd Oct. 1884.—The Queen telegraphed to Mr. Gladstone her approval of Mr. Trevelyan's appointment¹ and further that she considers his explanation and account of Mr. Trevelyan as *quite satisfactory*. The Queen will take an early opportunity of making Mr. Trevelyan's acquaintance.

She concludes that the Irish will be very troublesome and that the debate on the Address will again be prolonged.

¹ As Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster with a seat in the Cabinet, in the place of Mr. Dodson, who retired and was created Lord Monk Bretton.

The Queen must again call Mr. Gladstone's attention to Mr. Chamberlain's speeches. He approves of the *disgraceful* riot at Birmingham !¹ If a Cabinet Minister makes use of such language, and sets the Prime Minister's injunctions at defiance, he ought *not to remain* in the *Cabinet*. His language if not disavowed justifies the *worst apprehensions* of the Opposition.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 22nd Oct. 1884.—General Sir Henry Ponsonby presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

Mr. Gladstone told him that he could not have expected Lord Salisbury to agree to a compromise after the very strong language against compromise which he had used. What he hoped for was that the Tories would let him know what sort of Redistribution Bill they wanted, and he would answer for it that the moderate Members of the Government would do their best to mould this into accordance with their views. Of course extreme men on both sides would never agree. But if a strong central party headed by the Government agreed on a fair Bill, it ought to solve all difficulties. Lord Carnarvon in his speech said that four independent men might be found to settle it. Why should not this be tried ?

Sir Henry Ponsonby has therefore telegraphed to ask your Majesty's leave to ascertain from Lord Carnarvon or others whether such a scheme is practicable. If such men could be found, if they could take this opportunity of showing that there is such a principle as fair independent action apart from party views, it might lead the way to the formation of a central moderate and unbiased party such as your Majesty has wished for.

¹ The Liberals had violently broken up a Conservative meeting at Aston Park.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram*].

23rd Oct. 1884.—Humble duty.

With reference to your Majesty's letter of yesterday, concurring in your Majesty's regret and disapprobation of language used, Mr. Gladstone on becoming acquainted with it last Tuesday at once adopted measures which he hopes will have a good result. . . .

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Copy*.]

23rd Oct. 1884.—I am commanded by the Queen to thank you for your letter.

You express a hope that the Government may still be able to pass both Bills in the same Session. This would be facilitated if the two parties were agreed on the general bearing of the Redistribution scheme. Would it be possible to place this Bill in the hands of three or four independent men who might draw up a draft unbiased by party consideration?

I have asked Sir Stafford Northcote from the Queen whether he sees any prospect of this being acceptable.—H. PONSONBY.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

20 ARLINGTON STREET, S.W., 23rd October 1884.

DEAR SIR HENRY,—I am much obliged to you for your note which I received this morning. I have spoken with Sir Stafford Northcote: and I find that he has seen you, and pointed out the difficulties to which such an arbitration as that suggested by the Queen would be exposed. I concur in his views.

At the same time the knot of the situation lies in the character of this Redistribution Bill. If it makes honest efforts to represent each Party according to its true strength in the country, its passage would not be attended with serious difficulty. But from

what I hear of Mr. Gladstone's speech to-night he is disinclined to try, unless we first cut off our own powers of resistance by passing the Franchise Bill alone. Yours very truly, SALISBURY.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

LONDON, 24th Oct. 1884.— . . . Mr. Chamberlain said that the feeling in the North of England and Wales was so bitter that he had the gravest apprehensions for what might occur. The riot at Birmingham was deplorable, but it had been much exaggerated and it must be remembered the managers had no right to exclude people after advertising that it was open to all parties. . . .

The language of the middle classes against the House of Lords was violent, and therefore he had not the smallest doubt that serious riots would occur if the House again rejected the Bill. He did not look at the prospect so far with satisfaction; though he would not deny, as he was speaking openly and frankly, that he had no love for that institution which used its power in bringing about this disastrous state of things. He was, however, most ready to support Mr. Gladstone in any mode of settling the present controversy, as long as the passage of the Franchise Bill was secured. He added that it would be a grave mistake not to appreciate the rising feeling among the people which no Government could restrain if the House of Lords stopped the legislation they desired.

Mr. Chamberlain spoke in this open way because Sir Henry Ponsonby had frankly asked him to do so. Sir Henry Ponsonby told him your Majesty had not approved of his recent speeches, which however Mr. Chamberlain thought had been somewhat misunderstood. . . .

The Duke of Richmond to Queen Victoria.

49 BELGRAVE SQUARE, 24th Oct. 1884.—The Duke of Richmond and Gordon with his humble duty to your

Majesty. Referring to the conversation the Duke had the honour of having with your Majesty last month at Balmoral, the Duke ventures to inform your Majesty of what has occurred since he came to London.

The Duke has had an opportunity of discussing the state of matters as regards the Franchise Bill with Lord Salisbury, Lord Cairns, and Sir Stafford Northcote. The Duke's opinion is that they are not unwilling to entertain any reasonable compromise which could be brought about.

The Duke regrets very much the tone of the Prime Minister's speech last night¹ which seems to render a settlement extremely difficult. . . .

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 25th Oct. 1884.—Mr. Gladstone, in humbly submitting last night his note of Parliamentary proceedings, reserved for a separate mention the attempts made to draw Mr. Chamberlain into debate.

Your Majesty may have seen the letter published by Mr. Chamberlain in reply to a gentleman who mentioned the construction put upon his speech as it regarded violence. That letter does not come up to Mr. Gladstone's expectations and desires.

In approaching Mr. Chamberlain on the subject, he made use of the good offices of Sir Charles Dilke, whose views of the matter appeared to him perfectly just and sound. And Sir C. Dilke like Mr. Gladstone expected a letter in terms which he roughly sketched. No substantive result was attained by the questions put to or concerning Mr. Chamberlain last night, and an unfortunate criticism by Sir Stafford Northcote

¹ In the debate on the Address in the House of Commons. In describing that speech to the Queen, Mr. Gladstone wrote, on 23rd–24th October, that he said that apparently the minority would only support the majority in respect to the representation of the people, if the majority would unconditionally surrender to the views of the minority by the union of the two Bills; and that it was futile that the minority should require, as the basis of peace, that the majority should abandon alike its convictions and its pledges.

gave Mr. C. an opportunity of a successful retort and thereby a great advantage. Mr. Chamberlain expressed his disapproval of violence, but reserved the occurrences at Birmingham for discussion.

It is not unlikely that the subject may again be opened. For the present, Mr. Gladstone conceives it to be most prudent for him to rest upon the very strong declaration he made on behalf of the Government last Thursday evening, which was characterised by a Member of the Opposition as "a terrible rebuke to the President of the Board of Trade."

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

Confidential.

BALMORAL CASTLE, 27th Oct. 1884.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his letter received yesterday afternoon.

She is glad to perceive that Mr. Gladstone disapproves Mr. Chamberlain's most dangerous and offensive language. . . . It is, the Queen thinks, absolutely necessary for the honour of the Government that Mr. Gladstone should take a firm stand and separate his name from Mr. Chamberlain, with which unfortunately it is too often, wrongly no doubt, connected.

Mr. Chamberlain *must* restrain his language or *not* remain in the Cabinet. In any other Cabinet such freedom of language has not been tolerated.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 28th Oct. 1884.—Had a letter from the Duke of Argyll, very anxious, and saying, Mr. Gladstone admitted the Conservatives had a right to be assured of fair distribution in the Seats Bill; the Conservatives fully believe that the country is with them to a great extent. This may be so, but the Duke fears the continuance of this agitation may cause dangerous results. Wrote to the Duke of

Richmond, telling him that personal or party violence should now be put aside for the sake of the country, and that I believed the Government would accept any moderate suggestion so long as the passing of the Franchise Bill was secured, but they wished any proposal should come from the Opposition. Telegraphed to the Duke of Argyll to come here to see me. Heard that the Duke did not feel equal to undertake the journey here, so I telegraphed to him to send Lorne with any message.

I had some conversation with Mr. Trevelyan, who is very agreeable, but whose health has been dreadfully shaken, by his two years' Secretaryship in Ireland. He has the very worst opinion of the Irish Nationalists, who are clever, eloquent, and unscrupulous.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

20 ARLINGTON STREET, 28th October 1884.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,—Thanks for your letter of yesterday evening. The Queen is quite right in the belief she has expressed to you that the Opposition are not unwilling to entertain any reasonable compromise. . . .

In answer to your question, I do not think that the mere production of a Redistribution Bill would justify the Lords in disarming themselves by passing the Franchise Bill into law. In the words of their resolution of July, either the two Bills must become law together, or "there must be adequate security in the proposals of the Government that the Franchise Bill shall not come into operation except as part of an entire scheme." It is obvious, for the reasons stated in Lord Penzance's letter, that they cannot depart from this resolution. The open threats which have been addressed to them by Cabinet Ministers during the last three weeks make it more dangerous than ever for them to abandon their position. Our Constitutional law is built up of precedents. If the House of Lords reverses its course, under threats, because a majority of the House of Commons object

to their policy, it will, by that very act, become Constitutional law that the House of Lords is bound to submit to the House of Commons. From that moment the Lords will have lost all power of resistance: and unchecked power will have passed to the Commons.

The task of making a suggestion, to which you invite me, is very difficult, because the Prime Minister's language seems to lay down that any course, which does *not* make the Lords pass through the Caudine Forks, *does* make the Government do so. But for that speech, I should have thought that they might well have adopted Lord Cairns's suggestion—that the House of Lords should read the Franchise Bill a second time, then wait till the Redistribution Bill had come up to us, and should then proceed to deal with the Franchise Bill, giving it the precedence. I fail to understand the objection to this course. Perhaps the Government apprehend that we may use our hold on the Franchise Bill to force a Redistribution Bill, unfairly Conservative, upon them. If that is their fear, it *might* be possible to come to some preliminary agreement as to what the Redistribution Bill should be: and then, if we had found that common ground, the Franchise Bill might be passed into law at once, with Col. Stanley's suspensory clause. In this way the apprehensions of both sides would be met.

But I do not think the Prime Minister will be satisfied unless he can make the Lords pass through the Caudine Forks. Believe me, yours very truly,
SALISBURY.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 29th Oct. 1884.—Saw Capt. Bigge, and it was arranged that Mr. [Charles Lennox] Peel¹ should go to Gordon Castle, and tell the Duke of Richmond of all the dangers and difficulties, and then return here. Held a Council, at which Lord

¹ Clerk of the Council.

Carlingford, Mr. Dodson, and Mr. Trevelyan were present. Saw Lord Carlingford and Mr. Dodson, who gave up the Seals before the Council. Mr. Trevelyan did so after it, and I gave him the Seals of his new office.¹ Spoke to him of the state of affairs, which he thought very anxious. He is greatly alarmed at the possibility of a Dissolution. It would probably give strength to the Conservatives, but at the cost of much danger, people being returned, pledged against the House of Lords, and still more so on account of Ireland. Seventy Parnellites would be returned, and the Crimes Bill would have to be passed again this year. It would probably not be passed, and result in Ireland being in a worse state than before. It would therefore be of the utmost importance that the Franchise Bill be passed, and some agreement come to about the Redistribution Bill. He had been speaking to Mr. Peel, and was most anxious every effort should be made to bring about a compromise. Saw Mr. Peel, who is fully alive to the danger of a Dissolution, on account of the excitement against the House of Lords and Ireland. I asked him to explain all this to the Duke of Richmond, to whom I had also written. Something must be done, and if Lord Salisbury won't do what is right, then someone else must take the lead. Mr. Trevelyan I find very agreeable and sensible, and not at all a violent Radical, as he used to be.

30th Oct.—Heard from Sir H. Ponsonby. Sir S. Northcote had refused to give any opinion without Lord Salisbury's consent or knowledge. Lord Rowton had told Lord Salisbury that the feeling of moderate Conservatives favours a compromise. *He* suggested that four independent men, acceptable to both Parties, should draw up a Redistribution scheme, on the condition that the Franchise Bill passed at once. Mr. Fawcett most anxious about the situation, and feared the violent speeches had made agreement very difficult. Just after breakfast Lorne arrived. He said his father

¹ See above, p. 553.

was not well, but still was ready to go to Town if he could do any good. The Duke suggested I should write to Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone, urging them to meet, which they could not well refuse, or at least ask them to name someone who would be empowered by either Party to discuss the Redistribution Bill. I expressed my willingness to do this. If it came to the worst, the same course might be pursued as at the time of the Reform Bill, viz. to ask the Conservative Peers to stay away. Mr. Peel returned in the afternoon from Gordon Castle, bringing letters from the Duke of Richmond to me, and one for Lord Salisbury which he sent me first to read, both very satisfactory and very strong, particularly the one to Lord Salisbury, the Duke saying he would be no party to throwing out the Bill again. Saw Lorne about it, and my writing to Mr. Gladstone, Lord Salisbury, and Sir S. Northcote. Mr. Peel also was most satisfactory.

*The Duke of Richmond to the Marquis of Salisbury.*¹

[Copy.]

Confidential.

GORDON CASTLE, 30th October 1884.

MY DEAR SALISBURY,—I have had a letter from the Queen in a great state of mind that no arrangement has yet been come to with regard to the Franchise Bill.

Her Majesty begs me to do everything in my power to promote an amicable settlement of this very difficult question. I fancy that the Queen has reason to think that any moderate suggestion would be accepted by the Government, provided the passing of the Franchise Bill is secured.

The Queen is very strongly of opinion that any further delay in the passing of this Bill may lead to very serious consequences, and thinks it is the duty of both parties to put aside all personal and party

¹ Submitted by the Duke of Richmond to the Queen, as explained in the preceding extract from her Majesty's Journal.

feeling for the one great object of preventing real harm being done to the country or the Constitution.

I confess that I feel bound to concur in all her Majesty says. Surely out of the many suggestions that have been made, you might come to some arrangement by personal communication with Hartington, by which what we desire may be accomplished. I need not say that I shall be most happy to do everything in my power to promote an amicable solution of the difficulty. The more I think of it, the more convinced I am, that the most serious consequences may follow, if this question is kept open any longer. I should be very unwilling to be a party to any line of action tending to that result. I hope you will consider seriously what I have said, and that you may be able to follow a course which I believe to be essential to the good of the country. Believe me, yours very truly, RICHMOND AND GORDON.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 31st Oct. 1884.—Though the Queen has already had several indirect communications with Lord Salisbury, she thinks the present crisis of such national and vital importance and the danger to the Constitution, likely to result from a prolonged difference between the two Houses of Parliament, so serious that she writes to him direct.

Considering that the matters now in dispute seem to be capable of adjustment, she hopes that Lord Salisbury will consent that a personal conference between the leaders of the two Parties in both Houses shall take place.

The object of such a meeting would be the exchange of views as to the assurances to be given of the character of the Redistribution Bill. It seems most desirable to the Queen that the questions to be brought before the House should be settled by this

Parliament and that without delay some understanding be arrived at.

The Queen feels assured that Lord Salisbury, who has always shown such readiness to meet her wishes, will not object to a meeting which the Queen will gladly facilitate and which she is most anxious to bring about.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 31st Oct. 1884.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his last letter and Parliamentary reports. She was very favourably impressed with Mr. Trevelyan, and he seemed to her very moderate and conciliatory in his views, and extremely agreeable to speak to on all subjects.

The Queen thinks that it would be a means of arriving at some understanding if the leaders of the Parties in both Houses could exchange their views personally. The Duke of Argyll, or other person unconnected for the present with the Government or the Opposition, might be employed in bringing about a meeting, and in assisting to solve difficulties.

The Government should, in any project forming the basis of Resolutions on Redistribution to be proposed to the House, distinctly define their plans at such personal conference.

The Queen believes that, were assurances given that the Redistribution would not be wholly inimical to the prospects of the Conservative Party, their concurrence might be obtained. The Queen feels that it is of the utmost importance that in this crisis, such means, even if unusual, should be tried; and knowing how fully Mr. Gladstone recognises the serious danger that might arise by prolonging the conflict the Queen earnestly trusts that he will avail himself of such means to obviate it.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 31st Oct. 1884.—Mr. Gladstone offers his humble duty to your Majesty, and

reports that he this day made known to his colleagues in Cabinet the suggestion for a possible settlement of the question of Parliamentary Representation, which he had the honour to receive yesterday through Sir H. Ponsonby. His colleagues agree with him in the opinion that the offer to concede the second reading of the Franchise Bill alone would make no substantial difference in the situation, and they do not see in the suggestion any hopeful means for an adjustment.

Mr. Trevelyan reported to the Cabinet your Majesty's gracious assurance to him of an unwearied anxiety for the settlement of this great question, which the Cabinet received most gratefully, and your Majesty's indisposition to a dissolution of Parliament under the present circumstances, which they conceive to be prompted by a spirit of wisdom.

Mr. Gladstone mentioned a variety of indications from different quarters all tending to show that there is probably a growing anxiety among those of the Opposition for some accommodation: and Lord Hartington mentioned an interview which, with Mr. Gladstone's concurrence, he had held with Sir Michael H. Beach. At that interview, which was of the most confidential character, and entirely without prejudice, Sir M. Beach stated with perfect frankness and fulness his views of Redistribution, which he was understood to share with other leading men of his party, but who or how many they were did not clearly appear. He gave the outline of a very large plan, involving more extensive changes than Mr. Gladstone would have thought necessary or desirable. At the same time he is sensible of the vast importance of a settlement, and he believes and hopes that his colleagues will keep their minds open to what may be the exigencies of the time, without any unduly strict prepossessions as to particulars. In this he feels rather confident of your Majesty's approval. . . .

1st Nov.—Mr. Gladstone referring to his telegram of this morning, and to your Majesty's gracious message since received, replies to this message and to your Majesty's letter by saying that he thinks there is nothing in the proceedings of yesterday's Cabinet which can in any way conflict with your Majesty's suggestion and desire, but the contrary.

The important matter of exchanging views had been initiated by Sir M. Beach and taken up by Lord Hartington, who will remain in constant communication with his colleagues and who appears to be better fitted to carry forward these proceedings at their present stage than any other person; enjoying full confidence on one side, and probably more on the other side, than any other Minister would enjoy.

The next step, as it appears to Mr. Gladstone, will evidently be for Lord Hartington to satisfy himself if possible how far Sir M. Beach is on this important occasion speaking for the recognised leaders of his party. In this view Lord Hartington concurs and he will shape his conversation accordingly. Perhaps Sir M. Beach may address to him reciprocal enquiries, which he will be able to meet.

Should there appear to be no sufficiently solid basis for a continuance of these conversations, the matter must be considered afresh. But if Sir M. Beach appears to be sufficiently authorised, then, Mr. Gladstone humbly submits to your Majesty, the subject appears to be in good train.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

20 ARLINGTON STREET, S.W., 3rd Nov. 1884.—Lord Salisbury, with his humble duty to your Majesty, respectfully acknowledges your Majesty's gracious letter. He regrets that, having been out of town on Saturday, he was not able to speak to Sir Stafford Northcote till this morning.

It will give Lord Salisbury great pleasure to consult with anyone, with whom your Majesty

wishes him to consult: and in obedience to your Majesty's commands he will do all that in him lies to bring this controversy speedily to a just and honourable issue.

While cheerfully complying with your Majesty's wishes in this matter, he thinks it right to add that, according to the information he has received, no danger attaches to the prolongation of this controversy for a reasonable time: and that there is no real excitement in the country in respect to it.

He trusts that if, under your Majesty's commands, a meeting should take place between the leaders of the two Parties in the two Houses, the obligation may be laid on all who take part in it, of treating everything said therein as strictly private and confidential. . . .

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 5th Nov. 1884.—The Queen thanks Lord Salisbury for his kind letter received this morning and for his readiness to meet any Member of the Government with a view to come to some agreement on the very important question of the Reform measures. She will inform Mr. Gladstone at once of this and impress him with the absolute necessity of the observance of secrecy as to what passes by both parties.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

Private.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 7th Nov. 1884.—Lord Granville is not without hope that some good may come out of the communications between Lord Hartington and Sir M. Hicks Beach.

He doubts the advantage of Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone meeting, unless everything was as good as settled. He is afraid that two tails, but no Redistribution Bill, would be left.

Queen Victoria to Mrs. Fawcett.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 8th November 1884.

DEAR MRS. FAWCETT,—I am anxious to express to you myself the true and sincere sympathy I feel for you in your present terrible bereavement,¹ as well as my sincere regret for the loss of your distinguished husband, who bore his great trial with such courage and patience, and who served his Queen and country ably and faithfully.

You, who were so devoted a wife to him, must, even in this hour of overwhelming grief, be gratified by the universal expression of respect and regret.

That He, who alone can give consolation and peace in the hour of affliction, may support you, is the earnest wish of yours sincerely, VICTORIA R. & I.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 10th Nov. 1884.—The Queen would wish before she writes to Mr. Gladstone on any other subject to express her sincere regret at the death of Mr. Fawcett. He was an able and a very honest man, and though his views were very advanced he was thoroughly conscientious and served his Sovereign and country ably. He bore his great misfortune with great courage and patience.

The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone for his last very interesting letters, relative to the proceedings in Parliament on the Franchise Bill, and of the Cabinet with reference to the Redistribution Bill,² and the communications between Lord Hartington and Sir M. H. Beach.

¹ Mr. Fawcett, the blind Postmaster-General, had died on 6th November. Mrs. Fawcett, the distinguished leader of the Women's Rights Movement, is now Dame Millicent Fawcett, G.B.E.

² Mr. Gladstone had reported, in a letter dated 7th–8th November, that the Franchise Bill had been read a second time in the House of Commons by 372 to 232—majority 140; and that “the occurrences of the evening may as a whole be regarded . . . as satisfactory and promising.”

She thinks these communications in themselves are of great importance and must tend to soften and allay the asperities which of late both sides had indulged in, as well as to bring people together. The Queen thinks the tone of the speeches satisfactory and hopeful. . . .

The Queen expects to be at Windsor, D.V., on the 20th, and would be glad to see Mr. Gladstone soon after.

She trusts it may be possible to modify the too Radical nature of Sir M. H. Beach's proposals, though she cannot think that he can intend them to have this tendency.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 12th Nov. 1884.—Much worried by the bitter tone of last night's debate, which seems to contradict the communications I had received, with more hopeful news, from Lord Hartington and Sir M. Hicks Beach. The Franchise Bill has been read a third time without opposition. Had a letter from Mr. Gladstone in which he says that the same spirit was displayed during the debate on the third Reading, culminating in a "very warlike" speech from Lord J. Manners, who declared that there could be no communication public or private between the two parties on the provisions of the Seats Bill. Mr. Gladstone expressed regret at a speech evidently intended to render accommodation impossible, and entreated the Opposition to declare their views and wishes. Saw Sir H. Ponsonby and talked of the anxious state of affairs. No stone must be left unturned to try and obtain a settlement. He is to go on the 13th to Aberdeen to meet the Duke of Richmond and Lord Cairns, on their way to London.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 12th Nov. 1884.—Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty reminds your Majesty that, when your Majesty was pleased at a recent

date graciously to recommend private communication between the leaders of the Government and the Opposition with regard to the Franchise and Redistribution, he replied by apprising your Majesty that such an exchange of views as was contemplated had been initiated by Sir M. H. Beach and taken up by Lord Hartington, who appeared to be best qualified to carry forward the proceedings at the stage they had then reached.

Shortly afterwards Lord Carlingford signified to Mr. Gladstone, by your Majesty's command, that Lord Salisbury had declared his readiness "to consult with anyone with whom your Majesty wishes him to consult," and "to do all that in him lies to bring this controversy speedily to a just and honourable issue."

Hereupon Mr. Gladstone looked forward hopefully to the time when the course of conversations between Lord Hartington and Sir M. H. Beach might afford a solid basis for more developed and formal proceedings of the nature of those indicated by Lord Salisbury.

The hopefulness of this prospect was seriously affected by the debate of last evening, to his report of which Mr. Gladstone humbly refers: and, in conjunction therewith, Sir M. H. Beach (to whom Mr. Gladstone is far from attaching any blame) acquainted Lord Hartington during the sitting of the House that he saw no advantage in a continuance of their communications. Mr. Gladstone is not citing words, but only relating their substance.¹

It can no longer be upon a basis already laid that any communication can now be had with Lord

¹ Lord Hartington, who had seen this letter, wrote on the same date to the Queen that Sir M. Hicks Beach made the communication referred to "solely on the ground that he did not feel it to be possible to take upon himself a more representative character than that which he had assumed in his previous conversations." If any extended communications were to take place, they should be between the leaders. Lord Hartington added that Sir M. H. Beach had shown "a most admirable and conciliatory temper" in their communications.

Salisbury. Yet Mr. Gladstone feels that the expression of your Majesty's desire is still before him; and, though he cannot look for the aid which he had trusted that prior communications might afford, he desires humbly to express his willingness to meet your Majesty's views for a direct communication, should your Majesty still deem it expedient, between the leaders of the opposite Parties.

Mr. Gladstone also desires humbly to assure your Majesty, quite apart from the main purpose of this letter, that, notwithstanding the authoritative declaration of Lord John Manners in the House of Commons, he will with his colleagues continue to study any suggestion or expedient which may seem likely to release the country from the risks of what appears to be the approaching crisis.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 14th Nov. 1884.—Mr. Gladstone transmits to your Majesty with his humble duty, and with very deep regret, the enclosed copies of documents dated yesterday and to-day.

ENCLOSURES.

No. 1.

Copy of Query placed in the hands of Sir S. Northcote by Mr. Gladstone at a private conversation on the night of 13th Nov. 1884, which he proposed to communicate to Lord Salisbury.

What assurances will you require about the character of our Redistribution Bill, as a condition of engaging that, if we produce it before the Franchise Bill reaches the Committee in the Lords, and make it a vital question, the Franchise Bill shall then be put forward without difficulty or delay?

No. 2.

Reply of Sir Stafford Northcote.

[Copy.]

14th November 1884.

MY DEAR MR. GLADSTONE,—The only answer I can give to your question is—that the House of Lords will not part with control over the Franchise Bill till it has the Redistribution Bill before it. But it would be perfectly possible to offer guarantees against any apprehended maltreatment of the Redistribution

Bill if the result of previous communications be satisfactory. I remain, yours very faithfully, STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE.

No. 3. *Mr. Gladstone to Sir S. Northcote.*

[Copy.] *Secret.*

14th November 1884.

MY DEAR NORTHCOTE,—I understand your note as written on behalf, at least, of Lord Salisbury and yourself.

While thanking you for the conversation of last night, I regret that your reply to my enquiry declines communications which should have for their "objective point" the passing of the Franchise Bill without delay, and substitutes a new basis according to which the Lords would not pass the Franchise Bill until the Seats Bill was before them.

It is not in my power to enter into any negotiation or interchange of views, except to secure the passing of the Franchise Bill without delay. If that were secured I know not of any other demand, likely to be made, which need meet with refusal.

This being so, and there being no material for our further communications, I shall observe strictly the secrecy of our conversation: only desiring to make known to the Queen (not the Cabinet) my query, your reply, and this note in answer.

Of course it is open to me to consider whether, without any allusion to what has passed between us, I shall state publicly on behalf of the Government the basis on which we are prepared to proceed. I remain, sincerely yours, W. E. GLADSTONE.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 15th Nov. 1884.—Mr. Gladstone reports to your Majesty, with his humble duty, that he this day stated to the Cabinet, not the contents of the documents he had yesterday the honour of forwarding to your Majesty, nor the name of any person in connection with them, but the conclusion which they conveyed to his mind that, so far as leaders of the Tory Party were concerned, the door was now closed against accommodation with the House of Lords.

He ought perhaps to observe in passing that, after obtaining a distinct declaration from Sir Stafford Northcote on his own behalf and that of Lord Salisbury, he felt himself precluded by honour from attempting to establish any separate communication with their immediate friends.

This being so, the question remained whether there should be a public declaration by Lord Granville in the House of Lords, and by Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons, setting forth the basis upon which your Majesty's advisers are prepared to proceed with respect to the two measures.

The Cabinet approved of this plan, and agreed upon the accompanying paper which, apart from any prefatory or accompanying remark, they think should be delivered textually in both Houses of Parliament on Monday. Some intimation that it is to be made will probably appear in the morning journals of that day, but the subject matter will remain secret until the appointed time.

Your Majesty's Ministers are not without the hope that their declaration may produce an effect upon Peers of moderate opinions as well as in a wider circle. . . .

ENCLOSURE.

Declaration to be made in both Houses.

Secret.

15th Nov. 1884.—Our object is to secure the passing of the Franchise Bill without delay.

We could enter into no understanding, and we could take no steps, as to the immediate introduction or prosecution of a Seats Bill, or as to any other particular relating thereto, which did not afford us adequate assurance that we should thereby secure our main object—the passing of the Franchise Bill without delay; that is to say, during the present autumnal sittings.

If we are adequately assured as to the attainment of that object, I am not aware of any demand likely to be made, in relation to proceeding upon the other measure, to which we should not be able to accede.

In illustration of this remark, I may specify the following points.

(1) We should be ready to make the main provi-

sions of the Seats Bill or even the Draft Bill a subject of friendly communication at once and before introduction, and to make every reasonable effort for accommodation ; or

To present a Bill conceived in the spirit of the sketch in the House of Commons which Sir S. Northcote, on Friday the 7th November, appeared to receive with satisfaction.

(2) To prosecute the measure with all speed, even to the point of moving the 2nd Reading simultaneously with passing the Franchise Bill into Committee in the House of Lords, or, if that be impracticable, then with any subsequent stage.

(3) To make the passing of the Bill in a form agreeable to the House a vital question, and to use our best efforts to bring it to issue in the House of Commons early in the coming year.

I have been authorised by my colleagues in this matter of such deep interest, to make this public declaration at the present critical moment.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL, 16th Nov. 1884.—I am very sorry to learn result of your communications with Sir Stafford Northcote.

As nothing further can be expected in that direction, I think your proposed declaration is the best course to pursue. I trust that any accompanying remarks may be most conciliatory.

Mr. Gladstone to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, 16th November 1884.

MY DEAR SIR H. PONSONBY,—We will bear in mind her Majesty's gracious suggestion about Labourers' Dwellings, and I am sure it will give satisfaction to my colleagues as well as myself if we find the *posture* of the question of Dwellings to be such

as to give hope of advantage from private communications with the leaders of the Opposition.

So far as the Government are concerned I do not apprehend that we are likely to propose what would create difficulty in connection with differences of Party. Yours sincerely, W. E. GLADSTONE.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Mr. Charles Lennox Peel.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL, 16th Nov. 1884.—The Queen has reason to hope a conciliatory declaration will be publicly made to-morrow night and is most anxious it should be received in a friendly spirit. Will you communicate this to the Duke of Richmond?

The Duke of Richmond to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF LORDS, 17th Nov. 1884.—The Duke of Richmond and Gordon with his humble duty to your Majesty. The Duke attended a meeting at Lord Salisbury's this morning, of a few Peers.

Lord Cairns urged upon them the necessity of coming to some arrangement and deprecated taking any step on going into Committee which might jeopardise the Franchise Bill. The Duke also took the same line and suggested that it was very desirable that some meeting of the leaders on both sides should be held to try and agree upon a Redistribution Bill, if it was possible to do so. The Duke expressed himself very strongly as to the necessity of doing nothing that the Government might consider as hostile to such an agreement being come to.

The Duke, after the meeting, with Lord Salisbury's sanction went to see Lord Granville and urged upon him that the leaders should meet and discuss the Redistribution Bill. Lord Granville told the Duke he thought the statement he (Lord Granville) was about to make this evening would tend to facilitate such a course. Lord Granville said he would tell Mr. Gladstone what the Duke had said.

The Duke has since seen Lord Granville after his interview with Mr. Gladstone. Lord Granville said Mr. Gladstone was pleased with the Duke's statement.

Since that Lord Granville has made his statement which the Duke thinks satisfactory and ought to lead to a compromise.

There will be a small meeting of Peers held this evening to consider the course to be adopted. The Duke has much better hope of an amicable arrangement being come to than he has had at all. Your Majesty may rely on his doing all in his power to carry out your Majesty's wishes. Not only because they are your Majesty's wishes but because the Duke believes such a course to be essential for the good of the country.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 17th Nov. 1884.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. His statement on the Reform Bills was well received by the House.¹ The relief seemed great on both sides and on the Cross benches. Several Conservative Peers hinted privately their satisfaction.

The Duke of Richmond called on me, alluded to your Majesty's wish that the leaders should meet, and pressed that an agreement should be come to for a confidential meeting without prejudice between four Conservative and four Liberal leaders. Lord Granville told him that he was much pleased with the language which the Duke used, and that he thought the statements about to be made to Parliament would greatly facilitate such agreements.

Lord Salisbury asked Lord Granville to give him in writing what he had said in the House. He had asked two questions as to details, which were answered by Lord Granville and the Lord Chancellor.

¹ The similar statement in the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone reported to the Queen, "was received with intense attention, and, so far as could be seen within a short time after, it produced a not inconsiderable effect."

If Lord Granville may venture to say so, your Majesty must feel rather proud¹ of the powerful influence which your Majesty has brought to bear upon the probable settlement of this burning question. . . .

[*Telegram.*]

18th Nov. 1884.—Humble duty.

Lord Salisbury made a conciliatory speech. He said that explanations from Mr. Gladstone subsequent to the first declaration last night induced him to consent. He asked further questions as to your Majesty's Government making the passing a Bill a vital question, and announced that he should propose the adjournment of the Committee for a fortnight. He told Lord Granville that he and Sir Stafford Northcote would be at Mr. Gladstone's and Lord Granville's orders.

The Duke of Argyll to Queen Victoria.

18th November 1884.

MADAM,—I cannot help writing a line to congratulate your Majesty most heartily upon the acceptance of the compromise offered by Mr. Gladstone. I have no doubt that this has been due to your Majesty's unremitting care for the public interests in the exercise of the influence of the Crown upon all parties.

It is a MOST fortunate conclusion to a most disagreeable and dangerous agitation. The relief expressed in the House to-night was remarkable. I am, your Majesty's faithful and affectionate Subject and Servant, ARGYLL.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL [? 19th Nov. 1884].—The Queen thanks Lord Granville for his interesting letters. His

¹ "Which I certainly am," comments the Queen in her Journal on the 18th November, "or, rather, more than thankful that I have been able to effect this."

telegram and cypher of last night and letter received to-day are a great relief and encouragement. She will hardly say she is proud, but she is very *much* gratified and feels it a great reward for the unceasing trouble and anxiety she has gone through for the last two months to *see at last* a very great probability that these most anxious and dangerous questions will be amicably settled.

But she feels a good deal fatigued by the great strain this constant correspondence and constant disappointment have occasioned. She only adds the German proverb of *Unberufen*, before she dares quite hope that we are out of the wood.

She has had a most satisfactory letter this evening from the Duke of Richmond (who has behaved admirably) speaking in most cordial terms of Lord Granville. The Duke of Argyll also has shown great good sense and right feeling.

Queen Victoria to the Duke of Richmond.

BALMORAL CASTLE, 19th Nov. 1884.—Before leaving this dear place which is very bright with snow on the highest hills, the Queen must express her great satisfaction to the Duke of Richmond and Gordon at the favourable turn affairs are at last taking, and which she feels has been greatly owing to the firm and patriotic tone the Duke, and also Lord Cairns, has held.

She would wish him (as she has no time to write herself) to express from her to Lord Salisbury her satisfaction at the language held by him yesterday, as also to Sir S. Northcote at affairs promising so well. To Lord Salisbury doubtless this is a sacrifice and a trial; but the Queen feels sure he is doing—as the Duke says in his kind and satisfactory letter received yesterday—what is *best* for the country, and therefore what is best for the Conservative Party.

The Queen has been greatly worried these last six weeks and has worked very hard, but she is amply rewarded if the result saves the country from a crisis.

The Queen hopes to see the Duke before he leaves town.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 20th Nov. —The Queen reopens her letter to thank the Duke for his very kind one she received from him at Aberdeen yesterday, and to express her great gratification at its contents and at the speeches in both Houses on Monday and those in the House of Lords on Tuesday.

She has heard from Mr. Gladstone to-day telling her how very conciliatory the tone of Lord Salisbury was at their first meeting, and she trusts Lord S. thinks the same.

The Queen has not half expressed what she feels to the Duke for the way in which he has helped and supported her.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 19th Nov. 1884.—Mr. Gladstone reports to your Majesty, with his humble duty, that Lord Granville and he have had a conversation of an hour's length with Lord Salisbury and Sir S. Northcote, on the subject of the contemplated Seats Bill. This conversation was entirely friendly in its tone.

The first question was this : how far and in what terms the Ministry was to be bound to the prosecution of the Seats Bill in the two Houses. This was settled in terms entirely satisfactory to both parties.

It was agreed that the conversations on the provisions of the Seats Bill should be absolutely secret—subject to the power asked by Lord Salisbury of communicating with a very few persons in strict confidence ; also that every effort should be used to expedite them. It was likewise understood that what was said on the respective sides was said, under the usual responsibility, and so far as might be, for the respective parties in the two Houses.

Several main points of the question were discussed generally ; a full statement of the heads of the Bill now prepared was read by Mr. Gladstone ; and

a copy of the same was placed, as a secret document, in the hands of Lord Salisbury and Sir S. Northcote. It was agreed to meet again on Saturday at twelve : and agreed that Lord Hartington and Sir C. Dilke, who are well acquainted with particulars, should then attend.

It is too early to give an opinion as to the prospects of accord, but neither Lord Granville nor Mr. Gladstone saw any cause to despair of it, while some good may have been done even by the attempt at it through friendly intercourse.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 21st Nov.—Mr. Gladstone reports to your Majesty with his humble duty that the first and principal business of the House of Commons this day has been to consider a motion of Mr. Labouchere's, aiming at changes in the House of Lords with a view to bringing it into closer harmony with the House of Commons.

Mr. Labouchere spoke with considerable ability and sarcastic humour ; he denounced the hereditary constitution of the House of Lords with sweeping and contemptuous censure ; described his motion as moderate, but as calculated to draw after it other and wider measures ; and discussed in a hostile tone the present communications with the Opposition, on which he said he would not give an opinion, but which he treated as extinguishing the House of Commons.

Sir Wilfrid Lawson seconded the motion with force and humour, but like the mover made himself the organ of extreme opinions, which were received with a good deal of cheering from a portion of the more Radical Members.

Mr. Gladstone in reply declined to say anything about the present communications with the Opposition which could in any way discredit or impede them, while in principle he defended them. He did not consider the broad propositions of Mr. Labouchere to be decisive of the question about the hereditary principle. He pointed out that a large portion of

the House, though not a majority, would doubtless be prepared to defend the general proceedings of the House of Lords where it had differed with the Commons. Another section, with which he had more sympathy, was unprepared to defend the Lords in their controversies with the Commons, but yet might prefer to bear the present inconveniences than to enter upon the arduous and profound controversies which might come in the wake of motions such as this. Finally he begged (with little effect perhaps) even those who agreed in opinion with Mr. Labouchere not to fling this defiance in the face of the House of Lords at a moment when they were being invited by the Crown and the Commons to perform a great act alike of wisdom and of grace.

The motion was rejected by 145 to 17. But under the circumstances this is not an insignificant minority. . . .

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 21st Nov. 1884.—The Queen thanks Mr. Gladstone very much for his very interesting, and she must add very satisfactory reports on his meetings¹ with Lord Salisbury and (she supposes) Sir S. Northcote. The conciliatory tone Mr. Gladstone speaks of, she hears is entirely corroborated by Lord Salisbury with respect to Mr. Gladstone.

The Queen feels sure that, with such a disposition on both sides and with such a sincere desire to secure a good and durable measure of Redistribution for the British Empire, they will succeed.

The last two months, but especially the last

¹ Writing to Lord Granville on the following day, the Queen says: "She goes farther than the present occasion in thinking that these meetings are a good precedent and should be resorted to on occasions of great moment, when all statesmen, and all *true* patriots, should join to prevent the mischief so ardently desired by the Radicals and Republicans or destructives. *They* are the *real danger* to be guarded against."

few weeks, have been most trying and anxious for the Queen, but the consciousness that she has been able to assist in bringing about this promising state of things amply repays her for all she has gone through.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 24th Nov. 1884.—Saw the Duke of Richmond, who, with the Duchess, has come here for one night. He is delighted at the difficulties having been surmounted, but said he had found them very great when he came to Town on the 17th. Lord Cairns had written very strongly to Lord Salisbury, who had called a meeting of a few Peers, which the Duke thought very injudicious, and he felt it his duty to say he considered the state of affairs very serious, and could not be a party to throwing out the Franchise Bill. An arrangement ought now to be come to about the Redistribution Bill. Lord Salisbury was very much annoyed and called a meeting of the whole party, at which it was soon seen that the feeling was in favour of an arrangement. The Duke of Richmond, as well as Lord Cairns, stated again what they had said the day before, to which Lord Salisbury replied he was much grieved to hear it, but gave way, and the Duke hears now, that he after all considers it was much the best course to pursue. The Duke expressed his warm thanks to me for having by my influence brought this to pass.

25th Nov.—Walked with Beatrice the whole way down to the Mausoleum, a great improvement, then back by the Kennels in the pony chair. Saw Mr. Gladstone, who is much pleased at the success of the agreement, and at the meetings. He said nothing could have been more pleasant or able than Lord Salisbury and Sir S. Northcote. He could not tell what had brought about the change, and I said I thought it was entirely due to the strong language used by the Duke of Richmond and Lord Cairns,

which Mr. Gladstone considers very wise. He spoke of the different plans, and of the Reform of the Franchise Bill. The Opposition were very strong on the minority being sufficiently represented. He considers their plan to be a much greater change than what he had proposed, but thinks the arrangement of Seats according to Seats [? population] is on the whole the best. We spoke of its being a pity that the office of Lord Privy Seal had been done away with,¹ and that, on the other hand, Parliament was constantly increasing the number of other Ministers, which he also greatly regrets. For instance, they want to have a Minister of Education, thereby taking away what belongs to the Lord President, part of whose work has already been lessened by the creation of the Minister of Agriculture. Lord Rosebery might be Minister for Scotland and of Education combined. But all this was uncertain. Mr. Lefevre is to be Postmaster. Egypt is a great anxiety and difficulty.

Before seeing Mr. Gladstone, I had invested Sir J. Macdonald² with the Grand Cross of the Bath, Louise and Beatrice being present. Louise, Lady Sophia McNamara, Lady Abercromby, Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone, Sir J. Macdonald, Sir J. McNeill, Lord Thurlow, and Lord Derby dined. The latter was in very good spirits. Sir J. Macdonald, an interesting, agreeable old man, is shortly returning to Canada.

27th Nov.—Mr. Gladstone telegraphed that all points of importance were settled. Saw Lord Salisbury, who seemed less elated, and when I said I hoped all was now well and satisfactorily settled, he replied that there was a most serious hitch. It was about the University votes, which the Government seemed to be inclined to abandon, and which were vital to the Conservatives. He had written in strong terms to Mr. Gladstone, urging him to maintain this, and

¹ This must have been a misunderstanding. The office certainly had not been abolished.

² Prime Minister of Canada.

he hoped it might all come right. Lord Salisbury seemed rather depressed and evidently not exactly pleased at the peaceable arrangement. I said it was a great thing, and he answered, "I think we could have made a good fight," to which I replied, "But at what a price!" He seemed then to agree; spoke in very warm terms of Mr. Gladstone, Lord Granville, and Sir C. Dilke, saying they had been very conciliatory and pleasant to deal with. I said Mr. Gladstone considered Lord Salisbury's plan as far more Radical than his Bill would have been. Telegraphed to Mr. Gladstone saying I heard from Lord Salisbury that a serious difficulty had arisen about the University vote, and I earnestly hoped this would not militate against a final settlement. In the meantime, and before seeing Lord Salisbury, I received a most satisfactory letter from Mr. Gladstone saying that "the delicate and novel communications have been brought to a happy conclusion," thanks me "for the wise, gracious, and steady exercise of influence," and that his "cordial acknowledgments are due to Lord Salisbury and Sir S. Northcote."

28th Nov.—Heard from Mr. Gladstone that all the difficulties had been adjusted, and that he thought they ought not to have taken place. Saw good Sir S. Northcote, who also said all was right.¹ He was glad it was so, though he was not sure whether it was good for the party, but still that it would come right, as it did after the last Reform Bill, and trusted it would be right for a long time. He quite agreed with me that an Election now would be a bad thing and very dangerous.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 2nd Dec. 1884.—Mr. Gladstone reports to your Majesty, with his humble

¹ Lord Salisbury, on the 30th, expressed to the Queen, through Sir Henry Ponsonby, "my humble and earnest gratitude for her powerful intervention."

duty, that the Cabinet this day reviewed the Parliamentary situation. . . .

The Cabinet then proceeded to consider the demand for an improvement of the Naval Defences of the country, and they adopted a proposal of Lord Northbrook, under which they will, in settling the Finance of 1885-6, be prepared to ask the sanction of Parliament to a plan for the *increase* of Ships and Guns, and for the fortification of coaling stations, at the cost, in five years, of about five and a half millions. This plan will have to undergo the review of one of the Committees of Finance which it has been promised to appoint.

There are also questions reserved for further consideration in connection with Land Works of defence which may lead to a further augmentation of cost in connection *either* with such works, or of an enlargement of the proposed addition to ships and guns. . . .

The Marquis of Lansdowne to Queen Victoria.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, OTTAWA, 21st Dec. 1884.—Lord Lansdowne presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and not having had the honour of addressing your Majesty for some time, ventures to do so now, and to offer his best wishes for the coming year: he trusts that it may bring to your Majesty as little anxiety, and to the country as much credit and prosperity as possible.

Lord Lansdowne has not much Canadian news to lay before your Majesty. Sir John Macdonald returned from England much pleased and touched at the reception accorded to him by his Sovereign and by the Prince of Wales. It is, Lord Lansdowne thinks, very desirable that advantage should be taken, as your Majesty has taken it on this occasion, of every opportunity of showing attention to Colonial statesmen. They are quick both to notice a slight and to appreciate a kindness. There is a disposition, though not by any means a general one, to make

light of Imperial distinctions, and it is for this reason the more important that these should be conferred upon and accepted by men the prominence of whose position in their own Colony is unquestionable, and admitted even by those who differ from them. Sir John Macdonald is much the most considerable of the public men of Canada, and his influence has been exerted in the direction of maintaining the union with the Mother country. . . .

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 23rd Dec. 1884.—After tea Louis Battenberg brought his brother Liko,¹ who has come from Berlin to spend Xmas with him and Victoria, and they three dined with us and Helen.

29th Dec.—Received a letter from Liko Battenberg saying that my kind reception of him encouraged him to ask my consent to speaking to Beatrice, for whom, since they met in Darmstadt 8 months ago, he had felt the greatest affection! I had known for some time that she had had the same feelings towards him. They seem sincerely attached to each other, of that there can be no doubt. I let Liko know, to come up after tea, and I saw him in dear Albert's room. Then I called the dear child, and gave them my blessing. Lenchen was so delighted that all was satisfactorily settled, and poor Helen so pleased too, though it must be very trying for her.

Ludwig, Victoria, and of course Liko, dined with us, and were all very happy. Besides the family, J. Ely, Mrs. Moreton, Miss Loch, Mr. White² (my Minister at Bucharest), Sir J. Cowell, and Adm. de Horsey, dined. Beatrice looked very happy, but very quiet, and sat near her dear Liko, who is certainly very charming. Mr. White is an oldish man, clever and agreeable, with a very loud voice. He spoke in high terms of Sandro, and a good deal of the King and Queen of Roumania.

¹ Prince Henry of Battenberg.

² Appointed in 1885 Ambassador at Constantinople.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO CHAPTER VII

IN January 1885 the fate of General Gordon was decided. The desert column under Sir Herbert Stewart reached Gubat on the Nile on 20th January, but not without severe fighting at Abu Klea and Metemmeh, where it lost its commander. Next day arrived four steamers sent down by General Gordon; but it was not till the 24th that Sir Charles Wilson, who succeeded to the command, started with two of them, carrying British and Soudanese troops, to fight his way to Khartoum. On the 28th they arrived off the town, only to find that the Egyptian flag was no longer flying and that Government House was a wreck. They were just too late. In the early morning of the 26th the Dervishes had launched a general attack to which the half-starved garrison could make but a feeble resistance, and General Gordon was killed by fanatical Arabs on the steps of his office.

The news evoked profound emotion throughout Great Britain, the Queen being so moved that she fell ill for a few days. The procrastination of the Government was almost universally condemned; and, as soon as Parliament met, Votes of Censure were proposed in both Houses. That in the Lords was carried by 191 to 68, while that in the Commons was only defeated by the small majority of 14—302 to 288. There was a general demand that the power of the Mahdi should be overthrown at Khartoum—a policy which the Government, after a little hesitation, adopted. Sir Gerald Graham was sent at the head of a fresh expedition to Suakin, in order to crush the local rebels, and open up the road to Berber, while Lord Wolseley carried out certain operations to strengthen his position on the Nile. There was a spontaneous movement to render assistance throughout the Empire; and troops from New South Wales came to serve under General Graham's orders at Suakin. This forward policy was pursued from early in February till the middle of April. Then, as announced on the 21st, it was suddenly given up, owing partly to a realisation of the greatness and cost of the effort and the length of time required, and partly to an acute crisis which arose on the Afghan frontier. Ministers reverted to their original policy of entire abandonment of the Soudan, not without vehement protests by the Queen and in Parliament, and fixed the frontier of Egypt at Wady Halfa. The Mahdi died on 20th June; on 30th December the Khalifa, his successor, was heavily defeated at Ginniss

by a mixed British and Egyptian force under General Stephenson, and all immediate fear of invasion of Egypt by the Dervishes was allayed.

While Sir Peter Lumsden, the British Commissioner, was awaiting on the Afghan frontier the arrival, frequently announced and as frequently postponed, of the Russian Commissioner to proceed with the work of delimitation, Russian troops continued, in the early months of the year, to advance southwards upon Afghanistan and Russian reinforcements to pour into Merv. These hostile movements naturally provoked the Afghans. The situation appeared so grave that the British Government not only arranged an agreement with Russia on 17th March to restrict further advances on either side, but felt it necessary on 24th March to announce a state of emergency with a view to calling out the reserves. The precaution was wise, as on 30th March General Komaroff attacked and drove the Afghans, with serious loss, out of Penjdeh. The news caused a panic on the Stock Exchange. It looked like "unprovoked aggression," said Mr. Gladstone. Preparations for war were pushed forward both in this country and in India, troops that had been destined for the Soudan being stopped at Suakin and elsewhere and held in readiness to proceed eastwards; and on 27th April a Vote of Credit for £11,000,000 was agreed to without protest. Thereafter, on 2nd May, Russia accepted the arbitration which Lord Granville proposed. After this, passions simmered down; mutual concessions, which gave Russia a large share of her wishes, were made; the arbitration was dropped; and eventually Anglo-Russian Commissioners proceeded to delimit the frontier in detail.

In spite of loss of credit and internal disagreement, the Government appeared likely to last till the General Election; but on 8th June it was unexpectedly defeated by 264 to 252 over a proposal to increase the beer and spirit duties—a defeat due to 70 Liberal abstentions and full Parnellite attendance. It was a relief to Ministers to resign. Lord Salisbury was summoned to Balmoral, and agreed to endeavour to form a Government. To obtain the adhesion of the most popular Tory figure, Lord Randolph Churchill, he had to induce the leader of the Commons, Sir Stafford Northcote, to go to the Lords. He himself proposed to take the Foreign Office, consoling Sir Stafford (Lord Iddesleigh) with the honourable post of First Lord of the Treasury. As the Ministry would be in a minority and could not dissolve

till the Reform measures were completed, Lord Salisbury tried to get from Mr. Gladstone a promise of support on finance; but could only, after protracted negotiation, extract a statement that Mr. Gladstone felt sure there was no idea of withholding ways and means required for the public service. That assurance, the Queen told him, he might reasonably accept; and, on 23rd June, he kissed hands.

The new Government came into power just as the Redistribution Bill was passing into law. Nationalist Ireland was fairly quiet, and since 24th January, when the Irish-American conspirators had achieved their final *coup*, of simultaneous explosions in the Tower of London, Westminster Hall, and the House of Commons, no further dynamite outrage had occurred. The Crimes Act was allowed to lapse, while an Irish Land Purchase Act was passed; and the new Viceroy, Lord Carnarvon, adopted a benevolent attitude towards the Nationalists, even holding a secret talk with Mr. Parnell. Lord Salisbury, whose return to office was welcomed by Prince Bismarck, kept mainly to his work as Foreign Secretary—the improvement of British relations with foreign Powers, most of whom had been irritated by Liberal statesmanship. The most difficult problem that he had to face was the revolution that took place in Eastern Roumelia in September, by which its inhabitants declared their union with Bulgaria and swore allegiance to Prince Alexander. This was a policy which Russia had promoted; but, as it was now carried through as a popular movement without her consent, the Emperor was seriously affronted, recalled his officers who had trained the Bulgarian forces, and struck Prince Alexander off the list of the Russian Army. The Servians seized the occasion to invade the country, and Prince Alexander won European renown by the skilful and gallant manner in which he, as commander-in-chief, beat them and drove them out. Lord Salisbury was originally disposed to dwell on the breach of the Treaty of Berlin which the union involved. But when he realised that the movement was in no way a Russian manoeuvre, he worked to keep the European Powers from interference, and to get general recognition of a personal union of the two Governments under Prince Alexander.

King Alphonso XII of Spain died this year, leaving two daughters—and the hope of a posthumous son. In France the Ferry Government fell, and M. Grévy was re-elected President. In Germany Prince Bismarck prosecuted his

Colonial policy, entering into an acrimonious controversy with Lord Granville—a controversy which resulted in various agreements as to colonial boundaries. Later, by a display of force he compelled the Sultan of Zanzibar to acknowledge German supremacy over the adjacent mainland. The Italians, by an understanding with Great Britain, established themselves at Massowah on the Red Sea.

The General Election, which was held in November–December, followed upon a campaign of unexampled confusion. The Whigs under Lord Hartington and the Radicals under Mr. Chamberlain had been fighting within the Liberal Cabinet, and this autumn they fought openly on platforms, Lord Hartington declining to adopt his Radical colleague's programme of thoroughgoing land reform, free education, and disestablishment. Lord Rosebery exhorted all Liberals to shelter under the "Gladstone umbrella"; Mr. Gladstone asked the country to give the Liberals a clear majority independent of the Irish. Mr. Parnell, whose demand was for "legislative independence," which both Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain declined to entertain, instructed Irish voters, through the National League, to vote against the Liberals; accordingly the Conservatives were taunted by Sir William Harcourt with "stewing in Parnellite juice." In the result, a majority of the English borough seats, hitherto invariably Liberal, passed to the Conservatives; but the homes of the new electors, the county constituencies, influenced by the Radical catchword "three acres and a cow," went overwhelmingly in favour of the Liberals. The totals were, roughly, Liberals 334, Conservatives 250, Home Rulers 86; so that the Liberals could not regain office without Nationalist consent. The Cabinet decided not to resign at once, but to await the meeting of Parliament. In view of the constitutional demand of Ireland (which returned 85 Home Rulers, 18 Conservatives, and no Liberal) for Home Rule, Mr. Gladstone privately tendered his support to Lord Salisbury if he would definitely settle the question. This elicited no response, but on 17th December newspaper enterprise revealed that the Liberal leader's mind was moving in the direction of an Irish Parliament. The political world was deeply stirred; and Liberals opposed to Home Rule began to turn to Lord Hartington for a lead.

The Queen's youngest daughter, Princess Beatrice, was married on 23rd July, in Whippingham Church, to Prince Henry of Battenberg, brother of the Prince of Bulgaria.



CHAPTER VII

1885

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HAWARDEN, 5th Jan. 1885.—Mr. Gladstone tenders his humble duty to your Majesty, and his apology for having failed to transmit in the usual manner on Saturday his report of the proceedings of the Cabinet, as he was not able to quit it until the moment when it was necessary for him, in compliance with the instructions of Sir A. Clark, to leave London by railway.

The first subject of importance which the Cabinet considered was that of the recent territorial assumptions by Germany in New Guinea,¹ which have caused great excitement in Australia as far as first appearances go. The German proceedings are open to exception on the ground that that Government had distinctly assured the Government of your Majesty that there was to be consultation between the two Powers before any such proceeding should take place. The Cabinet considered that the facts ought to be temperately and clearly stated in a despatch, which will preserve their liberty of action, but they think the Colonial feeling is marked by exaggeration, and it may be found that there is no great objection to the acts of Germany in themselves, but only to the careless impropriety which attaches to the manner of them.

¹ Prince Bismarck's Pacific annexations had been effected in December 1884. See Introductory Note to ch. 6, p. 466.

The Cabinet also considered the case of the East African Coast, and were agreed in thinking the time had come for asserting your Majesty's authority over a portion of coast between the Cape Colony and Natal, where their responsibility for the interior has already been in substance established. The effect of this measure will be to make the line continuous on the East from Cape Town to the point at St. Lucia Bay which protects the reserved territory of Zululand. There may be a pressure from the Colony urging further assumptions, which, as far as appears, would have no other or higher motive than to stop the way against other Powers, with Germany specially in view.

A proceeding of that kind, Mr. Gladstone will venture to observe in passing, raises very grave considerations. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 8th Jan. 1885.—Eddy's 21st birthday. It seems quite like a dream, and but so short a while ago, that I hurried across from Osborne to Windsor, or rather Frogmore, to find that poor little bit of a thing, wrapped in cotton!¹ May God bless him and may he remain good and unspoilt, as he is! There are immense doings everywhere, and great ones at Sandringham, where all the family are assembled.

Saw Lord Granville, who is much worried about affairs. Egyptian ones, more than ever complicated, as to finance. He did not seem to understand my annoyance at their talking again of the time when we should have to leave Egypt!! I protested against being bound to any time, which he finally admitted I was right in thinking a mistake. Then talked of Germany, and how ill she behaved about colonial affairs, irritating our colonies in every way. He spoke kindly and with interest of dear Beatrice. Liko was very sad at the thought of parting.

¹ See Second Series, vol. i, pp. 150-152.

*Queen Victoria to the Duke of Grafton.*¹

OSBORNE, 9th Jan. 1885.—The Queen thanks the Duke of Grafton very much for his kind letter and good wishes for her beloved daughter Beatrice's betrothal. The Duke has known her from her birth, and knows therefore *what* a devoted daughter she has ever been; he can therefore understand that it would have been *quite out of the question* for her ever to have left the Queen; and *she would never have wished* it herself, knowing well how *impossible* it was for her to leave her Mother.

Prince Henry of Battenberg is however ready to make England his home, and the Princess will continue to live with the Queen as heretofore. He is very amiable, very unassuming and sensible, and in addition very good-looking.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

23rd Jan. 1885— . . . Mr. Gladstone has not troubled your Majesty with any remarks touching the criticisms of public journals on the Administration of Lord Derby, mainly because he is not quite sure to what particular point they are addressed. He finds that sometimes charges of vacillation and indecision are advanced as the most convenient method of attack, when an explicit avowal of the real aims of the critic is found inexpedient. He hopes there is no ground for these charges, but he does not pretend to so minute an acquaintance with all the affairs of great and complicated departments as to warrant a sweeping and unequivocal judgment on his part concerning them. If, however, it were the fact that the real ground of animadversion is, in this instance, to be found in Lord Derby's slowness, or positive reluctance, to meet the demands now rife in some of the Colonies for a system of annexations intended to forestall the

¹ Formerly Lord Charles FitzRoy, Equerry to Queen Victoria from 1849 to 1882, when he succeeded to the Dukedom. See Second Series, vol. i, pp. 302–304.

colonising efforts of other countries, Mr. Gladstone could not honourably suppress the fact that he himself, for one, is firmly opposed on principle to such a system, and he believes that herein [he] is only a humble representative of convictions, which were not general only but universal among the Statesmen of the first thirty years of his political life.

The Marquis of Hartington to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

WAR OFFICE, 23rd January 1885.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—I see by the Court Circular that the Queen telegraphed direct to Lord Wolseley on the receipt of the news of the battle of Abu Klea.¹ I should be glad to know whether it is her Majesty's desire to adopt the same course on other similar occasions which may occur; as in this instance I delayed my telegram to Lord Wolseley in order to transmit the message which I felt sure I should receive from her Majesty.

I cannot help thinking that it would on the whole be most convenient that any message from the Queen should be sent through the Secretary of State.

No inconvenience has occurred in the present case except that my own message was delayed, and that I was placed in the somewhat false position of re-telegraphing a message from her Majesty which must have already been received for some hours. But it is conceivable that cases might occur in which other considerations might arise, and in which it would be desirable that the Secretary of State should be responsible even for the terms of the telegram. Yours sincerely, HARTINGTON.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

OSBORNE, 24th Jan. 1885.—The Queen always *has* telegraphed direct to her Generals, and *always will* do so, as they value *that* and *don't* care near so much for a mere official message. But she generally sent an official one too, and somehow or other she

¹ See Introductory Note to this chapter.

forgot or omitted sending it to Lord Hartington. But she thinks Lord Hartington's letter *very officious* and *impertinent in tone*. The Queen *has the right* to telegraph congratulations and enquiries *to any one*, and won't stand dictation. She *won't* be a *machine*. But the Liberals always wish to make her *feel THAT*, and she *won't accept it*.

The Queen must think Sir Henry *must* feel this and trusts he will *make* Lord H. understand his impropriety.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Marquis of Hartington.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 24th January 1885.

MY DEAR HARTINGTON,—I am commanded by the Queen to observe that her Majesty has always been in the habit of telegraphing in her own name to the General commanding a force which has achieved a victory. But she regrets that in the case of Abu Klea she omitted to telegraph the message simultaneously to you. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Sir William Harcourt to Queen Victoria.

WHITEHALL, 24th Jan. 1885.—Sir William Harcourt presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs leave to report that he has just returned from the scene of the explosions this afternoon at Westminster Hall and the House of Commons.

It is too early yet to ascertain the exact truth of the circumstances as they occurred until the examination of the persons present is completed, and all sorts of rumours are flying about which cannot be depended upon.

As far as Sir William can ascertain, the first explosion took place on the landing of the first flight of steps at the end of Westminster Hall. It is said that one of the sightseers—as Saturday is a public show day—observed a small parcel with something (no doubt a fuse) burning; he called the attention of a policeman to it, who took it up and the packet

exploded either in his hands or on the floor of the pavement. The Inspector of Explosives calculates from the appearances that the charge would not exceed 5 lbs. and would go into a parcel not more than 6 inches cube. In Westminster Hall there is no *structural* damage beyond the blowing in of two paving stones. There was evidently a great gust of wind from the explosion which has broken most of the glass in the Hall, though (singularly enough) not the great painted window to any considerable extent. Holes are seen to the sky through the roof which are probably made by slates displaced. The walls are quite uninjured even close to the site of the explosion. The dust of ages has been brought down and lies inches thick on the floor.

The same persons no doubt followed on with the sightseers to the House of Commons and seem to have deposited another packet at the steps of the Strangers' seats just under the Peers' Gallery. This second explosion took place about five minutes after the first, the exact time being marked by the stopping of the House of Commons clock at 2.13 p.m. Here again the damage was singularly slight considering the terrible nature of the explosive employed. There is a considerable wreckage of the screen which divides the House of Commons from the lobby, but the Peers' Gallery which was not 10 feet above the place of the explosion is not destroyed. Some of the glass in the lobbies is shattered, but hardly any in the House itself—except that the stuffing of the Treasury Bench (exactly in the spot occupied by the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary) is torn up, no doubt by *débris* shot out by explosion, though no other injury appears at that end of the House.

Sir William has received a report from Captain Shaw and Col. Ford (the Inspector of Explosives) as to the Tower explosion, which seems to have been just of the same character. Some person in company with the sightseers evidently dropped an explosive packet in the Armoury. This explosion, though it took place

in a large room with a considerable number of persons present, only seems to have injured a few. The *structural* damage appears to have been inconsiderable, though from some cause or other the explosion caused a fire which was soon extinguished.

Sir William has ordered all the ports and vessels leaving England to-night and to-morrow [to be] carefully watched and also all the railway stations by which the culprits might leave London. . . .

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 5th Feb. 1885.—Dreadful news after breakfast. Khartoum fallen,¹ Gordon's fate uncertain! All greatly distressed. Sent for Sir H. Ponsonby, who was horrified. It is too fearful. The Government is alone to blame, by refusing to send the expedition till it was too late. Telegraphed *en clair* to Mr. Gladstone, Lord Granville, and Lord Hartington, expressing how dreadfully shocked I was at the news, all the more so when one felt it might have been prevented. Saw Sir H. Ponsonby, who is to go to London to speak to Mr. Gladstone, Lord Hartington and others, about the alarming state of affairs.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Hartington.

[Telegram.]

5th Feb. 1885.—These news from Khartoum are frightful, and to think that all this might have been prevented and many precious lives saved by earlier action is too frightful.²

Express to Lord Wolseley my great sorrow and anxiety at these news, and my sympathy with Lord Wolseley in this great anxiety; pray, but have little hope, brave Gordon may yet be alive.

¹ On 26th January, so Lord Wolseley telegraphed: "Sir C. Wilson arrived there on 28th to find the place in the hands of the enemy. He returned under a heavy fire from the river banks."

² This sentence seems to have been telegraphed *en clair* also to Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

OSBORNE, 5th Feb. 1885.— . . . It seems to me these are the vital questions to be considered.

First. Absolutely necessary to leave no stone unturned to ascertain Gordon's *fate*. We are bound in honour and respect to him to do that.

Secondly. We must not retire without making our power felt.

Thirdly. Some means must be found to try and place some *sort of Government* at Khartoum, or try to *treat* with the rebels.

If we merely turn *straight back again*, our object having been defeated by the vacillation and *delays* of the Government, our position in sending out the Expedition, and our power in the East will be *ruined*; and we shall *never* be able to hold our heads up again! The country will be furious; and we are bound to *show* a bold *front*. Tame submission would *oblige us* very likely to fight in some other direction in Egypt soon again. Such an ending as this would be fatal.

Something strong must be written to the Cabinet. They should likewise call for the Duke's opinion and advice.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 5th Feb. 1885.—Mr. Gladstone has had the honour this day to receive your Majesty's telegram *en clair*, relating to the deplorable intelligence received this day from Lord Wolseley, and stating that it is too fearful to consider that the fall of Khartoum might have been prevented and many precious lives saved by earlier action.

Mr. Gladstone does not presume to estimate the means of judgment possessed by your Majesty, but so far as his information and his recollection at the moment go, he is not altogether able to follow the conclusion which your Majesty has been pleased thus to announce.

Mr. Gladstone is under the impression that Lord Wolseley's force might have been sufficiently advanced to save Khartoum had not a large portion of it been detached by a circuitous route along the river, upon the express application of General Gordon, to occupy Berber on the way to the final destination. He speaks, however, with submission on a point of this kind.

There is indeed in some quarters a belief that the Berber route ought to have been chosen at an earlier period, and, had the navigation of the Nile in its upper region been as well known as that of the Thames, this might have been a just ground of reproach. But when, on the first symptoms that the position of General Gordon in Khartoum was not secure, your Majesty's advisers at once sought from the most competent persons the best information they could obtain respecting the Nile route, the balance of testimony and authority was decidedly against it, and the idea of the Suakin and Berber route, with all its formidable difficulties, was entertained in preference ; nor was it until a much later period that the weight of opinion and information warranted the definitive choice of the Nile route.

Your Majesty's Ministers were well aware that climate and distance were far more formidable than the sword of the enemy ; and they deemed it right, while providing adequate military means, never to lose from view what might have proved to be the destruction of the gallant army in the Soudan. It is probable that abundant wrath and indignation will on this occasion be poured out upon them, nor will they complain if so it should be ; but a partial consolation may be found in reflecting that neither aggressive policy, nor military disaster, nor any gross error in the application of means to ends, has marked this series of difficult proceedings, which indeed have greatly redounded to the honour of your Majesty's forces of all ranks and arms.

In these remarks, which Mr. Gladstone submits

with his humble duty, he has taken it for granted that Khartoum has fallen through the exhaustion of its means of defence. But your Majesty may observe from the telegram that this is uncertain. Both the Correspondent's account, and that of Major Wortley, refer to the delivery of the town by treachery, a contingency which on some previous occasions General Gordon has treated as far from improbable; and which, if the motive existed, was likely to operate quite independently of the particular time at which a relieving force might arrive. The presence of the enemy in force would naturally suggest the occasion, or perhaps even the apprehension of the approach of the British Army.

In pointing to these considerations, Mr. Gladstone is far from assuming that they are conclusive upon the whole case; in dealing with which the Government has hardly ever, at any of its stages, been furnished sufficiently with those means of judgment which rational men usually require. It may be that, on a retrospect, many errors will appear to have been committed. There are many reproaches, from the most opposite quarters, to which it might be difficult to supply a conclusive answer. Among them, and perhaps among the most difficult, as far as Mr. Gladstone can judge, would be the reproach of those who might argue that our proper business was the protection of Egypt, that it never was in military danger from the Mahdi, and that the most prudent course would have been to provide it with adequate frontier defences, and to assume no responsibility for the lands beyond the desert.¹

¹ This letter was printed in full in *Life of Gladstone*, bk. viii, ch. 9; but it seems proper to reproduce it here, as his detailed answer to the Queen's charge that Khartoum and Gordon might have been saved by earlier action on the part of the Government. Lord Cromer's judgment in *Modern Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 17, agrees with that of her Majesty: "The Nile Expedition was sanctioned too late, and the reason why it was sanctioned too late was that Mr. Gladstone would not accept simple evidence of a plain fact, which was patent to much less powerful intellects than his own."

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

OSBORNE, 6th Feb. 1885. —It is absolutely necessary that we must ascertain Gordon's fate.

Trust the Cabinet will promptly agree to a bold and decided course. Hesitation and half measures would be disastrous.

What is Lord Wolseley's and Sir E. Baring's advice? Have you consulted the Duke of Cambridge and Lord Napier on the military situation?

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 6th Feb. 1885. —Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty apprises your Majesty that the Cabinet assembled at eleven this day to consider the announcement from Lord Wolseley of the fall of Khartoum, and the measures to be adopted in consequence.

It being of great importance to lose no time, the Ministers agreed upon the terms of the message to Lord Wolseley, copy of which is enclosed, and which, having regard to the purport of Lord Wolseley's military statement, Mr. Gladstone trusts may commend itself to your Majesty.

The Cabinet also considered the terms of an announcement for the public suited to the circumstances of the moment.

Mr. Gladstone read to the Cabinet the cyphered telegram which he had the honour to receive this morning from your Majesty. In addition to what he has written above, he humbly informs your Majesty that the Cabinet have Lord Wolseley's advice only as in the telegram of yesterday, that Sir E. Baring appears to await the reply of the Government, and that Lord Hartington will do his best to learn the views of military authorities: but the Cabinet are strongly of opinion that the military questions attaching to the situation in the Soudan

should be left to Lord Wolseley, and that his discretion should not be fettered by regard to them. . . .

The Marquis of Hartington to Lord Wolseley.

[*Copy Telegram.*]

10 DOWNING STREET, 6th Feb. 1885.—Objects to be aimed at now are—

1. Safety of Gordon if still alive, which must be assumed till we are certain of his death.

2. To check advance of Mahdi in districts now undisturbed.

Whether it will be ultimately necessary to advance on Khartoum cannot now be decided ; but hazardous operation at this season does not appear essential to above objects.

From political point of view there would be disadvantage in a retrograde movement unconnected with military concentration, but all such considerations must yield to military necessities.

We have absolute confidence in your judgment and give you fullest discretion to use forces at your disposal for accomplishment of above main objects.

We are prepared to give you any further assistance in our power which you may desire either by despatch of troops to Suakin or in any other manner you indicate.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Hartington.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

OSBORNE, 6th Feb. 1885.—Entirely approve proposed telegram,¹ but the full discretionary power given must be adhered to. There must be no further interference, as has been the case on former occasion. Lord Wolseley must be left entirely unchecked.

I must impress this in the *very strongest* manner.

¹ *I.e.* Lord Hartington's telegram to Lord Wolseley above.

*Sir Henry Ponsonby to Mr. Edward Hamilton.*¹

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 7th February 1885.

MY DEAR HAMILTON,—As you mentioned the subject to me, I may tell you that I repeated to the Queen what Mr. Gladstone said about the *uncyphered telegram*.

Her Majesty observed that it contained no censure upon her Ministers, but that it was a deep lament that our efforts to save Gordon *were too late*!

Every one, including Ministers, say the same thing.

The Queen had no idea that there was any probability of her telegram being published and cannot conceive it possible.—H. F. PONSONBY.

I may add that the Queen really feels so much for the honour of her great Empire that she with difficulty abstained from writing more strongly than she did.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

OSBORNE, 7th Feb. 1885.—General Sir Henry Ponsonby with his humble duty fears he has misled your Majesty to suppose he wrote about the uncyphered telegram in order to calm Mr. Gladstone's private feelings, which it was not his intention to do. He thought that by writing to Mr. Hamilton he could reduce the question to one of minor detail.

Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington were so grave about it yesterday that Sir Henry Ponsonby was anxious to show it was not intended as a public censure. Mr. Gladstone had sent to enquire if the message had been made known by the telegraph clerks to others; and he evidently wished to bring the matter forward again as a question of whether he could remain in office if publicly condemned by the Queen.

Sir Henry Ponsonby thinks it of so much import-

¹ Mr. Gladstone's private secretary, afterwards Sir Edward Hamilton.

ance that your Majesty should be able openly and freely to communicate all your Majesty's feelings to the Prime Minister, that he considers any check on this free communication would be most unfortunate. He therefore wished to satisfy Mr. Gladstone that, while adhering to the opinions expressed, your Majesty had no desire to publish them. And that in telegraphing your Majesty only repeated what most people were saying at this catastrophe.

He added to his letter to Mr. Hamilton the words in your Majesty's note—as it is quite right these should be known.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 8th Feb. 1885.—Further telegram from Lord Wolseley, as to what could be done. Impossible to move till the autumn, and must remain waiting all through the summer, which will be serious. But a force should be sent to crush Osman Digna, who prevents our getting on. This to be done at once. Heard from Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington about this.

Saw Lord Hartington, who looked very grave about the state of affairs. He proposes sending out several Regiments, and asked permission for three Battalions of the Guards to go to Suakin, to crush Osman Digna. I demurred about the Guards, as they never used to be sent away on such service, but it seems inevitable. He said it would, he feared, “be a stiff business,” and the climate be a great danger. It is most distressing, and all this because the Government would not send an expedition in time. Lord Hartington spoke of poor Gen. Gordon; Mr. Gladstone had consented at once to sending this expedition, which Lord Hartington had been very much surprised at. He and others of the Cabinet had been very much annoyed at Mr. Chamberlain's language, amongst other things, with reference to taxation, which almost amounted to socialism.

Mr. Edward Hamilton to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

10 DOWNING STREET, 8th February 1885.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY PONSONBY,—Mr. Gladstone has read your letter of yesterday written by her Majesty's direction together with the postscript. Having already ventured to lay before her Majesty some written observations bearing on the dreadful catastrophe in the Soudan, he thinks it would be disrespectful on his part to enlarge upon the subject at this moment. He must consider that her Majesty is the best judge of what to say and how to say it. Yours sincerely, E. W. HAMILTON.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Marquis of Hartington.

[Telegram.]

13th Feb. 1885.—Queen observes it is quite irregular that Government should publicly express commendation of officers' conduct.

She asked that her thanks should be sent, but it appears that thanks of Government have been sent instead.—H. P.

The German Crown Princess to Queen Victoria.

BERLIN, 13th February 1885.

MY BELOVED MAMA, — . . . It seems to be true without a doubt—that brave, noble General Gordon is no more! One cannot bear to think of it, so grievous does it seem, that this reward for so much courage, ability, energy, devotion, and heroism should be a cruel death by the hands of traitors when help was *all but at hand*.

It is maddening to think of the noble endeavours to carry out a task, rendered unnecessarily hard and difficult!

I *can* understand a *great* reluctance on the part of any Government to undertake putting Egypt in order, pacifying the Soudan, etc., on account of the vast expense, trouble, difficulties, and dangers of all kinds. But I *do not* understand that, when one is

pushed and driven to do it, morally *obliged*, because the honour of the country is engaged, and the *danger* of being *totally* passive and inactive, *i.e.* having *others* interfere, is *too* great a risk to run, not doing it as *effectually* and as quickly as possible, instead of by halves, and with little care and foresight! It is *THAT* which is *distressing*, which is short-sighted, and such bad economy; in fact it is so painful that one does not like to dwell on the mistakes that have been made, as the price one has to pay for mending a bad business is *too* *distracting*!

The *Cologne Gazette* goes on writing in the *nastiest* way, Anglophobe à *outrance*, whereas the *Volkszeitung* loudly praises and cordially admires the conduct of our troops, etc. The *National Zeitung* is more spiteful than I can say!

I think amongst officers (the older ones) great interest and sympathy is shown, and *I have seen* several of them who had big tears in their eyes when they spoke of Gordon. . . .

The Marquis of Hartington to Queen Victoria.

WAR OFFICE, 14th Feb. 1885. — Lord Hartington presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and with reference to Sir H. Ponsonby's letter of the 13th regrets very much that the telegram No. 123 to Lord Wolseley was expressed in terms which your Majesty did not approve.

Lord Hartington is entirely responsible for the form of this telegram, not having consulted his colleagues upon it, further than to call their attention to the very remarkable services performed by Sir C. Wilson in the period from the 19th January to the 9th February, and to express his opinion, in which they concurred, that they should receive some recognition.

Lord Hartington was not aware that your Majesty had desired that the expression of your Majesty's thanks should be conveyed to Sir Charles Wilson, having only received a message intimating your

Majesty's satisfaction at the good news respecting him.

Lord Hartington will endeavour in future to take care that messages of this character are expressed strictly in accordance with precedent ; but he trusts that your Majesty will be pleased to make some allowance for the extreme pressure of work and anxiety which the present emergency has entailed upon him.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 15th Feb. 1885.—Slept till 6, then coughed a great deal. My temperature still high, but gone down a little. I felt very weak. Sir Wm. Jenner has remained on. Sat in my armchair, feeling very weak and wretched, and lay on the sofa, dozing almost the whole time, feeling very chilly. Beatrice read prayers to me. In the evening she came up to me, after dinner. My temperature lower than in the morning, which is very satisfactory.

The Earl of Derby to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 16th Feb. 1885.—Lord Derby, with his humble duty, submits to your Majesty that the patriotic and public-spirited action of the New South Wales Government in offering the services of a military force to assist in the Egyptian operations, deserves some special recognition ; and that such recognition would be most welcome if it took the form of a personal message from your Majesty, expressing satisfaction and gratitude at the feeling thus shown by the colonists.

Lord Derby, if honoured by being the bearer of such a message, would make it public here, and communicate it to the agent-general in this country, who would telegraph it out to New South Wales.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

OSBORNE, 17th Feb. 1885.—The Queen feels very much better now, and *is* so ; only very weak ; and

has every reason to hope that she *may* leave on *Thursday*. She is surprised Sir Henry ever *thought* she could be *here* on *Saturday* !

If only the Guards could leave Windsor two or two hours and a half later the Queen could drive down in a closed carriage to see them off in the evening of Friday. . . .

Mr. Gladstone and the Government *have*—the Queen *feels it dreadfully*—Gordon's innocent, noble, heroic blood on their consciences. *No one* who reflects on *how* he was *sent* out, how he was *refused*, can deny it ! It is *awful*. . . . May they *feel* it, and may they be *made to do so* ! . . .

Pray read this last letter of Lord Wolseley's, and what he *says* about delay. *If* Mr. Gladstone tries to throw it on him, the Queen *herself* will remind Mr. Gladstone, and hopes Lord Wolseley will be indignant !

It is all this that has made the Queen *ill*.

18th Feb.—The Queen is better a good deal to-day, but Sir Henry is *right* in thinking that all that has happened within the last few days has upset her dreadfully. She is now in perfect despair at not being *on* the spot to see all that is going on ! Her heart is with her soldiers—she *always* bid *them* farewell—in '54—in '82 ; and *now* dreadful ill-luck seems to *threaten* her being unable to do it ! Somehow or somewhere she hopes to see some of the troops who are leaving. . . .¹

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Mr. Edward Hamilton.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 18th February 1885.

MY DEAR HAMILTON,—The Queen hopes to be able to return to Windsor to-morrow.

¹ The Queen was able to cross from Osborne next morning, and in the afternoon saw the Grenadier Guards from a closed window in the Corridor at Windsor, and gave them through their Colonel, Colonel Home, an encouraging farewell message. She also saw General Sir Gerald Graham, who was to command the whole force at Suakin ; she found him "frank and honest."

Her Majesty's illness was no doubt increased by the anxiety of mind caused by the recent events in the Soudan. The fall of Khartoum and the death of Gordon created a painful impression upon her. She asks if Mr. Gladstone has not also felt this deeply?

The Queen enquires whether Mr. Gladstone or any members of the Government have written to Miss Gordon to condole with her on the loss which she and the Queen and nation have sustained by the death of her noble brother? Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Mr. Edward Hamilton to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, 19th February 1885.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY PONSONBY,—The question of making some communication to Miss Gordon had not escaped Mr. Gladstone's consideration. It had occurred to him that by way of giving some substantial proof of their sincere sympathy with Miss Gordon it might be fitting to offer her a Civil List Pension. Some preliminary enquiries will have to be made; and Mr. Gladstone thought it might be well to express the sympathy of the Government concurrently with an offer of pecuniary assistance.

Her Majesty asks if Mr. Gladstone has not felt these recent occurrences deeply. He does indeed; and it would be strange if he did not. I doubt if he has felt anything so much during his long career, unless it be the sad Phoenix Park murders in 1882. He has been doing his best to brace himself up to meet the great strain upon him; but this is difficult enough; and I fear that in the long run it will tell severely upon him.

He trusts that her Majesty is committing no imprudence in undertaking the journey to Windsor to-day; and he will be glad to know that her Majesty is none the worse for it. He hopes that, when the fatigue of the journey is over, the change of air will prove beneficial. Yours sincerely, E. W. HAMILTON.

The Earl of Derby to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

COLONIAL OFFICE, 19th February 1885.

DEAR SIR HENRY,—I delivered the Queen's gracious message¹ in reference to the colonial offers of troops, to the Australian agents-general, whom I had to see yesterday. They received it with much satisfaction, and have made it public, as I authorised them to do. I shall also send it out to the governors of the colonies concerned.

The Australian offers are very liberal. The Canadian less so, as Canada asks to be repaid the cost. It is possible, however, that seeing what Australia has done may stimulate the Canadians to be equally patriotic. Very truly yours, DERBY.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 19th Feb. 1885.—Mr. Gladstone reports to your Majesty with his humble duty that the House of Commons met again to-day after its long adjournment, and that the appearance of the House presented to the common eye, so far as he perceived, no sign of the devastation effected by the recent explosion; a circumstance which appears highly honourable to the efficiency of the Office of Works, which has been charged with the business of restitution. Mr. Gladstone ought to have excepted a portion of the (very indifferent) painted glass of the windows, not replaced, and doubtless there are substantial repairs not yet effected, the want of which is veiled from the eye. . . .

Sir Stafford Northcote gave notice of a vote of censure amid marked indications of eagerness on his own side, and this formed the central point of interest. The motion as he read it ascribed the loss of lives and treasure in Egypt to the errors of the Government, and declared it to be necessary that they should recognise the substantial obligations they had incurred. . . .

¹ The Queen desired Lord Derby to "express my warm and grateful feelings to the Colonies for their proffered aid. It is most gratifying."

10 DOWNING STREET, 20th Feb.—Mr. Gladstone reports to your Majesty with his humble duty that the Cabinet which met this day considered fully the notice given last night by Sir Stafford Northcote, and likewise the amendment of Mr. John Morley, which condemns the intention of the Government, approved by your Majesty, to employ your Majesty's forces for the overthrow of the power of the Mahdi at Khartoum.

The Cabinet conceive it will be their duty to meet both the motion and the amendment with a direct negative. The motion, although not very definite, yet apparently contemplates in portions of the Soudan proceedings of an indefinite duration to which no Government ought to stand pledged. The same observation applies, though less pointedly, to Egypt proper. . . .

The Cabinet considered a question which was to be put by Mr. Forster to Mr. Gladstone with regard to the offers of military support from the Colonies. It was thought fitting that Mr. Gladstone should acknowledge these offers in terms of great warmth, and should dwell on their historical importance. He undertook to do this. He was likewise to explain the particulars of what has occurred so far as New South Wales is concerned, because there the offer was early, complete, and accompanied by a state of preparedness which rendered it at once available. He was also to mention somewhat specially a remarkable offer from South Australia, which like New South Wales offered to bear the military charge. But he was to speak of all the offers as dictated by the same spirit, and to express the desire of the Government to apply the same considerations to them all.

Mr. Gladstone has indeed received through Sir H. Ponsonby an expression of your Majesty's regret that the offer from Canada has not been accepted. Mr. Gladstone is not certain whether your Majesty means that such an offer was to be embraced at once irrespective of all conditions, of the approval of the General,

and of the question whether considerations of time and place would allow Canadian troops to reach the Soudan in time to take part in the operations now contemplated. Your Majesty will at once perceive the gravity of these considerations, and will apprehend that it might not be satisfactory to Canada were her men to reach Suakin after the operations against Osman Digna, and possibly several months before any other operations were to be commenced in which they could take part. It did not appear, apart from other questions, that the Canadian offer could take effect at once. But the offer has not been rejected in the preliminary reply, and it will stand for further consideration should it take a practical form. . . .

Queen Victoria to Sir William Harcourt.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 23rd Feb. 1885.—I am horrified at the disgraceful scene at Exeter, at Lee's execution.¹ Surely he cannot *now* be executed? It would be *too* cruel. Imprisonment for life seems the only alternative. But since this new executioner has taken it in hand there have been several accidents. Surely some safe and certain means could be devised which would make it quite sure. It should be of *iron* not wood, and such scenes must not recur.

Sir William Harcourt to Queen Victoria.

WHITEHALL, 25th Feb. 1885.—Sir William Harcourt presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and humbly begs leave to thank your Majesty for the gracious message by which Sir William learned that your Majesty approved by anticipation of the respite in the case of the miserable wretch Lee. The statement of Sir R. Cross in the House of Commons last night, that he concurred in the decision, will remove

¹ John Lee was condemned to death for the murder of Ellen Keyse at Babbacombe. Owing to some defect of mechanism three attempts to hang him failed, and his sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life.

any difference of opinion on the subject. If capital punishment is to be maintained, great care must be taken not to shock public opinion in the circumstances of executions.

Sir William is causing a strict enquiry to be made into the causes of the miscarriage in this instance. The formal report is not yet made; but, as far as Sir William can learn, the failure was due to the defective action of the bolt which worked the drop. The drop itself had been used with success on former occasions and had been found to work well on the Saturday before the execution. What was the precise cause of the failure on the Monday is not yet accurately discovered. As far as yet appears, the executioner was not in fault, as the defect was in the apparatus supplied to him.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Cypher Telegrams.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 26th Feb. 1885.—If you refuse to grant Lord Wolseley's wise suggestion,¹ you run the risk of increasing difficulties and bloodshed. Remember the example of Gordon!

27th Feb.—I have just seen Sir E. Baring's 119. You must not lose time and be undecided *now*. The country expects *decision*. I urge in the strongest manner acceptance of Lord Wolseley's and Sir Evelyn Baring's proposal without loss of time.

Queen Victoria to Sir William Harcourt.

[*Extract.*]

27th Feb. 1885.—The state of affairs abroad is most serious and grievous. Nothing but a firm decided course can answer; and half measures, and reluctance to accept the advice of those who can alone judge of the state of affairs, will be ruin to the country—not to speak of the Government.

¹ That he should be appointed Governor-General of the Soudan.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 27th–28th Feb. 1885.—Mr. Gladstone reports with his humble duty to your Majesty that the debate on the Vote of Censure has been carried forward to-night in the House of Commons with great ability on both, or on all, sides of the question. From the benches of the Government, very able speeches were made by Mr. Courtney, Lord E. Fitzmaurice, Mr. Forster, and Lord Hartington. But of these speeches, Mr. Forster's was for the Opposition, and Mr. Courtney's, a speech of great energy and point, was in favour of Mr. Morley's amendment. Lord Hartington restated, with measured force, the position of the Government, and overthrew the contention, which had taken a very forward place in the indictment against Ministers, that their great offence was the failure to send forward General Graham's force to relieve General Gordon.

It was Sir M. H. Beach who had, in opening the debate, founded himself on this statement of the case. His speech was vigorous but hardly equal to that with which he moved a Censure last May. Mr. Clarke, Q.C., delivered a very spirited invective against Mr. Gladstone. Lord John Manners, whose debating powers have been more recognised during the last three or four years than during the forty previous years of his Parliamentary life, wound up the debate at a late hour.

There were several questions to be put from the Chair. The first of these was that the words proposed by Sir Stafford Northcote should stand part of the question. On this question the voting was :

Ayes	.	.	.	.	288
Noes	.	.	.	.	302
Majority for the Government					14

Mr. Goschen and the few friends adhering to him, Mr. Forster, Mr. Parnell and the whole body of Irish Nationalists, voted against the Government.

Mr. Morley's amendment was put next. The parties of the Government and the Opposition combined in voting against this proposition. The numbers were :

Ayes	.	.	.	.	112
Noes	.	.	.	.	455
Majority	.	.	.	.	343

After this a third motion, made by Lord George Hamilton, was put, declaring that Government had failed to indicate any policy which would warrant confidence. On this the numbers were :

Ayes	.	.	.	.	277
Noes	.	.	.	.	299
Majority	.	.	.	.	22

The Cabinet will meet to-morrow (this day) at two.¹

10 DOWNING STREET, 28th Feb.—Mr. Gladstone reports to your Majesty, with his humble duty, that the Cabinet at its meeting to-day conversed fully on the divisions of last night, and the small majorities (the minorities being largely swelled by over forty Irish Nationalists) by which Ministers were shielded from censure in the House of Commons. They are sensible of the great aggravation of their difficulties, which results from closely divided voting in such a case : but they have arrived at the conclusion that the circumstances, however arduous, would not warrant their tendering at the present moment their resignation to your Majesty. . . .

The Cabinet agreed with the draft of his proposed answer to a communication from Prince Bismarck which cannot be called less than menacing. The terms of this draft appeared to be firm but courteous, and well calculated to place the subject on the lines of friendly communication. But there is no certainty that Prince Bismarck will deem them such. . . .

¹ In the House of Lords the Government were beaten by 191 votes to 68—majority 123.

The Cabinet considered the state of the proceedings on the Afghan frontier, and agreed in thinking that General Lumsden should be instructed to report home before giving advice in any case where the deplorable incident of an armed collision between Afghans and Russians might be likely to occur.

The subject of General Lord Wolseley's desire for a Commission as Governor-General of the Soudan also came before Ministers, but it appeared to involve several points which were not made sufficiently clear, and the Cabinet determined to resume the subject at their next meeting.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

WINDSOR CASTLE [*Undated. ? 1st Mar. 1885*].—Pray prepare a letter for me for Mr. Gladstone. The delay I am in such despair about is : about the *Soudan*—and Lord Wolseley—and about Turkey.

It is this hopeless way of going on which would make me hail a change of Government. Otherwise if they *will* but be *firm, honest*, and *not* so miserably undecided and non-supporting or believing those they employ—I don't care if they remain in. But I have *no* confidence left, and lose all heart, all hope ! Why cling to office when they are so discredited at home and abroad ? It is so humiliating and dreadful for me.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *1st Mar. 1885*.—The Queen has received Mr. Gladstone's letter announcing the conclusion which the Cabinet have arrived at, that the circumstances of the late divisions in the Houses of Lords and Commons do not warrant their tendering their resignation of office.

The Queen trusts from the admissions made by several Ministers in their recent speeches, to the effect that they were not entirely satisfied with what has passed during the last year, that they are

now prepared to act energetically as the occasion requires.

But the Queen cannot conceal her dismay at learning that the Cabinet have not yet made up their minds on Lord Wolseley's request, which is so warmly supported by Sir Evelyn Baring, and she must solemnly record her warning that this indecision and delay may produce the most disastrous consequences. Nor does it appear that any determination has been made with reference to Central Asia.

Although Sir Peter Lumsden reiterates his conviction of the fatal consequences of any exhibition of weakness, although the Secretary of State for India demands that firm language shall be used to the Russians, and although the telegrams of yesterday report the gradual and steady advance of Russian troops, the Queen finds that the Cabinet have only instructed Sir P. Lumsden to report home before offering advice, and have abstained from giving him any orders on the attitude he is to hold towards the Russians with respect to their demands.

The Queen laments this want of decision and firmness in the Government, which gives her the greatest anxiety for the future.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 2nd Mar. 1885. — Mr. Gladstone acknowledges with his humble duty your Majesty's letter of yesterday. He is unfortunately confined to bed by a cold.

Your Majesty's letter will at once go forward to Lords Granville, Hartington, and Kimberley.

In speaking of the Afghan frontier, Mr. Gladstone had in view the fact that, before the last Cabinet, instructions of a rather marked character had been sent to Sir P. Lumsden, and that the point mentioned in the letter of Saturday was a supplemental one. Nor is Mr. Gladstone aware *what* are the instructions by which your Majesty has concluded that the pos-

sibility of collision could be removed, so that the failure to give the instructions entails in your Majesty's view the responsibility for any such collision, if unhappily it should occur, upon your Majesty's Government. In this important respect he has not gathered clearly your Majesty's meaning.

In regard to constituting Lord Wolseley Governor-General of the Soudan, your Majesty appears to consider that the first duty of the Cabinet was to send an immediate reply. Your Majesty seems also to conceive that this reply should clearly be in the affirmative. But if your Majesty will graciously take into view the possibility that the wisdom of the measure itself (not a military but a civil and political demand) might not appear to all so clear as it appears to your Majesty, the desire to weigh the subject maturely in all its bearings before deciding may possibly present itself to your Majesty in a somewhat different light. Mr. Gladstone writes thus much on the receipt of your Majesty's letter and from himself alone.

*Earl Granville to Sir E. Baring.*¹

[*Telegram.*]

F.O., 6th Mar. [1885].—As regards Lord Wolseley's proposal that he should be appointed Governor-General of the Soudan, it will be better to ask the Khedive to issue public orders that military considerations are predominant, and that all the civil authorities shall consider Lord Wolseley's authority, as Commander of the Forces, *supreme*.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 5th Mar. [1885].—General Sir Henry Ponsonby with his humble duty. Has telegraphed the *approval* of the telegram respecting Lord Wolseley. He thinks this concession was due to your Majesty's pressure on the Government.

¹ Submitted by Lord Granville for the Queen's approval.



*Field-Marshal Viscount Wolseley, K.P.
After a picture by Von Angeli in St. James's Palace*



Queen Victoria to Lady Wolseley.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 3rd March 1885.

DEAR LADY WOLSELEY, —I hope it is not true that Lord Wolseley is suffering from his eyes ?

In strict confidence I must tell you I think the Government are *more incorrigible* than ever, and I do think that your husband should hold *strong* language to them, and *even* THREATEN to resign if he does *not* receive strong support and liberty of action.

I have written very strongly to the Prime Minister and others, and I tell *you* this ; but it *must never appear*, or Lord Wolseley *ever let out* the *hint* I give *you*. But I really think they *must be frightened*.

General Brackenbury's retreat sounds discouraging, but I am sure is *right*. Pray *either* destroy this, or lock it up, but I cannot rest without asking you to tell Lord Wolseley. Yours affectionately, VICTORIA R. & I.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 7th Mar. 1885.—With reference to a telegram, which has recently received your Majesty's sanction, on the subject of Lord Wolseley's desire to be constituted Governor-General of the Soudan, Mr. Gladstone humbly presumes to forward to your Majesty a copy of a list of reasons,¹ concisely stated, which appeared to Mr. Gladstone to constitute very serious difficulties in the way of compliance with Lord Wolseley's desire. It became in his view, and as he thinks in the view of his colleagues, a matter of much nicety to consider how far it was possible to attain the practical aims of Lord Wolseley, without having to encounter very serious objections.

Mr. Gladstone has taken this liberty in the hope of showing that the Cabinet in reviewing this question last Saturday (at the close of a most laborious and important meeting) were not led by their indolence or indifference or indecision to desire to have mature knowledge before advising your Majesty in this matter. He trusts your Majesty may be satisfied on this point.

¹ They were ten in number.

[*Copy.*] *Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.*

WINDSOR CASTLE, 8th Mar. 1885.—The Queen would be glad to learn if the last telegrams from Lord Wolseley and Sir E. Baring have induced Mr. Gladstone to alter his views on Lord Wolseley's suggestion.

She can scarcely agree with Mr. Gladstone's reasons against the appointment of Governor-General, as she cannot admit that the experiment failed with Gordon until the Soudanese became aware that he was not supported from home. Nor can she understand how any Ministry could hesitate to take the right course because they are afraid of what the world and Parliament might say. Not that she has any doubt but that Parliament would willingly support a bold unhesitating policy.

It appears, however, that Mr. Gladstone is not certain of the wish of the Cabinet, as he only indicates what it *seems* to be, and she therefore hopes that they may still decide on giving Lord Wolseley all the support he desires.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 9th Mar. 1885.—In reply to your Majesty's letter and enquiry of yesterday, Mr. Gladstone with his humble duty has the honour to report that he has not heard of any disposition in the Cabinet to reopen the question of the Governor-Generalship of the Soudan, since the receipt of the last telegrams from Lord Wolseley and Sir E. Baring; but he will send your Majesty's letter to Lord Granville together with a copy of this reply.

Your Majesty will have understood without doubt that the Memorandum he had the honour to transmit was simply a record of his own impressions, and its date marks it as antecedent to the decision of the Government.

Mr. Gladstone is not aware to what date or circumstance your Majesty refers as marking the knowledge of the Soudanese that General Gordon was not supported from home

Mr. Gladstone humbly concurs with your Majesty in thinking that, if a new policy in the Soudan were deemed right, it should be pursued without regard to adverse criticism ; but one of the objections to Lord Wolseley's demand is, that it is avowedly made in order to mark and promote a new policy which the Cabinet has not adopted or deemed right, and of which Lord Wolseley hardly seems to be the proper judge.

In saying the Cabinet "seemed" to have a certain wish, Mr. Gladstone put a construction for himself on a course of anterior proceedings, and not on any decision or conversation as to the advice to be tendered on the Governor-Generalship.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

9th Mar. 1885.—The Prince of Bulgaria most earnestly asks that Mr. Lascelles may not be moved, as he is his only reliable friend ; and Lascelles told Prince Henry he did not wish to go. Trust therefore he will remain.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 10th Mar. 1885.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He considered your Majesty's message as conclusive against making any submission to your Majesty for the promotion of Mr. Lascelles.

Lord Granville asked Mr. Lascelles to inform him confidentially as to his wishes, as a possible guide to what Lord Granville might possibly propose to your Majesty. It was natural, but perhaps a little indiscreet, for Mr. Lascelles to speak at all about this private enquiry.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 11th Mar. 1885.—Worried about the obstinacy of the Government. A telegram

from Lord Wolseley saying that, as he received no answer, he thought he should have to issue a Proclamation of his own accord. Saw Mr. Gladstone, who talked about the Seats Bill, Indian affairs, and Beatrice's annuity which he hoped to bring on, after the Seats Bill had passed. He thinks that, now the last of my children will have been provided for, the other annuities for the younger branches of the family should be put upon a different footing. Lord and Lady Kenmare, Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone, Lord Thurlow, the Duchess of Roxburghe, and the Ponsonbys dined. I told Mrs. Gladstone, when she began lamenting over all the trouble and anxiety I had had, that I should have been far less distressed had I felt that the right thing had been done, which would have prevented all this, and she shook her head, saying she hoped not, whereon I told her I was sure of it.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 11th Mar. 1885.—General Sir Henry Ponsonby with his humble duty begs leave to enclose a copy of Lord Wolseley's proposed proclamation in full, which has just been printed.

Mr. Gladstone objects to it because the tone is that of a Turkish Pasha pardoning a revolted province, and no hint is given that the Soudan will be disunited from Egypt. This makes him feel that Lord Wolseley is unfitted for the position of Governor-General. Besides which he objects to there being any Governor-General of the Soudan.

Lord Granville does not see so much objection to the contents of the proclamation. But he dislikes the language. We have always addressed the natives of India in our own style and we have always made them understand us. Lord Granville does not think Lord Wolseley would be a fit civil administrator.

Lord Hartington said the feeling in the Cabinet was so strong against the appointment that it would be impossible to recommend it. Mr. Gladstone again

spoke of being "face to face with the impossible." Among some of the Radical Members and the smaller Members of the Government there is a rapidly increasing desire to withdraw our troops from the Soudan at any rate for the summer, and strong pressure is being exercised upon the Government, some of whom are believed to be favourable to withdrawal.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 11th Mar. 1885. — Received your letter.

Tell Sir Wm. Harcourt from *me* that I consider the line he has taken and is taking upon Egyptian affairs, in advising our Agents not to be supported in any way, a most dangerous and fatal course; it has led to Gordon's death and may lead to the ruin of all that is requisite for the honour and safety of the best interests of this country and the advancement of civilisation.

*Extract from Report of the Proceedings in Cabinet on
12th March 1885.*

The Ministers found it necessary to examine in connection with this matter the somewhat menacing state of the questions connected with the frontier of Afghanistan, and especially the considerable advances of Russian troops, not beyond, but towards that frontier. Upon the whole they are of opinion that the possible necessity of a rapid reinforcement of the British Army in India, although it is only possible, yet stands related to an Imperial duty of so high an order, that it might conceivably at this juncture come to overrule the present intentions as to the Soudan or part of them, and that it would consequently be imprudent to do anything which would practically extend our obligations in that quarter, as it is the entanglement of the British forces in Soudanese operations which would most powerfully tempt Russia to adopt aggressive measures.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 12th–13th Mar. 1885.—Mr. Gladstone reports to your Majesty with his humble duty that the House of Commons has spent the main part of the evening in Committee of Supply. The most considerable discussion which arose embraced a promiscuous group of foreign and colonial subjects none of which could, from the mixture of them, be fully elucidated. The most important part, however, related to Germany. Fault was found with your Majesty's Government on account of the recent correspondence, but without the establishment, or even the allegation, of any very distinct charge. Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice¹ principally replied on the part of the Government, with that careful knowledge of his subject the praise of which all must accord to him. At the close of the debate it appeared to Mr. Gladstone that, as German colonisation had been often though not methodically referred to, the occasion ought not to pass without some general and warm declaration of the friendly manner in which the Government of your Majesty view the German effort. On the ground of general policy and justice, and in aid of Lord Granville's reconciling work, he therefore rose and expressed sentiments of hearty goodwill towards Germany in this interesting matter, which were received with universal and remarkable cordiality by the House.

Having spent nearly the whole evening in the House, Mr. Gladstone came away at midnight, and did not wait for the vote of £20,000 on behalf of the Gordon family, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer undertook to move.

10 DOWNING STREET, 13th–14th Mar.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty and apprises your Majesty that the Cabinet this day considered the terms of a despatch and Memorandum in which your Majesty's Government propose to state to the Govern-

¹ Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

ment of Russia that its proposal of an Afghan frontier is inadmissible, and in which is set forth another line which, upon the information they possess, they deem to be just. They think that the country between the Russian line and the English line should be treated, for the purpose of the enquiry, as a separate zone, marking out, northward and southward, the extreme limits to which the enquiry shall extend. The Cabinet agreed on the terms in which they conceive that these important documents may go forward.

They learned from Lord Granville with dissatisfaction and surprise that at this very late hour, when Prince Bismarck's signature to the Agreement on Egyptian Finance was confidently expected, Count Münster came charged with a message contemplating a material and highly exceptionable change in it. It was not put forward formally as a proposal: and Count Münster, probably divining that it would be refused, brought forward, on consultation with some other Ambassadors, another form of declaration much less open to objection, but apparently without the authority of his Government to propose it. Lord Granville went from the Cabinet to see Count Münster again, and gave him to understand that his suggestion would be taken into consideration if Germany put it forward, and if it were clearly understood that upon the settlement of this point signature would follow. This Count Münster will make known to his Government, and it is to be hoped that Prince Bismarck will not find it convenient to create any further difficulties. Meantime Parliament has shown great patience in receiving again and again the dilatory excuses for the non-execution of the Agreement which Ministers have been compelled to give.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 14th Mar. 1885.—Greatly perturbed on getting up, to find that the message had been sent the day before yesterday to Lord Wolseley

without my knowledge, and was incensed to see by it that questions were actually asked of him as to whether, in case affairs became worse with Russia, he thought it would complicate his operations to send the Suakin force off, either *before* (! !), or after, Osman Digna had been defeated. Was greatly agitated. Directly after breakfast saw Major Edwards and asked him to go and tell Bertie to remonstrate with Lord Hartington for his neglect of duty, which has been repeated again and again. Saw Sir H. Ponsonby, who was as shocked as I was and telegrams were prepared to be sent to Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington. . . . Lord Hartington, with an apology, sent Lord Wolseley's answer to the strange questions put to him by the Government. He was very clear and positive: It would ruin everything to move the troops, either before or after defeat of Osman Digna. It might necessitate doing the whole thing over again; 5,000 troops, more or less, could not make such a great difference. If war with Russia was imminent, which it was hardly yet, the Reserves ought to be called out, and then later troops could be sent from Egypt. Lord Wolseley and Sir E. Baring both strongly urged the arrest of Zebehr, and at length the Government has consented. Sir E. Baring concludes one of his very urgent appeals by telegraph, thus: "I also think that when the Commander-in-Chief of an Army, in the exceedingly difficult position in which Lord Wolseley is placed, says certain measures are essential to the success of the operations, those measures must be taken whatever may be the objections to them." I certainly endorse this. These telegrams are a great relief to me.

The Marquis of Hartington to Queen Victoria.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, 13th Mar. 1885.—Lord Hartington with his humble duty begs to acknowledge the receipt of your Majesty's cypher telegram of this day.

Lord Hartington will make known to the Cabinet your Majesty's directions that no message is to be sent

to Lord Wolseley without being first submitted to your Majesty, but he presumes that your Majesty's directions apply only to messages of political or military importance.

With reference to the message sent last night by the desire of the Cabinet, it appeared urgent to inform Lord Wolseley of the position as regards the Afghan frontier and the reasons why further comprehensive declarations of policy in the Soudan should be avoided. It was also necessary to obtain as soon as possible his opinion on the extent to which his position might be affected by the measures which might become necessary in India. This could scarcely have been done until to-day if the message had first been submitted to your Majesty.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Marquis of Hartington.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 14th March 1885.

MY DEAR HARTINGTON,—In reply to your letter received this morning the Queen commands me to observe that no important despatch ought ever to be sent without receiving her Majesty's approval.

This rule was distinctly acknowledged in 1850,¹ and has been adhered to by her Ministers.

The telegram to Lord Wolseley of the 12th of March agreed to by the Cabinet might easily have been telegraphed in cypher for the Queen's approval or even sent here by messenger.

But it was not transmitted to her Majesty till this morning! Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

The Marquis of Hartington to Queen Victoria.

WAR OFFICE, 14th Mar. 1885.—Lord Hartington presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has

¹ Sir Henry Ponsonby wrote on the same day a letter of protest on the Queen's behalf to Lord Granville, in which he said: "You were Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs in 1850, and will remember the remonstrance then made by the Queen, which was so far admitted by Lord Palmerston to be just, that he promised to attend to her Majesty's instructions." See First Series, vol. ii, ch. 19.

received Sir H. Ponsonby's letter of this date. Lord Hartington takes note of your Majesty's instructions, which shall be carried into effect to the best of his ability. Lord Hartington, however, still remains of opinion that the telegram of March 12th was rather in the nature of an enquiry to obtain his opinion on some important questions, than of instructions for his conduct which should of course have been submitted for your Majesty's approval.

Lord Hartington has the honour to enclose a copy of Lord Wolseley's reply received to-day.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

14th Mar. 1885.—The Queen is compelled with regret to call Mr. Gladstone's attention to the fact that the telegram which the Cabinet of the 12th of March proposed to send Lord Wolseley, and which contained the serious intimation that the operations of her troops in the Soudan might be affected by the critical state of affairs in Afghanistan, was despatched *without* her knowledge, and that it was not *communicated* to her till this morning.

The idea and impossibility of arresting the all-important attack of General Graham, announced everywhere as the crushing of Osman Digna, on the very eve of its being undertaken quite staggered her; for the effect would be *most disastrous and ruinous*, and would have the further effect of causing a serious panic. As regards our relations with Russia, the Queen could not give consent to such a *sign* of weakness and vacillation.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 15th Mar. 1885.—Mr. Gladstone submits his humble duty to your Majesty.

He finds in your Majesty's letter, which he has just had the honour to receive, two points of importance. On the first, the fact that the telegram of Thursday was not placed before your Majesty before

it was despatched, he will of necessity have to communicate with others before reply.¹

But the point on which, as Mr. Gladstone conceives, your Majesty lays very naturally the principal stress, is this, that the telegram appeared to your Majesty to involve the possibility of abandoning the meditated attack on Osman Digna. Writing on the instant, Mr. Gladstone of course writes for himself alone, and can only record his own impressions. They are as follows. He thinks the feeling of the Cabinet was that it was possible there might arise on the frontier of Afghanistan a call of overruling necessity which might derange any previous plan. But, subject to this reservation of what was *abstractedly* possible, Mr. Gladstone's belief is that there was not in the mind of the Cabinet the smallest idea of interfering with the projected attack on Osman Digna. He is convinced that what they practically viewed as a remote probability was, a removal of the force now under General Graham *after* the fulfilment of its commission in respect to Osman Digna. Mr. Gladstone would have preferred to communicate with Lord Granville and Lord Hartington before writing on this subject; but he despatches this letter at once as he thinks it may relieve your Majesty's mind on a matter which has stirred your Majesty's lively interest.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 25th Mar. 1885. . . . The Cabinet discussed at considerable length the very weighty questions connected with the Afghan frontier, and the suspected or possible designs of Russia on Herat; involving the grave issues of peace or war. The results of their conversation were embodied in draft telegrams to Lord Dufferin, which Lord Kimberley has transmitted for your Majesty's gracious approval.

¹ On the 17th Mr. Gladstone wrote that he had not troubled the Queen with further explanations because he found that "Lord Hartington had addressed your Majesty fully on the subject."

It was also deemed proper to advise your Majesty to declare in Council, before going abroad, a case of emergency, so as to provide for the calling out at the proper time if necessary the Reserve forces of your Majesty.

The Cabinet also thought that Lord Granville should communicate with the Russian Ambassador and point out to him the necessary consequence of any design upon Herat, in bringing about a case of war between the two countries, according to the policy of the British Empire, as it has now been understood and established for nearly half a century : maintaining at the same time an unbroken friendliness of tone with respect to the proposed negotiation for an Afghan frontier.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 30th March 1885.

DEAR LORD GRANVILLE,—The Queen commands me to impress upon you the necessity of communicating with her at once by telegraph if there is any suggestion whatever of altering the position of troops or changing our political status in Egypt.—H. P.

Lord Wolseley to Queen Victoria.

CAMP KORTI, 22nd March 1885.

MADAM,—Encouraged by your Majesty's gracious assurance that my letters are of some interest, I venture to write again. To-day's post brought me your Majesty's most sympathetic letter of the 23rd ultimo, for which I am most grateful.

It is doubly acceptable to me as an evidence that the Queen appreciates the hard struggle all ranks in her army here have made to save an heroic comrade, General Gordon. It is very disheartening to the soldiers of this army to find that Mr. Gladstone and all his colleagues have completely ignored all the toil they endured without a murmur on the river, all the fatiguing marches under a burning sun in the desert, and all the severe fighting they have had. It is very

ungracious on Mr. Gladstone's part, seeing that it is his fault that all these trials have been endured in vain, and all our dead comrades killed to no purpose. He might have said a few cheering words to these soldiers: they would have cost him nothing, they have been well deserved, and even from him, unpopular as he is in the army, they would have been valued. However, if the Queen is satisfied with the conduct of her troops I don't think our men care very much what Mr. Gladstone may think of them: *they* certainly don't think much of *him*.

I move my Head Quarters from this next Tuesday the 24th instant to Dongola, which place I hope to reach on the 29th. Prince Hassan, the Khedive's brother, is to join me there. I have brought him from Cairo to give my proceedings greater weight with the Mahomedan people, and especially with this most curious man the Mudir. In order that I should be able to manage him effectually I was anxious to be made Governor-General, but, as your Majesty is aware, the Cabinet thought it would be the creation of a new tie with the Soudan, which was to be avoided if possible. I think this decision will soon have to be reconsidered, as my position here seems to grow more difficult every day as regards my dealings with the people. We live in the midst of enemies who hate us as infidels and as invaders who wish to govern the country and tax them for their own selfish ends. We have no friends in the Soudan nor any party in our favour. The country generally is a desert with patches of cultivation along the river bank. To my mind it is now absolutely necessary we should destroy the Mahdi's power by an advance on Khartoum as soon as the climate permits. Our honour renders this imperative, but as soon as we have settled this false prophet and set up a native Government at Khartoum, I am sure the sooner we sever our connection with the Soudan the better. A Government established by us will have a better chance of maintaining itself than the Egyptian rule here had, if Berber and Suakin are

joined by a railway. It is for this reason that I am anxious for this railway, not because I think its construction can influence very much my operations in the autumn against the Mahdi : I don't believe it can be made in time to help me much.

Our army is already so ridiculously small for all the varied duties it has to perform all over the world, and our friendless position in Europe at this present time is so dangerous to peace, that I dread the idea of having any serious proportion of it locked up here for any length of time. Our relations with France and Russia warn us that any open rebellion in Ireland might be extremely dangerous to the United Kingdom itself. The people of England lack the public spirit that would cause them to support the burden of an army and a navy of a strength commensurate with our duties and responsibilities. No Government, Whig or Tory, has the honesty to tell the people the truth and take them into their confidence on army and navy matters. And when professional soldiers and sailors warn the people on these serious subjects, professional politicians jump up and pooh-pooh all their warnings. The foolish public prefer believing the tradesman who has become a politician to the gentleman who wears your Majesty's uniform. It is for this reason that for years past I have endeavoured to urge upon Ministers of both sides the great necessity of a Commission of both sides of the House to consider the normal duties to be performed at home and abroad by the army, the numbers required at depôts and training centres to manufacture the number of soldiers required, and thus lay down as a matter beyond all future political or party discussion what the minimum peace strength of the army should be. I still live in hopes of seeing this done, but until it is done the army establishments will go up and down annually in accordance with the passing necessities of party politicians. . . .

I have the honour to be, Madam, your Majesty's most obedient subject and faithful soldier, WOLSELEY.

Queen Victoria to Lord Wolseley.

[Copy.]

Very Confidential.

ROYAL YACHT—P. ALBERT, CHERBOURG, 31st Mar. 1885.—The Queen entrusts these lines to a very welcome messenger, and who has already repeated and *will* repeat to him her *great* anxieties. Whatever happens, the Queen hopes and trusts Lord Wolseley will *resist* and strongly oppose all *idea* of retreat! His words on that subject, both in one of his telegrams when asked whether he could do so, and also in his despatch of the 1st of March, have *plainly* spoken out on this point. But she *fears* some of the Government are very unpatriotic, and do *not* feel what is a *necessity*. This and the absolute necessity of having a *good Government* at Khartoum the Queen trusts Lord Wolseley *will insist on*. But then comes the health of the troops. Those at Suakin (whom she fears have been pretty harassed) as well as those at Dongola *must* if possible *have change* and be moved, for it would be too dreadful to lose many by sickness! Altogether the Queen's heart is sorely troubled for her brave soldiers. . . . Our soldiers *fight* and have on every single occasion in this exceptionally trying campaign *fought like heroes* individually, and she hopes he will tell them so from the highest to the lowest from her.

The Queen would ask Lord Wolseley to *destroy* *this* letter as it is so very *confidential*, though it contains nothing which she has not said to her Ministers and *over and over* again, or perhaps he would lock it up and destroy it *later*, but if he *fears* it might get into wrong hands, pray destroy it at once. We have had a fine passage and start by rail for Aix at 11 p.m. to-night.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

AIX-LES-BAINS, 2nd April 1885.—Terribly shocked to hear of Lord Cairns' death, which occurred this morning, and the news of which was telegraphed to me

by Lord Salisbury. He is really a great and national loss, for he was very clever, a very acute lawyer and honourable man, and very prudent. He was of such use last autumn about the Franchise and Seats Bill.

8th April.—Had good reports from Lord Dufferin of the meeting of the Ameer with him at Rawal Pindi. The Ameer spoke well and expressed his devotion to England and wish for a continual good understanding, making no difficulties about boundary, leaving that to us. Lord Carlingford was in high spirits about this when a telegram arrived, saying that the Russian General, in spite of Emperor's promises that there should be no hostilities, attacked the Afghans. A desperate fight ensued, many Afghans were killed, and the Russians took possession of Penjdeh, which is very alarming. Heard later from Lord Granville that he had sent to Sir E. Thornton to enquire for an explanation.

9th April.—Had a letter from Lord Granville saying he supposed, in the event of war, Affie would not like to have any command which would oblige him to fight against his brother-in-law. I telegraphed to Affie asking if I could tell the Government that his sense of duty would not interfere with this, and in the evening received the answer that he certainly wished me to state this, which I did.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

11th April 1885.—Thanks for two cyphers.

Think the conduct of Russian General requires great explanation, and an apology ought to be demanded. If Russia is seriously anxious to avoid war, she could still do so.

What has Ameer said to defeat at Penjdeh ?

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

13th April 1885.—Humble duty. The Cabinet to-day. Much weighty matter. Report of following

concluding portion as follows : After stating the subject they took especially into view foreign affairs generally and weighed the actual and possible demands on military resources. The Cabinet examined the important question whether under the circumstances which exist, and apart from other reasons which may or may not be felt, it may not be their duty to recommend the abandonment of offensive operations in the Soudan and evacuation, subject to some considerations of detail and opportunity, and without prejudice to the obligation incumbent for the defence of Egypt.

Your Majesty will readily understand the anxiety of Ministers that all views and opinions should be thoroughly weighed before they presume to advise your Majesty on such a matter ; and on account of the doubts which pressed on the mind of one or more among them they postpone until to-morrow laying any definitive recommendation at the feet of your Majesty.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

AIX-LES-BAINS, 14th April 1885.—Think it would be fatal to our reputation and honour if we were to *abandon* active operations in and still more to withdraw from the Soudan. It would be such an exhibition of weakness, and of the *triumph* of savages over British arms, that it would seriously affect our position in India and elsewhere.

I trust no step will be taken at present of such a nature. Do nothing without Lord Wolseley's advice, which you must follow, at any rate in military matters.

Lord Hartington assured me, when I left England, that *no* such idea was in contemplation. I could *not* give my consent to such a humiliating step.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

15th April 1885.—Humble advice of the Cabinet to your Majesty : following are extracts from

Memorandum of advice containing essential parts of widest scope, the rest contains exceptions and qualifications.

The time has arrived for the House to consider what pecuniary provision should be made for military expenditure in the Soudan. The Government have found it necessary to review the military position, and not with reference to the Soudan, but to the general condition of foreign affairs and all the possible demands upon the military resources of the Empire. The Government feel that it is necessary to hold all those resources as far as possible, and inclusive of the force in the Soudan, available for service where-soever they may be required. Under these circumstances the vote for which we are now asking does not include any provision for further offensive operations in the Soudan or for military preparations for an early advance on Khartoum. As to ulterior steps we reserve entire liberty of action subject to the approval of Parliament. The addition to the forces in India previously asked for by the Government of India will be still provided at home, leaving the forces released in Egypt and the Soudan as an additional reserve for employment in India or elsewhere. . . .

The Marquis of Hartington to Queen Victoria.
[Cypher Telegram.]

15th April 1885.—With his humble duty, and in inference to Mr. Gladstone's report begs to inform your Majesty that Lord Wolseley has been consulted and says that if our position on the southern frontier of Egypt is henceforth to be exclusively one of defence he would hold Wady Halfa and Korosko as outposts with a strong brigade at Assouan. We propose to tell him that we accept this plan, considering that all troops not required for this purpose should be concentrated as soon as possible and available for any other service.

We do not contemplate the indefinite retention of

British troops, but do not insist on precipitate retirement from any point. Lord Wolseley states there will be no difficulty in withdrawing the troops, and appears to accept the decision on military grounds, though objecting to it on political grounds.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

[*Substance cyphered to Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington.*]

15th April 1885.—I must ask that no decision is to be come to respecting any change of policy in the Soudan until you have heard Lord Wolseley's and Sir E. Baring's opinion; and I wish you to ask at once what Lord W. thinks it possible to do to crush Osman Digna, which was the one object of the Expedition to Suakin. Secondly, what would be the effect of withdrawing the troops suddenly, *almost* as soon as they have been sent out, on Egypt and the Mahdi, whose power ought to be broken.

It seems to me we should be admitting to the whole world that we have been foiled by savages; and that we leave the country, after killing about 4[,000] or 5,000 brave Arabs, to utter anarchy.

I protest against such an iniquitous proceeding. I refer you to what I wrote the other day. If there is no war in Russia, which may not take place, what would be the object of reversing our policy suddenly?

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegrams.*]

15th April 1885.—Your Majesty's telegram humbly received. Sir E. Baring has spontaneously expressed his views with a full discussion and recommends abandonment of expedition to Khartoum; think Cabinet may not go so far as to advise immediate announcement to this effect.

The expedition against Osman was undertaken on Lord Wolseley's demand as a military necessity. Lord Wolseley has indicated to the Secretary of State

for War a proper moderate concentration in Egypt and defence of its frontiers.

16th April 1885.—Humble duty. In elucidating my report of yesterday humbly lays before your Majesty the following considerations.

That the decision of February was taken on the assumption that Berber could be taken this season : that the expedition to Khartoum would not involve a very large addition to Lord Wolseley's forces : that the Mahdi might advance and imperil a retirement and threaten Egypt : that an apparent check to our arms might have a serious effect in India : that the country would support the Government.

Since then there is a great change in all these points. Berber has not been taken : Lord Wolseley's demands are greatly increased : the Mahdi has not advanced : the force can retire : Egypt can be defended otherwise : circumstances have greatly changed in India : upon examining the general position the Cabinet concluded as explained in telegram of yesterday.

17th April 1885.—Humble duty. Your Majesty's telegram of yesterday. Mr. Gladstone for himself humbly thinks the moral effect in England and Europe will be good : that the chief danger of moral effect locally has been already incurred by the retirement actually made : finally that there is no chance of inducing Parliament to maintain the present position on the Nile.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

AIX-LES-BAINS, 17th April 1885.—The Queen acknowledges Mr. Gladstone's letters of the 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th received yesterday. She thinks it right to be open and unreserved in her communications with Mr. Gladstone as she wishes him also to be with her, and therefore she must frankly tell him she has been much distressed and startled by this sudden intimation of a total reversal of the

policy declared two months ago, without any hint or sign of warning to her that such a movement was contemplated by the Government.

After the loss of all the blood and treasure which have been spent, the Queen cannot but view the abandonment of this policy, without the attainment of any definite results, as painful in the extreme. Before the retrograde movement is agreed to, the Queen is anxious to know whether, in justice to ourselves, to the world, and to civilisation, it is not possible to leave some kind of established Government in the districts where we have overthrown the existing authority.

Whether by money payments or otherwise the tribes around Suakin should be conciliated so as to prevent them from taking vengeance on the friendlies who have supported us.

The Queen is anxious that our withdrawal from the Upper Nile (and from Suakin) should be deliberately made without any appearance of a hurried retreat and that it should be publicly known we retired in consequence of the overpowering heat.

The Queen always objected to the relinquishment of his mission by General Graham and his force last year, but her warnings were disregarded, and he consequently had this year to reconquer the people whom he had overthrown in March 1884.

Although it is true, as Mr. Gladstone telegraphs, that the impossibility of taking Berber this spring has altered the military aspect of the campaign, the Queen is scarcely prepared to agree with Mr. Gladstone's other reasons that our retirement now will have no evil effect in India, and she emphatically protests against his argument that as the war in the Soudan was undertaken when the enthusiasm of the English people demanded it, it should now be abandoned because that enthusiasm has subsided. No war, and indeed no Government, can be carried on if Ministers have no fixed principles by which they are prepared to stand or fall, or if they change their

policy according to every fleeting breath of popular opinion.

P.S.—Since writing the above the Queen has received Mr. Gladstone's and Lord Hartington's letters of the 15th this morning. After carefully reading these letters the Queen will sanction the declaration being made to the House of Commons as suggested, for she understands that steps will be taken to protect the friendlies round Suakin and that the port will still be held by Indian or other troops.

The Queen does not fully understand what Lord Wolseley's opinions are as reported to her, but she assumes that the withdrawal of the troops from the Nile is to be ordered on his advice, as it ought to be.

The Queen's observations with regard to the policy respecting war being carried on according to popular feeling would apply still more strongly to a war with Russia. If that is to be carried on by fits and starts, forwards and backwards, according to momentary fancy at home, better not go to war at all.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

AIX-LES-BAINS, 19th April 1885.—The anniversary of dear Lord Beaconsfield's death. Oh! were he but still alive!

The Earl of Rosebery¹ to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

PRIVY SEAL OFFICE, 24th April 1885.

DEAR SIR HENRY,—Many thanks for your kind letter. You ask me what I think of the situation.

As regards the course taken with regard to the Soudan, I am so to speak impartial, for, as you say, I was not in the Cabinet when the resolution to advance upon Khartoum was taken.

But the fact is I do not think there was any option

¹ Lord Rosebery had joined the Cabinet as Lord Privy Seal and First Commissioner of Works in February 1885.

open to us. With our choicest army locked up in the Soudan, we were embarking on a great war with Russia. The result was not merely that the front we opposed to Russia was less formidable, but that to the world at large we opposed no front at all. Every nation could do as it liked with us. Witness the *Bosphore* incident.¹ The language used by the chief of M. de Freycinet's Cabinet (I suppose his permanent Under-Secretary) was the sort of language that Bismarck might address to France. The gravity of that incident has not entirely passed away, but it has miraculously diminished since we announced our intention of setting our troops free: and the diminution of danger has corresponded exactly in point of time with that announcement.

If that was the case with France, what would it have been with Germany? She could have done what she chose all over the world, more especially in regard to our colonies. It would have been the same with all other Powers.

What would have been the result? We should have marched upon Khartoum (after we had supplied Lord Wolseley with 12,000 additional troops) without any but a very remote chance of finding the Mahdi there, for he has already retired 150 miles south of Khartoum. In the meantime in all probability we should have embarked in one of the greatest wars of the century; and with both our arms bound, one to Afghanistan, the other to Central Africa, we should be exposed to endure what any Power might choose to lay upon us, and be compelled to forgo all voice or share in the destinies of the world.

Nothing but a sense of *force majeure*, of greater necessity, could justify the policy. But there *was*

¹ The *Bosphore Egyptien* was a journal published in French in Cairo, which maliciously and scurrilously attacked the English and Egyptian Governments, and even published false news in Arabic to stir up the Arabs. When it was suppressed and the printing office closed, the French Government took the matter up, and the Egyptian Government had, on the advice of Great Britain, to withdraw suspension, pay compensation, and apologise.

this greater necessity; and sad as the necessary course of withdrawal might be, the other course opened an abyss which I do not like to contemplate.

I think the course chosen was humiliating to the Ministry. But there was no party representing the policy for which they had changed their own, which could undertake to form a Government, so that they could not well resign, as Sir R. Peel did in 1845.

Again, in considering this course it must be remembered that the feeling of the country and of the army are practically unanimous on this matter. I am inclined to believe that if Mr. G. had doggedly determined to proceed with the Khartoum expedition, he would not have been allowed to; nay, I am sure of it. Since I made a short trip through the country to Manchester and to Scotland about the beginning of April, I have become convinced of this.

With a *gradual* withdrawal, too, I believe that we shall have a good chance of achieving all we want with regard to Osman and the Mahdi. Osman I believe to be entirely broken. The Mahdi seems also to be in a somewhat critical position, and not likely to advance upon Egypt. Of course there is the danger of that, but it is a less danger than that world-wide and vital peril with which we were threatened if we persisted in our expedition. It is a choice of great evils, I admit, but I am sure we chose the least. Yours sincerely, A. R.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[Copy.]

Confidential.

NEUES PALAIS, DARMSTADT, 28th April 1885.—The Queen had been in hopes of having an answer to her confidential letter from Aix, from Lord Granville, but has had none. The last fortnight has given her terrible trouble and anxiety, which, if Lord Granville saw any of her very *distinct* telegrams to Mr. Gladstone (not *one* of which were in the *slightest degree* listened to by Mr. Gladstone) he will easily understand. The

way in which the expedition to Egypt, or rather the Soudan, has been given up, the way in which public fancy and whims (which are known to be quite unreliable) seem to govern Mr. Gladstone's actions, make all maintenance of principle, all dignity and prudence, impossible, and the Queen must say that she is quite at a loss how to go on and communicate with a Minister who never *will* consider the effect of *all* his constant shiftings and changes on the country and on the whole world.

Moreover, he is so reserved and writes such unsatisfying letters, that the Queen never knows where she is. She does not know *who* takes his or other views (which all his predecessors kept her informed of) and she is left powerless to *judge* of the state of affairs!

The Queen will expect Lord Granville to be as open with her as she is with him, and would like to see him on Sunday the 3rd, as we expect to be back at Windsor on the 2nd. . . .

She thinks nothing but firmness will do with Russia. The danger of delay, if we cannot agree, is very serious. We are without friends. Mr. Gladstone has alienated all other countries from us, by his very changeable and unreliable policy—unintentionally no doubt.

We *ought* to make friends with Turkey before it is too late. . . .

Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Officer Commanding the Canadian Voyageurs.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 5th May 1885.

SIR,—The Queen was informed on her Majesty's return from Germany that the Canadian Voyageurs were in London, and her Majesty immediately expressed a wish that they might come to Windsor, where the Queen might see them and personally convey to them her Majesty's high sense of the good services they have performed with the expedition on the Nile.

The Queen was disappointed to find that, in consequence of an outbreak of illness, during which she regrets to learn they have lost one of their officers, her Majesty was advised that it would not be desirable that the Voyageurs should come to Windsor, and the Queen has therefore commanded me to request that you will let the men know how greatly pleased her Majesty has been by the reports she has received of the energy and devotion they have shown in the arduous duties required of them on the Nile. I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 15th May 1885. —General Sir Henry Ponsonby humbly begs leave to mention that Lord Derby told him last night that the Irish difficulty was by no means settled in the Cabinet. Lord Spencer later said that he was grateful to the Queen for making matters easy for him as regards the proposed Royal residence in Ireland, but he very much feared that he would not be able to get the Cabinet to assent at present to the abolition of the Viceroyalty, nor to the proposed Royal residence. He was low about it.

The Marquis of Hartington to Queen Victoria.

WAR OFFICE, 16th May 1885. —Lord Hartington presents his humble duty to your Majesty and begs to inform your Majesty that he called the attention of his colleagues to Sir E. Baring's telegram No. 272 and to your Majesty's telegram referring to it.

Mr. Gladstone will probably inform your Majesty of the result of the consideration which was given to the subject and Lord Hartington will only add that having regard to the opinion which appears to be entertained by both Lord Wolseley and Sir R. Buller that Dongola could not be held by black troops against any attack in force by the Mahdi, after the departure of the British garrison, it was the opinion of the Cabinet that any attempt to hold it under these cir-

cumstances would probably lead to the retention at that place of British troops for an indefinite period, without any adequate object. The objections urged by Sir E. Baring and the Government of Egypt to the withdrawal of the troops would probably be urged with equal force whenever it was proposed, and the Cabinet saw no sufficient reason for modifying the instructions which have been sent to Lord Wolseley and have been communicated to Parliament, that the retirement from Dongola should not be delayed longer than is required by military considerations.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Hartington.

[Copy.]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 17th May 1885.—Though the Queen has little if any hope of bringing the Cabinet to see what is right and what is due to the honour of England, and may be even to the safety of our Eastern possessions, she cannot satisfy her conscience without making one more appeal to Lord Hartington who she believes *not* to be insensible to what she has above stated, and who, she owns, she is surprised *can* submit to carry out a total reversal of the policy he so strongly maintained during the last two years. Does Parliament *know* that you are acting against the *earnest advice* of the civil as well as military authorities and of those who can alone be fit judges of the state of affairs? Can you go on persevering blindly in YOUR own opinion without letting Parliament know the truth?

As the present Government seem to *act entirely* according to the *dictates* of Parliament irrespective of any settled policy, *Parliament* should be *told* the truth and *at once*.

It is your duty not to withhold the opinion *again* stated in Lord Wolseley's despatch of the 16th, No. 245, which she has just seen.

To see her brave soldiers as the Queen did yesterday gashed and mutilated for nothing is dreadful! And to see for the second time our troops recalled and

retreating before savages—probably and *most probably* only to have to send them out again in a little while—is to make us the laughing-stock of the world! For military reasons the strongly expressed opinion of the Generals should be listened to!

The Queen writes strongly, but *she* cannot resign if matters go ill, and her heart bleeds to see such short-sighted humiliating policy pursued, which lowers her country before the whole world.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 18th May 1885.—This is *very* unsatisfactory. Pray cypher or write to ask *what* modifications are intended. And ask why the Queen's appeal has not been listened to or even answered? The House of Commons should be *told that Government of Egypt* foresee danger and anarchy if the crazy plan of the Government is persisted in, and has appealed to them.

We are becoming the laughing-stock of the world!

The Queen is *quite* miserable. *Two* Expeditions *all* stopped in the very middle. Can the G.O.M.¹ not be roused to some sense of honour? Can you not write to or see Mr. Childers? Who pushes on Mr. Gladstone?

The Marquis of Hartington to Queen Victoria.

WAR OFFICE, 19th May 1885.—Lord Hartington presents his humble duty to your Majesty and begs to acknowledge the receipt of your Majesty's gracious letter of the 17th inst. . . .

Lord Hartington has already stated to your Majesty the reasons why he thinks that the prosecution of the expedition to Khartoum is now impossible; and as to the other measures consequent on the abandonment of the expedition there seems to be much difference of opinion among the military authorities.

¹ The initials stand for "Grand Old Man," a current nickname for Mr. Gladstone.

Lord Wolseley has never advocated the construction of the Berber Railway except in connection with the proposed advance to Khartoum, and he has been at least as anxious as your Majesty's Government to put a stop to active operations and to send away the greater part of the troops from Suakin.

As to the retention of the troops now on the Nile in the province of Dongola there appears to be a great difference of opinion. Lord Wolseley desires to keep them in their present positions, but apparently with a view to a future advance on Khartoum, for he has expressed his opinion that the possibility of establishing a native Government in Dongola under any of the suggested arrangements is a visionary idea. It is true that Sir E. Baring and the Egyptian Government have made urgent representations that Dongola should be held for a time by British troops until some attempt has been made to organise a native administration and a force of black troops capable of repelling the Mahdi's advance; but it seems extremely doubtful whether this plan could ever be realised or within any reasonable time. Lord Hartington admits that there are strong objections to the immediate withdrawal in opposition to the advice of Sir E. Baring; but the Cabinet has taken a different view of the case; and he is compelled to acknowledge that the objects for which a large British force would be retained for an indefinite period in distant positions where their health would undoubtedly suffer severely are not so clear and distinct as could be desired.

Lord Hartington entertains no doubt that the prolonged occupation of positions in the Dongola Province would be extremely distasteful to both officers and men employed in this service. So long as they have a prospect of further active service, they bear the hardships and sufferings of the service with admirable patience; but the indefinite occupation of such positions would become almost intolerable to them, and the complaints which would reach home would make it almost impossible to prolong the occu-

pation. There is great reason to fear that any policy founded on such an occupation could not be long maintained and would have to be abandoned with results as unfortunate as those which are apprehended from the present measure.

Lord Hartington proposes almost immediately to present to Parliament all the principal despatches and telegrams which have been received from Lord Wolseley since the present policy was adopted, so that Parliament will have the means of forming its own judgment upon it.

Earl Granville to Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 20th May 1885.—Lord Granville presents his humble duty to your Majesty. He has shown Sir H. Ponsonby's letter to Mr. Gladstone.

Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville see all the difficulties of every alternative, but they are convinced, from conversations which have lately taken place, that the Cabinet would not agree to advise your Majesty to withdraw from the position which has been adopted and which to a great degree has been announced to Parliament.

They would not object to the Egyptian Government taking General Buller's plan, or any other of a similar character, but they would be opposed to the troops of your Majesty being retained in the Soudan, for the chance at some undefined time of a good ruler, or a perfectly satisfactory Government being found. Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville perfectly understand your Majesty's feelings on this matter, but it is like so many incidents in this Egyptian affair, when the choice had to be taken as to different alternatives, against each of which there were strong objections.

Queen Victoria to Earl Granville.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 20th May 1885.—Have read your letter which in no way satisfies me.

You should state in Parliament that repeated

urgent appeals from the Generals and the Khedive to delay moving the troops from Dongola till some Government has been formed and left there, have been received, and that, as absolute anarchy would be the result, the Government feel bound to accede to this slight modification. You could at same time enquire of Lord Wolseley and General Buller if climate at Dongola worse than at Wady Halfa? and of Sir E. Baring what Government could be formed. A few days' delay would enable you to hear opinions. This should at once be done—and can do no harm.

The Marquis of Hartington to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

21st May 1885.—With humble duty.

On consultation with Lord Granville and Lord Kimberley as to position of Russian negotiations, Lord Hartington thought it might be desirable that the Guards should be detained for a time in Egypt or at Malta. The ships carrying them have therefore been told to call at Alexandria in case any order arising out of political circumstances might be found necessary.

Before giving any order your Majesty will be duly consulted.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Hartington.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 21st May 1885.—Am very much surprised and shocked that after my last note I should not at once have been informed before printed telegrams giving the order were forwarded to me for the officers. Expect this will *never* happen again. As you are so often away orders should be left in the office to cypher to me *before* such orders are despatched. The Commander-in-Chief ought also to have been consulted before any such unexpected orders were sent.

The Prince of Wales to Queen Victoria.

GREAT YARMOUTH, 21st May 1885.

MY DEAREST MAMA,—Your interesting letter with the enclosures reached me at 8 this morning and I hasten to return the papers to you before your departure from Windsor this evening. I deeply regret that Alix and Sir D. Probyn not being here I cannot avail myself of your permission to show them the letters you have sent me to read. Your letter to Lord Hartington is a very strong one—but not at all too strong. His answer is *quite* deplorable—and so is Lord Granville's letter. How the Government can be so short-sighted and obstinate in spite of what Lord Wolseley and Sir E. Baring urgently recommend is quite inconceivable. I really hope that on Lord Wolseley's return he will "make a clean breast" of everything in justification to himself and that the country may know by what weak men they are governed.

Well can I imagine your annoyance and indignation, dearest Mama—which I fully share. You have at least the satisfaction of knowing that you have done your duty in protesting; and I only wish the country knew what you have done. . . .

Your messenger is just starting, so I must close, and with renewed thanks for letting me [see] the most interesting enclosures, and wishing you a prosperous journey, I remain, your devoted and affectionate Son,
BERTIE.

The Marquis of Hartington to Queen Victoria.

WAR OFFICE, 22nd May 1885.—Lord Hartington presents his humble duty to your Majesty and regrets extremely that the orders for the temporary detention of the Brigade of Guards at Alexandria were not properly submitted to your Majesty.

The suggestion was first made to Lord Hartington by H.R.H. the Commander-in-Chief; Lord Hartington then consulted Lord Granville and Lord Kimberley

and enquired whether, having regard to the delay which was occurring in the Afghan frontier negotiations with the Russian Government and the possibility of their not being brought to a satisfactory conclusion, it would be desirable that instead of being brought home direct the Brigade of Guards should be delayed either at Malta or in Egypt. On receiving their opinion in the affirmative some discussion took place in the Military Department as to the relative convenience of Alexandria and Malta, and on the former being selected orders were at once sent at Lord Hartington's request by the Admiralty to detain the transports at Alexandria, as it was believed that they might at that time be in the Canal.

Lord Hartington had given previously strict instructions in the office that he should be invariably reminded when orders requiring your Majesty's approval were proposed to be issued; but unfortunately on this occasion, either through inadvertence or through its not being believed that your Majesty's approval to this temporary detention of the transports was required, this was not done, and it did not at the moment occur to Lord Hartington himself.

With reference to your Majesty's observations on Lord Hartington's frequent absence, he may perhaps be permitted to say that since the close of the Session in August last year, he does not believe that he has ever been absent from the office for a fortnight, and very rarely for that time. Since the beginning of February in the present year, he has never been absent (including the Easter holidays) for more than three consecutive days, and except during the holidays for more than two nights.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

BALMORAL CASTLE, 23rd May 1885.—Would Sir Henry let Lord Hartington know that she quite approves the measure about the Guards, but that, as she knew of *no* worse news from Russia then, she was startled by the announcement, and she must repeat

her wish to be always informed before orders are given.

Memorandum by Mr. Edward Hamilton.

Private.

22nd May 1885.—The rumours of fresh internal Ministerial bothers have some foundation; but the peace is at any rate to be kept over the Whitsun recess. Dilke and Chamberlain want some excuse to slip out; and if it were not that their withdrawal must involve the break-up of the party I should say "Let them go." They would find that they had played their game very badly. So long as Mr. Gladstone is here, they would be nowhere.—E. W. H.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HAWARDEN, 23rd May 1885.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and will now endeavour to give your Majesty some idea of the shades of opinion existing in the Cabinet with reference to legislation for Ireland.

It is a task which, generally speaking, it would be beyond his powers to undertake; but he is desirous to supply your Majesty with an outline, though it must be most incomplete, on this occasion; because the subject is one sure to recur after a short time, and likely, as he thinks, to exercise a most important influence, in the coming Parliament, on the course of political affairs. . . .

The proposal to re-enact the non-coercive provisions [of the Crimes Bill] for two years has, through reciprocal concessions, obtained the adhesion of the entire Cabinet.

It has been held throughout by Mr. Chamberlain and others that Local Government, largely conceived and liberally given, would, on the one hand, very possibly obviate all need for special legislation, and would, on the other, to a great extent take the sting out of such special legislation. Their great and real

difficulty has been to agree to special legislation without Local Government, such as they conceive and desire it.

To this vastly important subject Mr. Gladstone now presumes to draw your Majesty's special attention ; though he feels that the rough and rude sketch which alone he can attempt is totally inadequate to the great and far-reaching issues involved in the question. . . .

He looks upon the centralisation of governing powers for Ireland in what is known as "Dublin Castle" as being in itself an enormous mischief, of which he is most anxious to get rid. It continually maintains and presents in Ireland the idea of Government as a thing "foreign" and not indigenous ; and even good laws are not likely to be loved when the administration of them is not in native hands. It prevents the formation in Ireland of those habits, and of that exercise, in the work of public administration, which has been of such inestimable value in England and Scotland ; and withholds a vent from energies which might in this way be usefully employed. Not to mention that it causes Parliament to be overloaded with business, and renders possible the system of obstruction with its enfeebling and degrading consequences.

On the other side there is the fear that any local organ in Ireland of a comprehensive kind would affect to assume the character of a supreme Parliament. (There is also a fear of Ulster feeling.) Mr. Gladstone does not undervalue this danger, but he firmly believes that by wise provisions it may be reduced within narrow limits so as to be worth the risking when compared with the benefits in view ; but especially when compared with the far more formidable danger that unduly prolonged resistance to reasonable desires may lead after a time to some surrender dishonourable in itself, void of conciliatory influence, and perhaps really menacing to the supremacy of Parliament, which Mr. Gladstone regards as the one sufficient and

indispensable bond of the unity of the Empire against all disintegrating forces.¹ . . .

A plan of this kind [the Central Board], going quite as far, has for many years been desired by Mr. Gladstone, whose wish it is to see Local Government extended, not in Ireland only but throughout the United Kingdom, to the utmost extent of its capabilities, but dealing with local matters only, and under Parliamentary control.

In one respect Mr. Gladstone would go beyond what Mr. Chamberlain has proposed. He would certainly give to the Irish municipalities the administration of the ordinary police ; reserving, however, to the Executive paramount powers in the interest of the public safety. Police administration might in like manner be given to the County Boards, after a term of trial.

On the other hand, from motives of prudence as to one party and of conciliation as to the other, Mr. Gladstone thinks it might be wise to empower the Sovereign by Order in Council, in case of public danger to the State, to suspend the action of the Central Board by suspending or deposing its President, and provisionally to take over all its functions except those relating to taxation. This is a great and stringent power to be provided for an extreme case, and perhaps to be made subject to reconsideration by Parliament after a term of years.

It has not been found necessary to discuss all these provisions in Cabinet, on account of the preliminary bar. A large number of Ministers, including the Viceroy, were not prepared to agree to the promul-

¹ Mr. Gladstone then describes the two main opinions in the Cabinet, one, held by Lord Spencer and nearly all the Peer Ministers, favouring the erection of representative County, or possibly Provincial, Government in Ireland ; the other, pressed by Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke and approved by six out of eight of the Commons Ministers, desiring to set up, as well as County Boards, a Central Board elected by them, essentially municipal and not political, and in the main administrative rather than legislative.

gation of any plan involving the principle of an elective Central Board as the policy of the Cabinet.

Mr. Gladstone has troubled your Majesty at this great and burdensome length because he believes that your Majesty will hear of the subject again. He earnestly hopes that it may be dealt with in time. It would have the effect of making the government of Ireland Irish, in the same sense as the government of England is English, and the government of Scotland Scotch. His view is undoubtedly that taken by the two markedly Radical Ministers (as well as by others). But he is profoundly convinced that the plan itself is in the highest sense Conservative. For its aim is widely, yet safely, to familiarise the people, through local matters, with the acts and responsibilities of governing, and to teach them by daily experience that governing is a business in which they have an interest and a share, not one managed by an agency which they feel to lie outside of them, and which they have unhappily been taught to regard as alien. These means, so happily known in England and Scotland, cannot be without some promise of success in Ireland. . . .

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL, 7th June 1885.—. . . Trust you will be very firm about the *Crimes Bill*, and on no account give way upon it to the Radical Members of the Cabinet; and pray be very cautious to say very little or nothing about Local Government.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 8th June 1885.—Mr. Gladstone has the honour to acknowledge, with his humble duty, your Majesty's cyphered telegram of yesterday.

With regard to the Bill for replacing the Crimes Act, it may be observed that its operative enactments

were agreed on by the Cabinet some weeks ago, and the question has not been reopened. Nor is the question of the duration of the Act, which stands at two years, at present under discussion. The suggestion on which the Cabinet have to deliberate is that some act of the Executive should be interposed, in a Clause of the Bill, as a needful preliminary to the active enforcement of the special legislation embodied in the Act.

This proposition has been received with favour not alone by the Radical Members of the Cabinet, and by Mr. Gladstone, but by the Cabinet at large. If it be set aside, its abandonment will be due exclusively, so far as has yet appeared, to the opposition of Lord Spencer, to whose character, position, and extraordinary services everyone must feel a great desire to defer wherever it is possible.

With regard to Local Government Lord Spencer is himself most anxious that it should be adopted in rather large measure ; but Mr. Gladstone understands your Majesty as referring to Local Government on the scale recently described by him in a letter to your Majesty. He sees no likelihood that the Cabinet will desire a declaration in this sense.

Mr. Gladstone takes this opportunity of humbly suggesting to your Majesty whether it might not be advisable that H.R.H. the Prince of Wales should see the letter, sent recently from Hawarden, to which Mr. Gladstone has just referred. It touches matters which may reach far into the future.

On Saturday, when he had the opportunity of conversing with the Prince, he was led to dwell on the real importance of maintaining by every proper means the dignity of the Speaker's office. He ventured on observing that in his opinion the effect would be excellent if some one of the Royal family were to do the Speaker the honour of appearing at one of the Levées held by the Speaker in the early part of each Session. The Prince appeared to welcome the suggestion and expressed his own willingness to act upon it.

He desired Mr. Gladstone to mention the subject to your Majesty.

Mr. Gladstone is not able to say from recollection whether Royal Princes have in former times attended the Levées of Speakers of the House of Commons. He remembers that the Duke of Wellington regularly did it from year to year.

Mr. Gladstone ought to have mentioned in the earlier part of this letter a point of considerable importance. It is that in what is considered the Whig or moderate section of the House there have been recent indications of great dislike to special legislation, even of a mild character, for Ireland. Any public manifestation of this kind would act very seriously on the position, and probably the views, of certain Members of the Cabinet.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 9th June 1885.—Heard by telegram that the Government were defeated by 12 on the Budget. When we were at breakfast heard from Mr. Gladstone that a Cabinet was summoned. This sounded serious. After luncheon received a telegram from Mr. Gladstone resigning. Sent for Capt. Bigge; think the difficulty great, and telegraphed to Mr. Gladstone I would await his letter, but would be ready to receive him to expedite matters. Had previously cyphered to Sir H. Ponsonby¹ that one or other of the Ministers should come here to explain matters. Much worried. Had a telegram from Mr. Gladstone saying he had not much more to say, and wished to avoid the journey, his opinion best given from London; time and attention required in evacuating his house! My early return anxiously desired.

Captain Bigge to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL, 9th June 1885.—If Government resigns, the Queen expects Mr. Gladstone, or, if he is not able,

¹ Who was then in London.

a deputy to come here. The Queen feels tired and wishes to benefit as much as possible from stay here, especially with so much in prospect.

On account of Ascot, it would be almost impossible to reach Windsor before 20th. We must endeavour to tide over until then.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 9th June 1885.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty ; and, in consequence of the division last night in the House of Commons, by which the House refused to grant supplies necessary to meet war charges that it had sanctioned, he has to report that your Majesty's servants, assembled in Cabinet to-day, feel they have no alternative but humbly and dutifully to tender to your Majesty their resignation of the offices they have had the honour to hold in the service of your Majesty.

Mr. Gladstone regrets that it has not been in his power to prepare your Majesty beforehand for this announcement. The state of the case is this. The strength of the Government in the House of Commons has on every occasion been sufficient to enable them to cope with the two solid and constant elements of hostile action, the Tory and Nationalist Oppositions. But last night there were silently withdrawn, under the pressure of powerful Trades, from the side of the Government, a large number of Liberal Members who abstained, while seven voted in the majority. There was no previous notice, and it was immediately before the division that Mr. Gladstone was apprised for the first time of the likelihood of a defeat.

He proposes to move this afternoon an adjournment of the House till Friday.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 10th June 1885.—Received Mr. Gladstone's letter, announcing the defeat of the Government, which evidently angered him. Sir H. Ponsonby wrote that Mr. Gladstone was much sur-

prised at his defeat. Lord Spencer had said it had saved great troubles regarding the Crimes Bill. Mr. Gladstone thought, before I accepted the resignation, I should ascertain whether the Conservatives were prepared to accept office. Saw Capt. Bigge and desired him to telegraph to Sir H. Ponsonby, that if Mr. Gladstone could not come himself I expected he would send someone, and thought Lord Hartington ought to come. Also that he should ascertain privately whether Lord Salisbury would be prepared to form a Government. Heard from Sir H. Ponsonby that he thought no Minister could say more than I already knew, and that sending for Lord Hartington might look as if I charged him to form a Government. Lord Salisbury wished the present one to remain in office, but if not, would be ready to form a Government. Upon this, telegraphed to stop Lord Hartington. Wrote to Mr. Gladstone expressing surprise at his defeat, and at his making the Budget a vital question. That I would reflect, and regretted his action in the Cabinet against the Crimes Bill. After writing, and getting another letter from Mr. Gladstone, resigning formally, saw Capt. Bigge. Mr. Gladstone is to be finally asked whether he considers his resignation as definite, in which case I should accept it.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Copy.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 10th June 1885. —The Queen has to acknowledge Mr. Gladstone's letter received yesterday and the two received to-day. She was certainly much surprised at the result of Sir M. Beach's motion and also at Mr. Gladstone's making it a vital question for the Government. She desired Sir H. Ponsonby to acquaint him with her views and the impossibility of her hurrying to Windsor as well as the great inconvenience and difficulty of her arriving and staying at Windsor next week.

The Queen will, however, accelerate her return as much as she can and will write again to-morrow

morning before she finally accepts the resignation of Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues.

She is anxious to take time to reflect on the best and safest course to pursue at a moment when affairs are so complicated at home and abroad.

The Queen learns with regret the line taken by the Radical Members of the Government with regard to Ireland.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

11th June 1885.—My impression is that Lord Salisbury is much pleased.¹ I only asked him privately and he answered privately and added that he hopes your Majesty would permit him to hold the Foreign Office as Prime Minister because there was no other colleague accustomed to that office. . . .

Captain Bigge to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

11th June 1885.—Queen has asked Mr. Gladstone if he and his colleagues would remain in event of Lord Salisbury's being unwilling to form Government.

Am desired to ask you to ascertain what reply will be sent and if Mr. Gladstone refuses, ask Lord Hartington if he would, in same eventuality, be ready to take office of Premiership. You are not to tell Mr. Gladstone of your message for Lord Hartington.

An early answer hoped for.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegrams.*]

11th June 1885.—Mr. Gladstone will answer your Majesty himself.

¹ Since Lord Beaconsfield's death there had been no one recognised leader of the Conservative party ; the Queen might have sent for Sir Stafford Northcote, who led the House of Commons, instead of Lord Salisbury, the leader in the Lords. See above, p. 219.

Lord Hartington would not be able to form a Government in the present state of the Party and would not be willing to try apart from Mr. Gladstone.

[*Same day, later.*]—Though Mr. Gladstone will be ready to form a Government, if Opposition cannot, he evidently thinks it must be a modification of the present one.

Having, according to your Majesty's commands, ascertained privately the opinions on both sides, Sir Henry Ponsonby humbly submits that he thinks the proper course will be for your Majesty to summon Lord Salisbury to form a Government.

Queen Victoria to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

11th June 1885.—Although I have not heard from Mr. Gladstone, your telegrams give me purport of what his answer will be.

Consequently, to save time, please hand following to Lord Salisbury: "I wish you to come here at once. Trust you can leave by to-night's [cyphered by mistake 'to-morrow night's'] mail."

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

11th June 1885.—Humble duty.

Believe that to treat an attack on Budget by an Ex-Cabinet Minister with such breadth of front and after all the previous occurrences other than as a vital question would have been contrary to all precedent (a notable instance in December 1852) and would tend to weaken and lower Parliamentary Government.

In answer to your Majesty's question, the refusal to which it refers would obviously change the situation.

Your Majesty's intention to return will be gratefully appreciated.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 11th June 1885.—The Queen has thought it best to wait for a definite answer as to whether Mr. Gladstone would be prepared to continue in office if Lord Salisbury should be *unwilling* to form a Government before writing. Having now received his answer, she has telegraphed at once, to save time, accepting his resignation.

While fully appreciating the reason of Mr. Gladstone's state of health precluding his coming here, which she certainly expected he would have done, she much regrets his not having at once offered to send a Minister up here to communicate personally with her, and to give her any information she might naturally desire as to the feeling of the Cabinet in general, and as to what led to the defeat of the Government, as well as to the divergence of opinion in the Cabinet on Irish affairs. This would have shown the public how anxious the Queen was to know anything before she acted, instead of allowing it to appear that she was wasting time in Scotland.

The Queen, however, has now sent for Lord Salisbury, having accepted Mr. Gladstone's resignation, and as soon as she has seen him, she will telegraph to Mr. Gladstone the result, which ought to reach him in time to make any further statement to Parliament to-morrow.

With respect to the Queen's return south, she must observe first, that the Railway authorities, unless *previously* warned, do *not* consider it *safe* for her to start without some days' notice. Secondly, that the Queen is a lady nearer 70 than 60, whose health and strength have been most severely taxed during the 48 years of her arduous reign, and that she is quite unable to rush about as a younger person and a man could do. And lastly it is extremely inconvenient and unpleasant from the noise and great crowds at Windsor during the Ascot week for her to be there, and for 24

years the Queen has carefully avoided being there at that time. However, if she finds it necessary, the Queen will return early next week to Windsor. She is not feeling strong, and must husband her strength for the fatigues she has before her.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 12th June 1885.—After luncheon Lord Salisbury arrived, and I saw him very soon afterwards. I said I hoped he was not tired and began speaking at once about the resignation of the Government, and my wish that he should form one. He replied that he thought the Government ought to have remained on, but of course that he would not refuse to come to my assistance in the present difficulty. He had only had half an hour to consult any of his friends ; he was anxious to be Foreign Secretary as well as Prime Minister, because none of his colleagues were well acquainted with foreign affairs.

He said, poor Sir S. Northcote was a great difficulty, being no longer suited for the post of leader in the House of Commons. Lord Randolph Churchill, Lord Salisbury thinks, must have office, and asked “ if I had any insuperable objection to him,” which I said I had not. Lord Randolph would not serve with Sir S. Northcote. Sir M. Hicks Beach was strongly against his [Sir S. Northcote's] being leader, but Lord S. thought he might do for First Lord of the Treasury. He had received an enigmatical telegram from him, which he could not understand. Sir R. Cross to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir M. Hicks Beach, Leader of the House of Commons. He was a resolute man, with large and rather advanced views, and should also have the Seals of the Colonies. Lord Randolph to go to the India Office, which rather startled me, but the India Council would be a check on him. Mr. Smith to go to the Admiralty. I told Lord Salisbury that Col. Stanley ought not to go to the War Office, as he had done even more harm there than Lord Cardwell and Mr. Childers. Lord Salisbury was vexed

at this, but I urged it very strongly, and he suggested Mr. Smith or Lord G. Hamilton instead. Lord Cairns was a terrible loss, and Lord Salisbury really did not know whom to appoint as Lord Chancellor. He thought he must consult Lord Selborne.¹ For the Home Office he thought of a Mr. Gibson, a very able man and lawyer. Lord Carnarvon to be Lord Lieut. of Ireland, as he was clever and conciliatory, and popular wherever he went. I then talked of the Household appointments. Lord Salisbury spoke of Mr. Lowther or Mr. Bourke for Judge Advocate, and Lord Cranbrook for Lord President of the Council.

In consequence of the new Franchise and Seats Bills, the Conservatives would be unable to dissolve before November, unless some violent conduct of the Opposition rendered a Dissolution necessary. He thought Mr. Gladstone should be told to remain in office till the Dissolution and that he (Lord S.) and his friends, though quite ready to assume office, were by no means anxious to do so. I talked of foreign affairs. Lord Salisbury said all the Diplomats should remain at their posts. He lamented the failure of the Soudan affairs, and the difficulties about Egypt. As to Ireland, and the Crimes Bill, he thought it might be tided over till the end of the Session, which should be adjourned, not prorogued, till the time for dissolving. I said I should be soon coming to Windsor.

Saw Capt. Bigge about a cypher Lord Salisbury was anxious to send to Mr. Gladstone, and which I agreed in, in the main. Lord Salisbury is anxious that Mr. Gladstone should clearly understand the position of affairs before resigning office.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

10 DOWNING STREET, 12th June 1885.—Mr. Gladstone acknowledges with his most humble duty

¹ Lord Selborne was Lord Chancellor in Mr. Gladstone's Government, but his son, the present Lord Selborne, had married Lady Maud Cecil, Lord Salisbury's daughter, in 1883. \

your Majesty's letter of the 10th, and regrets the personal inconveniences of the present crisis to your Majesty.

Among them must be the enhanced pressure of cares and occupations, and Mr. Gladstone will only trouble your Majesty with two remarks.

He is confident that he could show your Majesty by a reference to facts that such an attack as that of Monday on the Budget could not have been treated as other than a vital question, without relaxing the principles which determine the responsibility of Ministers and also of political parties, and thus striking a blow at the solidity of Parliamentary Government. Whatever may be Mr. Gladstone's leaning, in many or some matters, to popular ideas, he never has been and never will be knowingly a party to any proceeding which can justly be thus described.

The illustrative cases are not very numerous, for Oppositions, in former times, have not been much in the habit of raising vital issues upon Budgets; and, when it was done by Lord J. Russell in 1842, the House did not encourage the movement, though there was a good deal to be said for it. But in 1841, in 1848, and particularly in 1852, circumstances occurred to which Mr. Gladstone would appeal in support of his view.

With regard to the intentions of Radical Members of the Cabinet respecting the Bill proposed for the Government of Ireland, they were never finally declared. It is, however, undoubted that, when the division of Monday took place, one point remained (not in Mr. Gladstone's view of vital moment) which was still in suspense; although, before the Whitsuntide recess, the entire subject had been settled, which was accidentally reopened by the proposal as to Land Purchase. But Mr. Gladstone never intimated to your Majesty that the course of the Cabinet, or his own, was to be governed by the dissent to which your Majesty refers; and it was his firm intention, had that dissent become operative, to submit for your

Majesty's sanction such arrangements as might have been necessary for filling any vacant offices and carrying on the Government.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

12th June 1885.—Have seen Lord Salisbury. While he is perfectly ready to undertake to form a Government, he wishes you to know that neither he nor his friends are desirous of taking office. They think obstacle to dissolution arising from Reform Bill makes situation of unexampled difficulty which should be brought earnestly before you before you determine finally that you will not continue.

Lord Salisbury leaves here to-morrow shortly after one. I leave Tuesday morning.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 13th June 1885.—Saw Lord Salisbury, who said he was quite ready, if I wished it, to serve under Sir S. Northcote, but I said I feared, under the circumstances, it would not do. He proposes sending Sir Drummond Wolff on a mission to Cairo, to enquire into affairs there. About Ireland he did not wish to speak as yet. The Crimes Act was a great difficulty, but it might possibly be got over by an adjournment, instead of a prorogation, of Parliament. They could not attempt to pass it now. Capt. Bigge brought me the answer from Mr. Gladstone, saying that, since Lord Salisbury had publicly declared his readiness to take office, and my acceptance of his resignation had been announced in Parliament yesterday, it would be impossible to reconsider the question. This was shown to Lord Salisbury, whom I shall see at Windsor on the 17th. Heard from Mr. Gladstone by post, discussing further the situation. I wrote to him in very civil terms offering him a Peerage, which I

hoped he would accept.¹ I also wrote to Lord Granville.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegrams.*]

14th June 1885.—My humble duty. I will carefully observe your Majesty's commands received this morning.

An unforeseen difficulty on another matter has arisen which may be serious. Sir H. Giffard advises that passing of Seats Bill has made dissolution legally impossible. If so, House of Commons may refuse to us necessary money for (adjournment service?)

I think that it will be requisite to obtain from the other side engagement that they will support proposal for finding, by loan if necessary, money required by their own votes of credit and estimates. Otherwise we shall be put in an impossible position. I will telegraph to your Majesty further when I have seen my friends to-morrow.

15th June.—Humble duty.

I had an interview to-day with Sir S. Northcote, Sir R. Cross, Mr. Smith, Lord J. Manners, Lord Cranbrook, Duke of Richmond, Lord Carnarvon, Lord Harrowby, Mr. Gibson, Sir M. Beach, Lord G. Hamilton.

All excepting last two were of opinion that it was the duty of the Party to take office in case we could obtain from the other side a pledge to support us in accomplishment (?) absolutely indispensable to business. Without this we could do no good, as the Seats Bill will then prevent dissolution. Sir M. Beach and Lord G. Hamilton were against accepting office unless we get consent of Lord R. Churchill.

¹ This letter is printed in *Life of Gladstone*, bk. viii, ch. 12, together with Mr. Gladstone's reply, declining the offer. He was much touched by the "very civil terms" in which it was couched. He wrote to Lord Granville: "I send you a letter from the Queen which moves and almost upsets me. It must have cost her much to write, and it is really a pearl of great price."

Lord Randolph will not consent unless Sir S. Northcote is deposed from leader and Sir R. Cross from the Ministry. Some time for negotiation is necessary. Above-mentioned will meet again on Wednesday, after which I will wait upon your Majesty. Sir S. Northcote is in communication with Mr. Gladstone and hopes to pass Annuity Bill to-night.

Colonel Stanley unavoidably prevented attending to-day.

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

[*Duplicate.*]

10 DOWNING STREET, 15th June 1885.—Mr. Gladstone submits, on his retirement from office, for your Majesty's gracious consideration, the accompanying lists under their separate heads of

1. Garter : to fill three vacancies in the Order.
2. Peerages. Additions to the House of Lords, Seven. Patents not involving addition, Three.
3. Privy Council. Recommendations, Two.
4. Baronetcies. Political and general, Seven. Special for Art, Two.

The Art Baronetcies appear, as such honours cannot be said to be usual, to require some explanations from Mr. Gladstone. He has for many years felt it to be matter of regret as well as of anomaly that the grade of Baronet so frequently conferred in the Medical profession (for example) has not been tendered to any Artist, or not enjoyed by any, since Sir Godfrey Kneller. When he had first the honour to serve your Majesty in his present office, he would certainly have submitted the name of Sir E. Landseer for a Baronetcy, but for the mental calamity which at that time overtook him. A feeling, however, that the provision for Art in respect of honours was insufficient led him to recommend the Knighthood now enjoyed by Sir John Gilbert, for the first time as (then) a Water Colour Painter.

After much consideration, and with a sense of the

difficulties which surround the subject, he determined to consult Sir F. Leighton, and it is after fully ascertaining his views that the two names of Mr. Watts, as the highest representative of the ideal school, and Mr. Millais, as the most eminent and famous among those who may be considered types of the realistic school, are humbly submitted to your Majesty.

Mr. Gladstone felt able to observe to Sir F. Leighton that he could ask him for impartial testimony inasmuch as in the character of President of the Royal Academy, quite apart from his Knighthood, he had a higher distinction than that which it is now proposed to confer on two of his distinguished compeers. Mr. Gladstone at the same time hazarded a merely personal opinion that, if at a future time Sir F. Leighton should desire a Baronetcy, most Ministers would be well disposed to submit his name.¹ He entirely withdrew his name from consideration. Mr. Gladstone certainly felt that it would be too much to ask for three Art Baronetcies from your Majesty.

Your Majesty is probably aware that the Artists principally named in his letter have enjoyed the honour of being asked to send, and have sent, their portraits to the noted collection of Artist Portraits at Florence. This fact may be found to serve in a certain degree for the mitigation of jealousies. Mr. Watts is single, and advanced in years. Mr. Millais has a family, and, as is understood, a large fortune. The submissions now humbly tendered are for leave to make the respective offers, but Mr. Gladstone has no information, beyond general likelihood, that they will be accepted.² . . .

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

16th June 1885.—Your telegram of last evening :
Am sorry that difficulties have arisen and should

¹ Sir F. Leighton was eventually raised to the peerage as Lord Leighton.

² Mr. Watts declined ; Mr. Millais accepted.

much regret the loss of Sir R. Cross who was universally considered one of the best Home Secretaries. With due consideration to Lord R. Churchill, do not think he should be allowed to dictate entirely his own terms, especially as he has never held office before.

Regarding pledge of support from other side, I am ready to do anything to facilitate it.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.
[Cypher Telegram.]

16th June 1885.—My humble duty to your Majesty.

Difficulties as to composition of Government are arranged. Sir R. Cross and Lord R. Churchill will serve in the Cabinet—but I think that it will be necessary to move Sir Stafford Northcote to the House of Lords as Colonial Secretary.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 17th June 1885.—At 4, saw Lord Salisbury, who said that it was “hard work,” but that he had got over the principal difficulties. But one has arisen about Sir S. Northcote. The feeling is too strong in the House of Commons to allow of his continuing as leader, and Lord Salisbury thinks I must send him up to the Lords, which Sir Stafford himself proposed. Suddenly, yesterday evening he had become very depressed, and thought the Colonies were not enough for his position. Lord Salisbury therefore asked me to make him First Lord of the Treasury and to give him as high a place in the Peerage as possible. I agreed to his being made an Earl. Lord Salisbury would then ask him to superintend and look after the money matters, while he (Lord S.) would be Prime Minister, and communicate with me direct on all matters of importance, leaving the smaller appointments and patronage to Sir Stafford.

However, before anything could be really done or proceeded with, came the great difficulty of the impossibility of dissolving, should it be necessary, in consequence of the two new Bills, and the necessity

of asking Mr. Gladstone and his followers to support him in procuring the necessary money for the war in the Soudan. Lord Salisbury believes, from what he has heard, that Mr. Gladstone would not be averse to agreeing to this, provided it came through me. He proposed therefore to write down a Memorandum here before leaving, which I would then send on to Mr. Gladstone. The substance of it is as follows: Dissolution being impossible and Lord Salisbury's party in a minority, it would be impossible to wind up the Session and render me useful service, without obtaining from Mr. Gladstone a promise of support on the following points: Government business to have precedence in the House of Commons on all days, when financial business is put down. Failing any other provisions to satisfy estimates and votes of credit of the late Government, Exchequer Bonds to be issued for necessary amount. I wrote this at once, and forwarded it to Mr. Gladstone. Received an answer from Mr. Gladstone after dinner, doubting impossibility of Dissolution (which, however, afterwards he found was the case). Believed there would be no disposition to embarrass the new Government, but that it would not be to public advantage were pledges to be made on points, the facts of which he did not know. He asks that this letter may be considered confidential. Sir H. Ponsonby, whom I sent for, is to go to London to-morrow, to let Lord Salisbury see this.

18th June.—Had a telegram from Lord Salisbury saying that he and his friends consider Mr. Gladstone's letter contains no pledge of that support which they deem indispensable before accepting office. Saw Sir H. Ponsonby, who had met Mr. Gladstone; the latter was coming to see me, and was greatly troubled, as his party would not allow him to say more. I saw Mr. Gladstone a little while after luncheon. He was most amiable; excited, but without asperity. He repeated what he thought could and might be done, entering into details about

the danger of being pledged to vote for the increase of the national debt, and for no taxes, which he and his Party would never consent to. But that he felt perfectly sure there would be no unfair attacks, as it would be "most improper and most indecent" for any Opposition to attack a newly formed Government under any circumstances. On my observing that some of his followers might not be so scrupulous, he replied, that they would then not be supported by their party and the country.

He talked of Russia and the Afghan question, which is very serious, and said he left office with a very sad heart about Russia. He feared she was quibbling and wished to break with us. Lord Dufferin had answered with regard to the Zulficar Pass, that it would be difficult for this Government to acquiesce in any modification of that line, in surrendering the interests of the Ameer, without his consent. "We therefore very strongly deprecated any further concessions of the kind, for which the Russian Government now appear to be contending. They would discredit our character for constancy and good faith in the eyes of the Ameer and his people. That the surrender of Penjdeh rendered this necessary, on account of its commanding the roads to Gulran. We can only express a hope that the general terms of the arrangement, which has been stipulated for, on behalf of the Ameer, may be scrupulously maintained." This is very strong. Mr. Gladstone spoke of Sir S. Northcote, and said he would be a great loss to the House of Commons. He had great qualities and abilities, and would be a great man, were he only more determined. We spoke of various honours.

Saw Sir H. Ponsonby and gave him a Memorandum Mr. Gladstone had written for me, which he was to show to Sir S. Northcote, who had already arrived. I then saw the latter, and thought him very nervous and low, and not looking well. He expressed his warm thanks for all my kindness and said he would do anything for me. We went over the difficulties of

the present moment which he hoped and thought would be overcome. He fancied his colleagues did not quite understand Mr. Gladstone's particular mode of writing and expressing himself, which was never to come to the point at once. That it would be impossible, however, to give such a pledge as he [?] was asked for, which would prevent all difference of opinion, or means of evasion. Good Sir Stafford did not allude to his own position, nor did I, and I asked him to be the bearer of Mr. Gladstone's Memorandum to Lord Salisbury, repeating all Mr. Gladstone had said as to its being almost an impossibility for a factious attack to be made. Sir Stafford said he was inclined to agree with Mr. Gladstone that so much depended upon the spirit in which such a promise was given and received. That he himself was inclined to believe people and "I have no doubt been taken in sometimes." He is too good and gentle for these turbulent times in the House of Commons.

20th June.—Heard from Mr. Gladstone that his colleagues agreed with him in regretting Lord Salisbury's silence as to Mr. Gladstone's reference to the spirit of interpretation of the declaration. He hoped his last Memorandum would afford a solution of the difficulty, but it would be contrary to their public duty to compromise the liberties of the House of Commons, by giving the specific pledges asked for. Heard later from Lord Salisbury, who said they had no intention of ignoring Mr. Gladstone's reference to the "spirit of interpretation," but objected to the generality of the declaration, which amounted only to his "belief"; that the "spirit" which declined all specific pledges was certainly not the one in which the Conferences on the Seats Bill had been conducted. That Lord Salisbury could not see any compromise of liberty in agreeing to vote for certain facilities of days, frequently granted to the Government of the day. Mr. Gladstone gave no definite assurance of support. It seemed further off than ever. Saw Sir H. Ponsonby, who had returned. Neither side

could agree to what the other proposed; still a means must be found.

Wrote to Lord Salisbury expressing distress at apparent difficulty in forming a Government, and while agreeing with him as to the desirability of obtaining specific pledges, reminded him that Mr. Gladstone had no power to bind his Party by pledges. I further said I thought his promise of general support might be accepted as a binding guarantee to uphold the Government until there was a Dissolution, and offered to strengthen these assurances by publicly recommending them. Prolonged crisis did harm to best interests of the country. Also wrote to Mr. Gladstone, expressing similar regret at no signs of his accepting Lord Salisbury's proposal; though I had faith in Mr. Gladstone's expressed words, it was impossible to look on promise of general support as any security against attacks of Opposition. Asked if he would consent to promise general support to financial scheme. Unusual state of affairs made me strain every effort to terminate crisis satisfactorily, as best interests of the country seemed likely to suffer and Afghan question was becoming more threatening.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

21st-22nd June 1885.—On Sunday [21st] the Queen received replies to her letters from Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone, the last being written on the 21st, and your Majesty sent Sir Henry Ponsonby early on Monday to ask for decisions on these letters and to urge both parties to end this prolonged crisis.

On reaching Downing Street soon after 10 a.m., Sir Henry Ponsonby found that Mr. Gladstone was at Dollis Hill, and not expected back till 11.30. He told Mr. Hamilton that your Majesty intended to back up Mr. Gladstone's assurances to Lord Salisbury. He asked if Mr. Gladstone's letter of the 21st was a public document, but Mr. Hamilton was not sure.

He went to Arlington Street and found that Lord Salisbury was not expected from Hatfield till 12. On

his return he read Mr. Gladstone's letter, which he said required consideration. The difficulty of his taking office was increased by his party having asked for "specific pledges" which were not given.

Sir Henry Ponsonby then saw Sir Stafford Northcote by your Majesty's desire; but he said his position was delicate, and he could only repeat what he had already said to Lord Salisbury, that he trusted Mr. Gladstone's assurances.

He proceeded to Downing Street, where he found Lord Granville, Sir Charles Dilke, and Mr. Gladstone, who told him his letter of the 21st was public and one which ought to satisfy Lord Salisbury.

On reaching Arlington Street Lord Salisbury said that, as the letter was public, this changed the aspect of affairs, and that if your Majesty would write some such letter as that so graciously indicated by your Majesty, which would satisfy his friends who still objected to not having received specific pledges, he would no doubt accept office.

Lord Salisbury privately sketched the letter which he hoped might be written; and Sir Henry Ponsonby, adopting this as his own draft, returned to Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Gladstone struck out certain paragraphs and changed two words. Lord Salisbury refused to accept these amendments and confidentially asked Sir Henry Ponsonby whether the Queen would not write the letter herself, as she had a constitutional right to do, without Mr. Gladstone's advice. Sir Henry Ponsonby replied that he did not think this would be advisable.¹ Lord Salisbury then made some modifications in the draft and Sir Henry Ponsonby with these returned to Mr. Gladstone. Lord

¹ On this point Sir Henry Ponsonby wrote to the Queen that he humbly submitted that "if your Majesty were thus to intervene and to give Lord Salisbury a Royal guarantee of the intentions of the Liberal Party which were not endorsed by them, it would place both parties in an awkward position, it would bring your Majesty's name into the conflict, and would lead to no good result, for the majority in the House of Commons would at once repudiate any agreement made for them and would take every means of attacking the new Government."

Granville and Sir William Harcourt were with him, and they maintained that any interpretation of Mr. Gladstone's words which was not his own could not be admitted.

Although Sir Henry Ponsonby did not quote Lord Salisbury as having proposed the above modifications, he has no doubt that Mr. Gladstone knew that Lord Salisbury authorised them. Sir Henry Ponsonby's object was to secure that your Majesty's letter should be written with the approval or at least sanction of both Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury.

He again saw Lord Salisbury at about half past 6, who said he feared his friends would not be satisfied without some stronger pledge. He would write to the Queen.

On returning to Windsor Sir Henry Ponsonby had the honour at 11.30 p.m. to be shown by your Majesty Lord Salisbury's letter suggesting another modification. He thereupon telegraphed to ask Mr. Gladstone whether he adhered to the simple formula for the Queen's letter. And also to Lord Salisbury to say that, although the Queen was anxious to assent to any words that might facilitate matters, she could not go beyond the sentence ending with "assurances" unless responsibly advised.

23rd June.—Received from Lord Salisbury a telegram, "Shall be content if form sent is accepted as far as 'assurances' though I should have preferred final words."

On receiving this at 8.15 a.m. Sir Henry Ponsonby sent to your Majesty the draft of the letter already sanctioned by Mr. Gladstone and now accepted by Lord Salisbury. Your Majesty, however, before sending the letter, asked, "Has Sir Henry ascertained that this will satisfy Mr. Gladstone?"—thus showing that your Majesty would take no step without Mr. Gladstone's assent. As the draft had already been sanctioned (after being corrected by him) by Mr. Gladstone, Sir Henry Ponsonby answered "Yes"

to your Majesty's enquiry, and proceeding to London delivered the letter to Lord Salisbury at 10 a.m. o'clock. Who said this settled the matter, and that, after seeing his friends, he would proceed to Windsor.

At 11 Sir Henry Ponsonby received the following telegram from Mr. Gladstone.

"I understand the Queen to be disposed to express her belief that my words are used with sincerity and loyalty and may reasonably be so accepted, and to this I can offer no objection: but the incessant attempts from the other side to extend them obliges me once more to say that I can in no way be a party to any construction or interpretation placed upon them."

Sir Henry Ponsonby showed this to Lord Salisbury, who said that he had nothing to do with any private communication of this sort, besides which it had come after everything had been settled.

Lord Salisbury came to Windsor and kissed hands on accepting office.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 23rd June 1885.—Was woke up at 8 to sign the letter to Lord Salisbury, which Sir H. Ponsonby had written out fair to save me the trouble, Mr. Gladstone having agreed. I am dreadfully tired by this long business. Breakfasting at Frogmore under the trees, and sitting out. Sir H. Ponsonby had taken my letter to Lord Salisbury. Just after came a cypher from Mr. Gladstone agreeing, but half backing out, which, however, fortunately came too late, as another cypher arrived saying all was right, and Mr. G.'s telegram was of no consequence. Lord Salisbury accepted office and would be at Windsor at 4. What a relief!

After luncheon saw Capt. Bigge about the honours Mr. Gladstone wishes for, which are very numerous. At quarter past 4 received Lord Salisbury, who seemed pleased that things were at last settled, and thanked me. But he feared he had given me a great deal of trouble, which I did not deny. The fact was, that

much time had been lost, through Mr. Gladstone's insisting on sending everything through *me*. If Lord Salisbury could have seen him, matters could have been settled very quickly. I repeated my belief in Mr. Gladstone's great desire to support the new Government, and great earnestness in his manner when saying this. Lord Salisbury then talked chiefly of the different Ministers and appointments.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 23rd June 1885.—The Queen encloses to Lord Salisbury Mr. Gladstone's last letter.

She fully appreciates the difficulties in which Lord Salisbury is placed by the impossibility of a dissolution.

The Queen calls Lord Salisbury's attention to the following sentences, in Mr. Gladstone's letter: "In his opinion facilities of Supply may reasonably be provided but not so as to place the liberties of the House of Commons in abeyance."

"With regard to finances, looking at all the facts and probabilities before him, Mr. Gladstone feels sure there is no idea of withholding the ways and means required for the public service and he apprehends no danger on this score."

The Queen is earnestly desirous to bring this Ministerial crisis to a close, believing that it is endangering the best interests of the State. She has therefore no hesitation in communicating to Lord Salisbury her opinion that he may reasonably accept these assurances.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 24th June 1885.—Just before luncheon saw Mr. Gladstone, who appeared very much excited, but was very amiable. He thanked me for consenting to the honours. He was greatly shocked at a dreadful speech of Mr. Chamberlain's attacking Lord Spencer, and hampering and speaking of the

soldiers as "foreign bayonets." It is too bad, and Mr. Gladstone deeply regrets it. He spoke of his plan of having land [? purchase] and central Local Government in Ireland, and went "farther than Mr. Chamberlain." I said I was surprised and hoped he would not agitate about it, to which he replied no, that if there should be any difference of opinion about it in the party, he should be silent. But he thought Mr. Chamberlain would carry his point, which seems to me doubtful. He disclaimed his opinion being actuated by any party spirit. He then asked to kiss my hand on taking leave and was going away before the others came.

Bertie kindly came to be with me during the Council, and lunched with us. Lord Carlingford was much affected when I spoke to him, saying I had been so kind to him, and still more so when he took leave. Then followed the last Council of the "Gladstone Government," after which the Ministers who had Seals came in and delivered them up. I shook hands with Lord Granville, who kissed mine with effusion, did the same to Lord Hartington, who said he was not well, had had such worry and had felt terribly the failure in Egypt. I said a few words about India to Lord Kimberley. Went over with Bertie to the Green Drawing-room. Lord Cranbrook came in as Lord President, and brought in the paper. But I had nothing to do but swear in and declare the different people in their offices. Those who had no Seals came in separately to kiss hands after the Council, and Mr. Chaplin was, as usual, sworn in separately, so was Lord Iddesleigh (Sir S. Northcote), who was very nervous. Mr. Gibson (created Lord Ashbourne), the Irish Lord Chancellor, is a clever, pleasant-looking man, Mr. Plunket and Mr. Stanhope, the same. Lord Randolph Churchill is rather like his sisters, and a little like his good father. It was dreadfully hot, and so much so outside that we could not open the windows. Saw Lord Salisbury afterwards in Albert's room. I asked him to telegraph to Lord Dufferin

assuring him of the support of the new Government. Bertie left again, having kindly spent the whole afternoon at Windsor, which was the greatest help to me.

MR. GLADSTONE'S MINISTRY
AT RESIGNATION.

LORD SALISBURY'S MINISTRY.

W. E. GLADSTONE	<i>First Lord of the Treasury</i>	EARL OF IDDESLEIGH (SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE)
EARL OF SELBORNE	<i>Lord Chancellor</i>	LORD HALSBURY (SIR HARDINGE GIFFARD)
LORD CARLINGFORD	<i>Lord President</i>	VISCOUNT CRANBROOK
EARL OF ROSEBERY (also <i>First Commissioner of Works</i>)	<i>Lord Privy Seal</i>	EARL OF HARROWBY
SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT	<i>Home Secretary</i>	SIR RICHARD CROSS
EARL GRANVILLE	<i>Foreign Secretary</i>	MARQUIS OF SALISBURY (<i>Prime Minister</i>)
EARL OF DERBY	<i>Colonial Secretary</i>	HON. SIR FREDERICK STANLEY
MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON	<i>War Secretary</i>	WILLIAM HENRY SMITH
EARL OF KIMBERLEY	<i>Indian Secretary</i>	LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL
HUGH C. E. CHILDERS	<i>Chancellor of the Exchequer</i>	SIR MICHAEL HICKS BEACH (<i>Leader of the House of Commons</i>)
EARL OF NORTHBROOK	<i>First Lord of the Admiralty</i>	LORD GEORGE HAMILTON
EARL SPENCER (<i>Not in the Cabinet</i>)	<i>Viceroy of Ireland</i> <i>Lord Chancellor of Ireland</i>	EARL OF CARNARVON LORD ASHBOURNE (EDWARD GIBSON)
GEORGE O. TREVELYAN	<i>Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster</i>	(<i>Not in the Cabinet</i>)
JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN	<i>President of the Board of Trade</i>	DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON
SIR CHARLES DILKE	<i>President of the Local Government Board</i>	(<i>Not in the Cabinet</i>)
G. J. SHAW-LEFEVRE	<i>Postmaster-General</i>	LORD JOHN MANNERS

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 25th June 1885.—. . . Lord Salisbury last night sent telegrams to Lord Dufferin, Lord Wolseley, and Sir E. Baring, assuring them of the confidence and support of the new Government. Lord Lyons has been requested to come over, and will



*Robert, 3rd Marquess of Salisbury, K.G.
From a picture by George Richmond, R.A.,
at Windsor.*



be here to-morrow night. General Baker has been requested to stay in England. There will be a Cabinet to-morrow (Friday) at 12.

25th June.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully submits that a Cabinet was held to-day at which the questions of Zulficar and Egypt were specially considered. In respect to the Afghan difficulty no measure was decided on beyond certain enquiries which the S. of S. for India was directed to make of the Viceroy and Col. Ridgeway. The opinion was generally expressed that the abandonment of Sir P. Lumsden's frontier, and the acceptance of M. Lessar's line, had deprived the proposed frontier of much of its interest and value; and that the conflict about Zulficar had not much intrinsic importance. But it has a very real importance from the fact that a promise has been made to the Ameer that he shall have it. The Cabinet were also of opinion that a decoration for Sir P. Lumsden would be very desirable; and that no great public interest was much served by the prosecution of Mr. Gladstone's arbitration. There is really little to arbitrate about. It is possible the Russians may be disposed to abandon some of their territorial pretensions in lieu of it.

As to Egypt, a telegram was directed to be sent to Lord Wolseley to ascertain his views as to the possibility of arresting the evacuation of Dongola, and the general military situation. Until he has reported on this it will not be wise to let him come home. Directions were also given to submit proposals to your Majesty with respect to moving some at least of the troops from the unhealthy neighbourhood of Alexandria to healthier quarters in Cyprus.

Queen Victoria to Countess Spencer.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 26th June 1885.

DEAR CHARLOTTE,—I send with these lines my Order of Victoria and Albert (2nd Class) which I hope you will accept as a mark of the deep and lasting sense

of the services Lord Spencer—so nobly supported by you—rendered to his Sovereign and country, in Ireland.

I can never forget all you both went through, and the courage and devotion you both displayed. It is too shocking to see the shameful way in which the so-called “Nationalists” have behaved towards him. The papers say Lord Spencer is in Ireland again; pray, when you see him, say everything kind to him from me, and believe me always, V. R. & I.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 27th June 1885.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully informs your Majesty that a telegram has just been received from Lord Wolseley emphatically repeating his opinions against the evacuation of Dongola; and that orders have been sent to him to stop the further progress of the evacuation until the decision of the Cabinet is taken. It is necessary to send these orders at once, otherwise the food might all be removed, and it would have to be taken back at a great expense.

Mr. Smith to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

1st July 1885.—With humble duty: forwards for your Majesty's approval text of telegram which Government propose to send to-night to Lord Wolseley.

“Her Majesty's Government have decided that the retreat ordered by their predecessors is to be continued to a point which in your judgment provides for the security of Egypt; but they are not prepared to abandon the Railway, which should be completed.

“Her Majesty's Government would be glad to confer with you in London so soon as your duties in Egypt will make it possible for you to leave.”

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

30th June 1885.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully submits that yester-

day Count Münster brought a message from Prince Bismarck which he read in German. It was expressed with great friendliness, alluding in terms of satisfaction to the Conservative traditions of friendliness with the German people, and also to the policy of Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury as to Berlin.

To-day Count Münster called again. His object was to speak about *Zanzibar*. He said the German Government were quite willing to join with England and France in the treaty which now exists between them to respect the independence of Zanzibar; and to commit the task of drawing the boundary between the territory of Zanzibar, and the country occupied by the new German settlers, to an impartial Commission. But he wished that the English representative there should discourage hostile action or language on the part of the Zanzibar Government towards the German authorities or settlers. Lord Salisbury stated that this had been already done; a telegram to that effect having been sent two or three days ago. The tone of the Ambassador appeared to indicate an intention of friendliness on the part of his Government. . . . Lord Salisbury drew his attention to the necessity of immediately issuing the *new Egyptian loan*; which Count Münster promised to report to his Government. Lord Salisbury also had a long conversation with the *Turkish Ambassador*, who pressed for a greater recognition of the *Sultan's rights in Egypt*: especially by the employment of Turkish troops. Lord Salisbury, without pledging himself, did not discourage the idea.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 4th July 1885.—Beatrice read to me out of Gen. Gordon's most interesting Journal, which is painful and harrowing, as it shows how badly he was treated by the Government. Lord and Lady Randolph Churchill (he is very quiet and has an extraordinary likeness to darling Leopold, which quite startled me), Lord George Hamilton, Sir M.

Hicks Beach, Mary Biddulph, and Horatia S. dined. Lord Randolph talked sensibly. Lord G. Hamilton is very pleasant and so is Sir M. H. Beach.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

4th July 1885.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully submits that he has seen the *Austrian Ambassador* who has recently returned to England. He expressed himself warmly on behalf of his Government in favour of the traditional good feeling between England and Austria : which he hinted had been interrupted in recent years. Lord Salisbury asked him to propose to his Government a speedy ratification of the Convention of last March, or an engagement in lieu of it, in order that the financial position of Egypt might be put in a satisfactory condition.

Lord Salisbury has made a similar proposal to the German Ambassador ; and also direct to Prince Bismarck by Baron de Plessen, who left England two days ago. He has also expressed to both the Austrian Ambassador, and to Prince Bismarck, his belief that, whatever political changes may take place, England will probably abide by her traditional policy in the hands of either political party ; and that the peculiar deviations from it which have marked the last few years are not likely to be repeated.

Lord Salisbury has also seen the *French Ambassador*, whose tone was friendly. He has made a proposal of some importance with respect to the despatch of convicts to *New Caledonia*—which may have the ultimate result of stopping the system altogether ; which, if it can be brought about, will be very satisfactory to the Australian Colonies. The French Minister said little about Egypt. He would not press the English Government, he said, but leave the initiative to them as to the evacuation of Egypt ; but until it took place he said that complete harmony between the two countries would not be restored. He repeated the pledge, that, when Egypt *was*

evacuated by England, France would undertake not to re-enter herself, and not to allow any other Power to do so. Lord Salisbury did not pledge himself upon these subjects.

[*Same day.*]—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully submits that your Majesty's servants met in Cabinet to-day. On the report of Lord Carnarvon and Lord Ashbourne, fortified by that of the Irish Law Officers, it was resolved that the renewal of the Crimes Act was not absolutely necessary during the few months which intervene before the dissolution. It would have been practically impossible to pass it : and to propose it without passing it would have been simply to provoke disorder. It was not thought at all likely that outrage would revive before the elections ; but boycotting and intimidation were on the increase. They were, however, so craftily done that the Crimes Act failed to check them : its renewal therefore on this ground was not defensible. If any appearance of a renewal of crime in Ireland should appear, it is possible to continue the Crimes Act till the dissolution by deferring the prorogation till that time : for the Act terminates with the "Session." But the Viceroy and Irish Lord Chancellor were convinced that the experiment of dispensing with it might be safely made during the next few months. The Cabinet unanimously accepted their view.

It was also resolved to bring in a Bill to facilitate Land purchase in Ireland ; and to resist Mr. Parnell's proposal for an enquiry into the trials for murder under Lord Spencer : which the Cabinet thought would be a most dangerous precedent. Lord R. Churchill dissented from this last view.

The Cabinet also resolved to bring in a Bill upon the subject of exempting persons having received purely medical relief from being disfranchised on that account. They also decided to support, as they had already done in Opposition, the Scotch Secretary Bill.

Sir Michael Hicks Beach¹ to Queen Victoria.

17th July 1885.—Sir Michael Hicks Beach presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs to report that this evening was entirely taken up with the debate on a motion by Mr. Parnell for a public enquiry into the cases of several persons convicted of crime in Ireland—a similar motion to one that was negatived several months ago. Sir Michael Hicks Beach, on the part of the Government, declined to grant such an enquiry; but pointed out that every prisoner in Ireland had a right to memorialise the Lord Lieutenant, in the ordinary way, for the consideration of his case; that it was the duty of any Lord Lieutenant personally to investigate any such memorials, and that he could not relieve himself of that duty by reference to a decision of his predecessor; and that Lord Carnarvon would of course consider any statements that might be presented to him, on these or any other cases of the kind, with an earnest desire of ascertaining the requirements of justice.

Sir W. Harcourt severely (and as Sir M. Hicks Beach thinks, unfairly) attacked Sir M. Hicks Beach for not having replied to Mr. Parnell's speech (especially some sentences attacking the conduct of certain judges and juries in Ireland) by anything more than the above short statement: though he admitted that the course suggested was in itself right. Lord R. Churchill replied to Sir W. Harcourt in a brilliant, but rather incautious, speech. The debate was continued for some hours: Messrs. Brodrick and C. Lewis (both Irish Conservatives) strongly objecting to what they called a "concession" to Mr. Parnell; Lord Hartington spoke, much in the same sense as Sir W. Harcourt, and was replied to by Sir W. H. Dyke; Mr. Healy then made a very clever speech, principally consisting of an attack on the Liberal Party; and Mr. Parnell's motion, which he had

¹ Leader of the House of Commons.

desired to withdraw, was ultimately negatived without a division.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[Copy.]

OSBORNE, 18th July 1885.—The Queen has to thank Lord Salisbury for several letters. She cannot refrain from expressing her great regret at the language of Lord Randolph Churchill with respect to Lord Spencer.

Any attempt to have any communication with Mr. Parnell and his party she would greatly deprecate, and he must not forget the so-called Treaty of Kilmainham.

The Queen thinks that Lord Spencer deserves the greatest credit for the way in which at the risk of his own life he put down crime, and succeeded in obtaining the conviction of the murderers of Lord F. Cavendish and Mr. Burke. The case of the Maamtrasna murders which Mr. Parnell brought forward ought not to have been entertained, for the Queen *knows* from Lord Spencer and Mr. Trevelyan that the case was perfectly clear, and to re-open it is only to lower justice and authority in Ireland.

The Queen has her very great doubts about the policy of governing without any additional powers; and it does look very like trying to cajole the Nationalists, who she feels sure *everyone but* Lord Randolph in the Cabinet *must know* are *totally unreliable*.

It would be well if Lord Salisbury and Sir M. Beach and other Cabinet Ministers would take opportunities of stating *emphatically* their determination to uphold and enforce the law; or the Government will be *accused* of *yielding* to these dangerous and unprincipled men. When in opposition the present Government strongly supported and applauded the measures of repression and of preservation of life which were so loudly called for in '82, and she would greatly deprecate any appearance of weakness now.

Their [the Nationalists'] apparent support of the present Government is only to be traced to their bitter hatred of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Spencer when they did their duty.

The Queen therefore hopes that Lord Salisbury will restrain Lord Randolph as much as he can.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

20th July 1885.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully acknowledges your Majesty's letter.

He deeply regrets that anything was said from the Treasury Bench on Friday night which meets with your Majesty's disapprobation. He himself read with great regret the speech of the Solicitor-General.¹ It was discussed in Cabinet yesterday : and Sir Michael Beach was requested to remonstrate with that officer upon it.

As to Lord Randolph's speech, the part of it which referred to Lord Spencer was certainly very far from representing Lord Salisbury's opinion ; and he believes it does not represent that of the majority of the Cabinet : and Lord Salisbury much regrets that none of the older Members of the Government were asked to speak ; for at present the public have before them an incorrect representation of the views of the Ministry on that point.

But in judging of Lord Randolph's speech it is fair to remember that he had, unfortunately, while he was in Opposition, in November last, formed and expressed with great energy the views he expressed last night as to Lord Spencer's Government. It was, of course, impossible for him to recede from the views so expressed ; the only thing he could do was to reconcile those views with the vote which as a Member of the Government he gave against the re-opening of the enquiry. Though Lord Salisbury differs from him strongly upon the estimate of past

¹ Sir John Gorst, one of Lord Randolph Churchill's associates in the "Fourth Party."

events, he cannot say that, according to Parliamentary usage, Members of the Government can be required to agree as to what took place in the past. They have to agree as to the course to be pursued in the present. The mistake committed was that of Sir M. Beach, who did not see the importance of letting other Members of the Government speak as a corrective.

Lord Salisbury will watch for an opportunity of re-stating, more accurately, the views of the Government on these points. He entirely agrees with your Majesty in thinking that the Nationalists cannot be trusted : and that any bargain with them would be full of danger.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 23rd July 1885.¹—A happier-looking couple could seldom be seen kneeling at the altar together. It was very touching. I stood very close to my dear child, who looked very sweet, pure, and calm. Though I stood for the ninth time near a child and for the fifth time near a daughter, at the altar, I think I never felt more deeply than I did on this occasion, though full of confidence. When the Blessing had been given, I tenderly embraced my darling "Baby."

11th Aug.—Dear Lord Halifax died three days ago. I truly grieve at his loss. He has always been a true and loyal friend and servant of mine, and in '59, when Lord Russell and Lord Palmerston did, and wanted to do still more, mischief, he was a great and real help.² He has never been the same since his excellent wife's death two years ago.

17th Aug.—Startled by Lord Salisbury telegraphing absurd behaviour of Lord Randolph, who wished to resign because I had asked privately of Lord

¹ These are the concluding words of the Queen's description of the marriage of Princess Beatrice to Prince Henry of Battenberg in Whippingham Church.

² See Second Series, vol. i, pp. 46, 217, and 228.

Dufferin, through Lord Salisbury, as to Arthur's fitness for Bombay, which had been answered in a most satisfactory manner, by Lord Dufferin giving the opinion of Sir D. Stewart and Sir F. Roberts; the latter has succeeded the former as C.-in-Chief in India. This opinion, by my desire, was communicated by Lord Salisbury to Lord Randolph Churchill, who took it ill. However, he has since returned to reason, "having taken calomel," as Lord Salisbury amusingly words it, and is not going to resign.¹

19th Aug.—Then saw Lord Salisbury and talked of India, of Russia, of the Zulficar Pass, and of Lord Randolph Churchill, who had rather wished to settle the matter without standing out for that Pass; but Lord Salisbury and the rest of the Cabinet would not hear of this. He spoke of Lord Randolph, in general, as being a great difficulty, but that his state of health often had much to do with it. We spoke of Sandro,² whom Lord Salisbury wishes to assist, and is much interested in, feeling for the great difficulties he has to contend with.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 20th Sept. 1885.—Am much troubled about this Roumelian rising.³ Might not Russia be at the bottom of this to get Prince Alexander into trouble? Trust you will discourage any violent action against him before we know what has caused this. Bismarck is not friendly to him. Please keep me fully informed.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

21st Sept. 1885.—Humble duty.

Action of Prince of Bulgaria very ill advised. Rising of Macedonia is almost certain; Greece will

¹ For a full account of this matter, see *Lord Randolph Churchill*, vol. i, ch. 11, pp. 503–517.

² Prince Alexander of Bulgaria.

³ See Introductory Note.

take the field ; there will be great difficulty in keeping the war from spreading and perhaps Turkish Empire itself may be endangered.

If he succeeds, he would be only plucking fruit for Russia to eat. Your Majesty will have seen from telegrams that no hasty action on the part of the Powers is to be apprehended, but danger is the other way.

England cannot act alone in this.

FOREIGN OFFICE, *23rd Sept.* 1885.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully acknowledges your Majesty's note of the 19th. The explosion at Philippopolis was most untoward. It gives Russia a very good handle against Prince Alexander : which she has been seeking for a long time ; and it is to be doubted whether the German Powers will try to save him. It seems to Lord Salisbury that the present tone of their language is—Prevent the rising from spreading to Macedonia, and never mind what happens in Eastern Roumelia. If they succeed in this policy, they will be quite satisfied to meet the wishes of Russia, by decreeing the deposition of the Prince ; and if any of the Western Powers make objection, a Bulgarian mob will be employed to turn him out of the country.

The country being practically wholly inland, your Majesty's Government has very little power in the matter. It seems to Lord Salisbury important that we should uphold the Treaty¹ ; discourage the use of force, unless one of the military monarchies will make itself responsible for the maintenance of the Treaty ; and exert what influence England has to prevent the movement spreading. But in this last matter we must be careful to act conjointly with Austria, and not separately ; otherwise we run the risk of England being used for the purpose of a demonstration, and then ignominiously dropped. Lord Salisbury pro-

¹ Of Berlin, 1878. Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury had insisted at Berlin on the separation of Bulgaria from Eastern Roumelia, now united by the East Roumelian rising. See Second Series, vol. ii, p. 584, and *Life of Disraeli*, vol. vi, ch. 9 ; and below, next page.

poses to leave this on Saturday. He fears that it will not be easy for him to combine much public speaking with his official work.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

23rd Sept. 1885.—Trust your earnest endeavour will be to avert bloodshed. Considering union is apparently unanimous desire of the people, that Prince recognises sovereignty of Sultan, would it not be expedient to enter protest against violation of Treaty, but acquiesce in the accomplished fact?

If union be disallowed by Powers, Prince will doubtless abdicate; and we then must expect Russian nominee as his successor, which may result in greater danger to Turkey than present movement.

You were always so anxious he should *not* give up.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

24th Sept. 1885.—Humble duty :

Our efforts will be devoted to prevent bloodshed which will result from the spread of conflagration.

In considering the attitude of England as to breach of Treaty of Berlin, it must be remembered that the maintenance of the Balkan Frontier was the provision on which Lord Beaconsfield insisted at Berlin at the risk of war.

If England now takes the lead in tearing up the arrangement which she forced on Europe seven years ago, her position will not be honourable and her influence will be much diminished. Wish of the Bulgarians for union was as well known then as it is now; and the danger of the big Bulgaria is not at all events diminished. Situation is embarrassing because of the extreme weakness of Turkey. Probability is military monarchies will not restore separation, but if they do Great Britain cannot honourably oppose them. She would be stultifying herself. If the union is upheld, best practical issue will be that

it should be a personal union in the Prince, institutions on each side remaining without change.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 25th Sept. 1885.—The Queen has this morning received Lord Salisbury's letter of the 23rd. She entirely agrees with Lord Salisbury that the rising in Roumelia is very untoward, and that the position of England as a party to the Treaty of Berlin is extremely delicate and difficult. But what she is anxious to repeat to Lord Salisbury is her belief (for we know *nothing whatever*, Prince Alexander's family being *as much surprised* as the outward world is, and totally ignorant of what has caused it) that the poor Prince has had his hand so forced that he would have been turned out of the country if he had not *gone* with the wish of his own people, who have great sympathy with the Roumelians. Lord Salisbury cannot be aware of the fearful insults and positive ill-usage that he has met with at the hands of Russia and of the Emperor personally, though he is his first Cousin, and therefore this cannot be an act in favour of Russia. Still the Queen hopes that Russia will not attempt to upset what has occurred. Quite apart from the Queen's own personal regard and friendship for Prince Alexander, which existed *before* he became her daughter's and granddaughter's brother-in-law, she owns that she would have thought that the more powerful the Principalities and Kingdoms of the Balkan were, the stronger would be the buffer against Russian aggression of Turkey, and she knows that the Crown Princess has for some years argued this. At the time of the Berlin Congress, Bulgaria, and the Prince himself even, were considered very Russian, and Lord Beaconsfield thought, doubtless, it was more prudent to divide Bulgaria and Roumelia. But for the last two years, nearly, the Prince has shown that he is only anxious to get rid of the Russian influences. If the Powers should

attempt to depose the Prince, it would be an act of great injustice to the people of Bulgaria, who are much attached to him now, as well as an arbitrary act towards Roumelia. We could, moreover, *not* acquiesce in a Russian candidate. It strikes the Queen that the Prince's complete recognition of the Sultan's suzerainty is likewise of great importance. What answer does Lord Salisbury propose to give to the Prince's appeal to the British Government ?

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 27th Sept. 1885.—Endless telegrams. Lord Salisbury informed Sir Wm. White¹ we would join Conference of Ambassadors if the other Powers did. Change of Berlin Treaty should be limited to personal union and appointment of Prince as Governor-General. All attempts at deposing Sandro should be resisted. Lord Salisbury has telegraphed to Sir H. Rumbold to Athens, to exert influence to prevent King of Greece taking military action ; to Mr. Graves (acting for Mr. Lascelles) to urge on Sandro that only means of preventing bloodshed was not to proceed with rigour against the Mussulmans. A more promising answer from Austria. Saw Mr. Smith, who was very sensible about Bulgaria, and anxious to support and maintain Sandro. He telegraphed for me to Lord Salisbury, saying, I hoped no time would be lost in letting our views be known, and that Greece and Servia should understand that further infractions of the Peace would not be tolerated.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 28th Sept. 1885.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully acknowledges your Majesty's gracious letter. He has also received a telegram from Mr. Smith this morning. The telegram which he had addressed to your Majesty late on Sunday night will have explained the instructions he has addressed to the representatives abroad,

¹ British Ambassador at Constantinople.

which he believes meet the points raised in Mr. Smith's telegram.

He has been anxious not to push matters too rapidly, because his fear was that, if the Conference of Ambassadors met before the situation had somewhat developed, if they had nothing before them but the one act of Prince Alexander, it might bring out into too great relief the illegality of his proceedings : and the effort to depose him might become very difficult to resist. The present attitude of the Powers is rather *insouciant* ; and if Servia and Macedonia can be kept quiet matters may go through quietly.

Lord Salisbury has seen to-day the French and Turkish Ambassadors, and the Chargés d'Affaires of Italy, Germany, and Austria. He has expressed to them all the view that the time for restoring the *status quo* had passed, and that the object now must be to reduce, to the smallest possible point, the necessary alteration in the Treaty of Berlin : and that that could best be effected by reducing the union of the two Bulgarias as far as possible to a personal union in the person of the present Prince. He did not hear from any of them any idea of displacing the Prince : and he thought that the French and Austrian representatives seemed to favour the idea of avoiding all change in the separate constitutions.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Gladstone.

[Draft.]

2nd Oct. 1885.—The Queen trusts Mr. Gladstone is recovering from the hoarseness with which he has been troubled for so many months, and takes this opportunity of expressing a hope that he will spare himself from speaking at public meetings for some time to come.

If he finds it absolutely necessary to make any further declaration, it would, she thinks, be better that he should do so in writing, and the Queen feels sure that he might do great service by dissociating himself entirely from the extreme set of visionaries

who excite the people's hopes and aspirations by promises of what is impracticable or dangerous.

There are many persons who are becoming greatly alarmed by the destructive doctrines which are taught, who would welcome warmly any words of Mr. Gladstone's which affirmed that liberalism is not socialism and that progress does not mean revolution.

The country wants *calming* not *exciting*, especially before a general election under such very new conditions, the result of which causes so much anxiety.

The Queen feels sure that she will not appeal in vain to Mr. Gladstone's personal devotion to herself, and to his patriotism, which she is convinced is far above party.

*Sir Henry Ponsonby to the Marquis of Hartington.*¹
[Copy.]

BALMORAL, 3rd October 1885.

MY DEAR HARTINGTON,—It was generally understood at the end of the Session that Mr. Gladstone did not intend to take any further active part in political events, but the Queen finds that he considers himself bound to continue to lead the Liberal Party.

She has therefore written to urge him to dissociate himself from the extreme Radicals, and to moderate the excesses of the violent reformers who require to be calmed rather than excited on the eve of a General Election, under such new and altered conditions.

Her Majesty hopes that you will also endeavour to allay the passions of men who in their attempt to outbid each other for the popular cry, put forward revolutionary proposals and impracticable schemes.

If the leading Liberal statesmen will unite in expressing their disapproval of such ideas the Queen is convinced they will strengthen their position and earn the respect of their fellow countrymen. Yours very truly, HENRY F. PONSONBY.

¹ Sir Henry Ponsonby wrote, in the Queen's behalf, a letter of similar character to Lord Granville.

Mr. Frank Lascelles to Major Bigge.

Private.

SOFIA, 3rd October 1885.

DEAR MAJOR BIGGE, —. . . . Since my return here I have been very much struck by the complete change that has taken place. Prince Alexander has become universally popular, and the Russians universally detested. His Highness, by placing himself at the head of the movement, has gained the hearts of all the Bulgarians, who will certainly resist to the very utmost of their power any attempt either to destroy the union or to dethrone his Highness. As regards the country therefore, his Highness's position is a very strong one. Of course, for some time he will find himself in a most difficult position with regard to the Powers, who, however, do not seem to have come to any understanding as to the course they are to follow. The Russians here are open-mouthed against the Prince, and their violent abuse of his Highness is doing much to destroy the very little influence which they still enjoy here. Their anger is intelligible, because they have been entirely mistaken as to what has taken place. How far they were aware of the movement before it took place is difficult to say, but it is evident that they believed that, as soon as it was known that the Emperor disapproved of the movement, the Bulgarians would have deserted the Prince and left his Highness in the lurch. They were amazed that this was not the case, and that on the contrary Prince Alexander's popularity if possible increased. They then thought that, by recalling the officers, the army would be incapacitated from marching, and here again they were deceived, and it is really admirable that the army, deprived as it was of its officers, marched over into Eastern Roumelia without the slightest disorder or confusion. The Prince seems to have been acting with great prudence. He has taken energetic measures for the maintenance of order and for the prevention of any disturbance on the Macedonian frontier. I am going to Philippopolis to-night, and will take the

earliest safe opportunity of writing to you after having seen his Highness. . . . Believe me, sincerely yours,
FRANK C. LASCELLES.

The Marquis of Hartington to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

DEVONSHIRE HOUSE, 6th October 1885.

MY DEAR PONSONBY,—I have received your letter of the 3rd inst.

I regret the tone of some of the speeches which have recently been delivered, principally because I think that it may be calculated to raise hopes and expectations which the measures actually indicated would fail to satisfy.

I do not know what may be the case with regard to the less prominent or responsible candidates, but I do not think that any of the proposals which have been actually put forward, by even the Radical leaders, can be described as revolutionary. I think that some of them are open to question on the ground of expediency, and I have already expressed my opinion to that effect.

I have still, I am sorry to say, many speeches to make; and I trust that her Majesty will find that I shall continue to take a moderate course on these questions. I remain, yours sincerely, HARTINGTON.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[Copy.]

BALMORAL CASTLE, 6th Oct. 1885.—The Queen has to thank Lord Salisbury for two interesting letters and for this most curious, important and secret memorandum. It is doubtless very desirable that we should cultivate the most friendly relations with Germany, but Prince Bismarck's views are peculiar and will frequently not accord with ours. For instance, to allow Russia to go to Constantinople is *out of the question*. This country would never stand that. With regard to Bulgaria, affairs look better. Lord Salisbury's cypher received yesterday about Servia and Greece was encouraging and these telegrams

received to-day equally so. But the Queen cannot help being struck with Count Robillant's observation that, unless Bulgaria and E. Roumelia were *really united*, it would *not* last. *She* thought so from the first and the Queen fears that the Bulgarians and Roumelians will never consent to it! However, it may perhaps be *possible* to let the arrangement of a mere *personal union* under Prince Alexander *do* for a *time* and then let the question be reconsidered.

The Queen feels certain that it is all important, from what Mr. Lascelles telegraphs, that the settlement should be arrived at as speedily as possible, as the Prince will be unable to restrain his people.

Russia behaves and has behaved shamefully. Her anger against Prince Alexander is merely because her plan of deposing him and uniting the two countries under a Russian Prince or one who would be a creature of Russia's, which Prince Alexander the Emperor's *own* first Cousin and the very favourite nephew of the late Emperor would *not* be, failed.

What M. Giers¹ says of his *promises* is utterly false, for the Queen has seen a letter of his written before all this, in which he says that he promised nothing but only complained of the very unfair and unkind way in which he was treated by Russia. Prince Bismarck ought to remember that *he forced* Prince Alexander to go there and shut the door behind him, saying, "You do not leave this room till you have promised you will go to Bulgaria!" and now he has deserted him ever since!

What Prince Bismarck says of France and his attempt to cajole her at our expense is not very creditable or encouraging. Count Münster will be no loss. Count Hatzfeld is said to be a charming person and a very clever man.

The Queen thinks Sir William White has done remarkably well and has shown great knowledge of the difficult subject before him as well as firmness and prudence.

¹ Russian Foreign Minister.

The Queen feels very anxious about Ireland and would be very glad if she could have seen Lord Carnarvon before he returned to Ireland.

Since writing this the Queen has received the cypher relative to the proposed declaration of the Ambassadors at Constantinople, which seems unobjectionable, as censure was to be expressed as well as caution and prudence. But what will be the next step ?

Mr. Gladstone to Queen Victoria.

HAWARDEN CASTLE, 10th Oct. 1885.—Mr. Gladstone presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and will now proceed frankly to offer the best reply, which he can submit within reasonable compass, to your Majesty's gracious letter of the 2nd of October.

Mr. Gladstone returns his best thanks for your Majesty's kind suggestion as to public speaking, to which he hopes to conform. He expects to avoid all public speaking until at a later date he is called to Midlothian, nor is he desirous to make additions to the Address which he has lately issued. He humbly concurs with your Majesty, in viewing with dislike what in the days of Sir Robert Peel was universally regarded with misgiving as Socialism ; but it is a subject of great concern to him that a disposition to favour it appears to have made considerable way with the two chief political parties in the State. He trusts also your Majesty will never find him wanting in the disposition to distinguish between progress and revolution : and even that your Majesty may have regarded his recent course as in a manner dissociating him from extreme or dangerous views.

In Government, the leader of a party has a title, in certain cases, to limit the speech and action of the Members of an Administration, who are usually the leading men of the party. But his position when not in office has no such positive title, and it would be

difficult, and unusual, for him to act strongly in this sense, except by his own example, and by private representation or remonstrance.

Mr. Chamberlain is known as the most active and efficient representative at this time of what may be termed the left wing of the Liberal Party; and Mr. Gladstone recently thought it would be well to invite him to Hawarden, with a view to personal communication, which has now been effected, he thinks with advantage. Mr. Chamberlain is wholly unaware of any communication at this juncture between your Majesty and Mr. Gladstone.

Mr. Gladstone has deemed it his duty to do all he could at this time towards inducing the entire Liberal Party to co-operate in a line of action which entirely corresponds, in his opinion, with your Majesty's phrase, in being progress without revolution. He has been the more anxious to promote a distinct plan of action, both on account of his own time of life, which naturally enhances the desire for rest together with an anxiety not to leave confusion behind him, and on account of circumstances which recently occurred, having reference to administration in Ireland.

He has endeavoured to look forward, with due reference to either contingency of a Liberal majority or of a Liberal minority at the Election; apart, however, from exceptional contingencies, and in regard only to what may be termed the ordinary course of domestic politics and legislation.

In his opinion, formed after the communications he has held in different quarters, the Liberal Party has before it, open to its choice, a course of action, useful and effective, but moderate and safe, which would supply it as a body with ample employment for several years, and which there is no reasonable cause for its not uniting to pursue.

In substance this course of action corresponds with what Mr. Gladstone has recommended in his Address, pages 12 to 15. (He encloses a copy for

facility of reference that his meaning may be clear.) As he understands from Mr. Chamberlain, there is one addition which he thinks essential, namely an extension of the powers of local bodies to enable them to take land, even by compulsion, for certain purposes. Mr. Gladstone has done nothing to favour a plan of this kind; but there is some reason to believe that its compass would not be wide, and that it would not offer an insuperable obstacle to the union of the party, and of the leading men, to which he has referred.

Beyond the limits thus defined, there lie other questions on which, undoubtedly, the Liberal Party would not as a whole be agreed. They are mainly two, the Establishment of the Church, and not only the composition and structure of the House of Lords, but even the existence of a second Chamber. It is impossible not to see that the most serious consequences may ensue to the Liberal Party itself, apart from any other consideration, when questions such as these, and extreme views in regard to them, come to be raised. But they are quite excluded from present view, except as matters of sectional or personal opinion, where they are considered as embracing the abolition of a second Chamber and of all religious establishments. Even in any more limited form, they enter into no present contemplation, and anything said by Mr. Gladstone has been said in the calming and not the stimulating sense.

If, therefore, in the course of public contingencies, anything should occur to bring the Liberal Party into a more prominent position, Mr. Gladstone does not apprehend a political shock from that or from any early cause.

At the same time, as to a less proximate future, Mr. Gladstone's views are somewhat clouded. His faith in the nation and in its institutions is firm, and any error that may be committed or danger that may be encountered will he believes be kept within bounds. But, in estimating the future, he must take

into view the temper, tone, and integrity of both the great political parties, the condition of each being in his judgment subject to much influence from the condition of the other. He does not feel sure that they are altogether as healthy as they were when, and for many years after, he entered public life.

Mr. Gladstone has addressed these remarks to the gracious letter of your Majesty ; and has, as he said, put aside exceptional contingencies. This has especial reference to Ireland, as it seems to be within the verge of possibility that the Irish question may after the Dissolution once more assume for a time a forward, or even a dominant position.

Mr. Gladstone has answered to your Majesty's appeal, as a loyal subject, with a freedom which only your Majesty's wish, as it is in his estimation a command, would justify. Perhaps, indeed, speaking so much of the future, he ought to have made reserves, with which he has dispensed, knowing that your Majesty will make full allowance for the uncertain and conjectural element attaching to this strain of remark, and will take what he has said as his best, though a poor, contribution towards meeting your Majesty's just anxiety for the welfare of the realm.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 11th Oct. 1885.—A good deal annoyed at hearing from Lord Salisbury, that, in spite of the opinion and wishes of Sir D. Stewart, Sir F. Roberts, Gen. Hardinge, and the Viceroy, the Cabinet has decided that Arthur should not have the command at Bombay, this on political grounds only. They fear cases might arise in which he might have to give his vote on political questions, which would not be fitting for a Prince of the Royal Family. I consider this absurd, and saw Sir H. Ponsonby about it. Arthur is, of course, a good deal disappointed, but takes it calmly and well.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.
[Cypher Telegram.]

19th Oct. 1885.—Lord Salisbury's humble duty. The situation is very difficult. The three Empires and Turkey are asking us to assent to the absolute maintenance of the Treaty of Berlin.

It is awkward to refuse, but we must do so. The danger is that we may, if we put ourselves altogether aside, bring next a close alliance between Turkey and Russia. It is for this reason Lord Salisbury is avoiding pronounced action, lest England should find herself isolated.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.
[Cypher Telegram.]

19th Oct. 1885.—Think telegrams received to-day all far more promising.

If peace is maintained will all be owing to Prince Alexander's great efforts in that direction; considering great internal difficulties he deserves greatest praise. Think you should send him some friendly word of encouragement and confidence. It will help him on.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.
[Cypher Telegram.]

21st Oct. 1885.—Lord Salisbury's humble duty. He will communicate with Prince Alexander at the first moment he can safely do so. But until some of the Powers have declared themselves more fully, he might mislead the Prince by doing so.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.
[Copy.]

BALMORAL, 22nd Oct. 1885.—Though the Queen has cyphered to Lord Salisbury this morning, she wishes to repeat what she has said more fully in writing.

From the various telegrams and letters which she

has seen it seems to her that it is *most important* that it should be clearly pointed out without delay to the *three Powers* who seem all to join—and Austria very short-sightedly—in giving to Russia's shameful intrigues all the support she desires, and clearly *understood* by them, that we can and shall be *no party* to the restoration of the *status quo ante* or to the deposition of Prince Alexander. This seems not to have been *understood* by Austria at any rate; and *all* right-minded people and all who are not under the influence of Russia, as well as the people of this country, wish the Prince to be supported and maintained. The way in which he has maintained peace and order is wonderful and is deserving of all praise, and he has been admirably supported by his own people. France and Italy would surely go with us if they saw we were in earnest. The Porte is digging her own grave by listening to Russia. King Milan has behaved very ill. Pray inform the Cabinet of the Queen's strong opinion on the subject, which is founded on the firm conviction that we are defending the cause of liberty as well as that of Europe against Russian aggression and tyranny.

The Queen cannot overlook the great difficulties of our position; but we must beware to *appear* to join in the false and tyrannical proceedings and intentions of Russia.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

23rd Oct. 1885.—Lord Salisbury's humble duty. Cabinet are clearly of opinion that we should go into the Conference on the base of the essential provisions of the Treaty of Berlin, and that we should not consent to summon Prince Alexander to resume his legal position under the Treaty, [provided that] we receive a sufficient undertaking as to the ulterior satisfaction to be given to the wish of the Bulgarian population and as to the maintenance of Prince Alexander himself. Will your Majesty be pleased to approve this recommendation?

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Cypher Telegram.*]

BALMORAL, 23rd Oct. 1885.—Referring to your cypher telegram received this evening, *I approve* recommendation provided that we receive a sufficient undertaking as to the maintenance of Prince Alexander.

Extracts from the Queen's Journal.

BALMORAL, 1st Nov. 1885.—Very much grieved to hear this morning early, of the death of the good Duke of Abercorn, such a noble, handsome-looking man; and take him all in all, one will not see his like again. He was a clever, good man, and very useful in Ireland. The poor dear Duchess nursed him throughout.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 25th Nov.—Got the really dreadful news of the death of the poor young and distinguished King of Spain, only 28, so clever, and full of promise. And his poor young wife, left with two little girls of 5 and 3, just as 50 years ago his grandmother Queen Christina was left with two little girls, Queen Isabella and the Duchesse de Montpensier! Everyone so shocked, and it is such a calamity for Spain.

2nd Dec.—The elections not good, though there are some striking Conservative victories. The Counties go against the Government, but the Radicals are generally beaten in the Boroughs. The minorities are much larger than before. In Ireland alas! a number of Parnellites have been elected.

Queen Victoria to the Marquis of Salisbury.

[*Copy.*]

WINDSOR CASTLE, 3rd Dec. 1885.—The Queen has been much distressed, she must say, at the unsatisfactory turn the Elections have taken. But it must be observed that the extreme Radicals have *not* succeeded, that many of the minorities are very large and greatly larger than *last* Election, and that Con-

servatives have gained many seats since '80. The feeling of the country is therefore very healthy in *that* respect. The Queen thinks, however, *most* of the country and of our *foreign relations*, and of the *absolute* NECESSITY of having strong and able and safe men to conduct the government of the Empire, such as is the case in Lord Salisbury's hands. She therefore looks to *him* to help and advise her in this critical juncture.

Things must and can not return to what they were, for it would be UTTER ruin to the country and Europe. . . . We want a strong coalition and to this end every nerve must be strained. The country at large is *not* Radical and we want the best and *strongest* men to join.

The Queen appeals to Lord Salisbury's devotion to her person and Throne and asks him not to desert her, which she is sure *he* and many others will not. Under any circumstances the Queen thinks Lord Salisbury *ought* to meet Parliament to see how parties are constituted. . . .

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

FOREIGN OFFICE, 4th Dec. 1885.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully acknowledges your Majesty's letter received this morning. The turn which the County constituencies have taken is very unfortunate, and will create great embarrassment. Lord Salisbury is clearly of opinion that no case has arisen, or is likely to arise, for a resignation, in anticipation of a Parliamentary vote. Even if the Liberals should obtain a clear majority in the whole House, which does not seem probable, they are too disunited to justify the Conservatives in admitting that the country has voted for a change of Government. The practice introduced by Lord Beaconsfield in 1868, though it has been followed twice since, is a grave departure from the older constitutional usage, and should not be perpetuated when it can be avoided.

Beyond that point the future is very obscure. Even if the Conservatives weather the first confidence division, it is not likely that, depending on the Irish, with whom they have nothing in common, they can long retain office. On the other hand, the difficulties of the Liberals are greater still. Mr. Gladstone's great age makes it doubtful whether he would face a term of office in which he would have no reliable majority at his command: and no leader who could succeed him is sure of combining the Liberal Party. Lord Hartington would have the best chance, but he has not the authority he had in 1880.

Your Majesty may rest assured that Lord Salisbury and his friends will do all in their power to lighten the heavy load which rests upon your Majesty. But the objections to a coalition will not come from them. Lord Salisbury would have no objection to serve under Lord Hartington: it is Lord Hartington who would refuse to serve with Lord Salisbury.

Lord Salisbury begs to return the papers sent by your Majesty yesterday. The news in the *Standard* is satisfactory. If the Eastern Roumelian people retain this attitude, Lord Salisbury does not believe that there is any Power which will venture to force them from it.

Sir William Jenner to Queen Victoria.

63 BROOK STREET, W., 7th December 1885.

MADAM,—I have seen Lord Salisbury, and although from the tone of Lord Hartington's speech in to-day's *Times*, Lord Salisbury fears Lord Hartington is striving to build up a wall between the two parties, he (Lord S.) will do all he can to detach the moderate Liberals from the Radicals. Should the Liberals succeed in putting the Conservatives out of office, he is sure your Majesty would find Mr. Gladstone very different to what he was when in power with a large and assured majority; he said your Majesty could object to anyone whom he proposed for office, e.g. Lord

Granville, and that at any moment the threat of a dissolution would make him amenable to reason.

Lord Salisbury seems to think that the time for overtures has not yet arrived; he will certainly meet Parliament and thinks it highly probable that the vote of confidence will be in his favour.

Lord Salisbury is most anxious to save your Majesty all trouble. He will do anything calculated to conduce to that object; and desired me to assure your Majesty that he would be happy at any time when your Majesty pleased to receive communications of any kind through me. . . .

8th Dec.—Since writing to your Majesty I have again heard from Lord Salisbury saying there cannot be the slightest objection to a communication being made to Mr. Goschen through a third person. I have the honour to be, your Majesty's most humble and obedient servant, WILLIAM JENNER.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 8th Dec. 1885.—Saw Sir H. Ponsonby when I returned, who had seen Mr. Goschen in London, and had had a long talk with him. The latter had spoken very strongly about Ireland and was anxious to know what I felt about it and other Radical ideas; he was working hard to try and get Lord Hartington and other moderate Liberals to join him, so as to make a strong middle party, as opposed to Mr. Gladstone, and he hoped with success. He is very anxious that the present Government should remain in; as regards a coalition, he had said that might come, but it must not be forced, etc.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

WINDSOR CASTLE, 9th Dec. 1885.—General Sir Henry Ponsonby presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and will write as your Majesty desires to Mr. Goschen.

Ireland is the difficulty that must be met at the

outset; and the increasing opinion in London is that Parnell's demand must to a certain extent be conceded or that strong repressive measures must be adopted. If the latter case, there will be serious difficulty in passing any stringent act in the present Parliament, and there will be a renewal of dynamite attempts at outrage. On the other hand, if Parnell is to have his way there will be a disruption of both the great English parties and conflicts in Ireland.

Mr. Goschen wants to support the Loyalists in Ireland, and complains that in no speech, Tory or Liberal—except his own—was the slightest encouragement given to them. His belief is that Mr. Gladstone contemplates granting a Grand Council to Ireland, and if he does so the Liberal Party will be split into two. If Lord Hartington is firm, he will lead a very strong moderate section, and if the liberal Conservatives will unite a powerful party could be organised. But the junction must grow from themselves and any external pressure would do harm. Lord Derby is convinced that there are great numbers of men who would gladly join any moderate or middle party, but he knows at present of no leaders who would place themselves at the head of the movement.

Mr. Jenkinson, who sees Irishmen of all descriptions, laments that some form of Irish Local Government was not granted two years ago. The best thing now he believes would be to give local powers to a Central Board on the lines of suggestions to be made by Mr. Parnell, with safeguards against exaggeration, as he thinks Mr. Parnell would then exert himself in the cause of law and order and would be the Conservative leader in the Irish Council.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Queen Victoria.

14th Dec. 1885.—Lord Salisbury with his humble duty to your Majesty respectfully submits that at the Cabinet held to-day it was, after much discussion, resolved that it was the duty of Ministers to meet Parlia-

ment ; but that, in order to avoid the humiliations which would be inflicted on them if they remained as a Ministry on sufferance, controlled by an adverse majority, they should take an early opportunity of compelling the House of Commons to declare whether it is prepared to repose confidence in them or not.

The Irish question was then considered with the assistance of explanations from the Viceroy and the Lord Chancellor of Ireland. It was resolved that, though in some form or other the legislation in regard to Local Government which was passed for England would necessarily be extended to Ireland, it was not possible for the Conservative Party to tamper with the question of Home Rule. Lord Carnarvon expressed his earnest desire to retire from his office, in accordance with an understanding entered into with him when he took it. The feeling of the Cabinet, however, was that at this moment such a retirement would be misunderstood ; and he was very strongly pressed to remain for the sake of the peace of Ireland.

The First Lord of the Admiralty consulted the Cabinet with respect to the appointment of the Duke of Edinburgh to the Mediterranean Fleet : stating that it was the course which would be followed on purely professional grounds, if there was no political objection. The Cabinet decided that there was no political objection and that the appointment should be made. The Cabinet then took into consideration again the question of the appointment of the Duke of Connaught to the command at Bombay, in obedience to your Majesty's letter. They examined the question carefully ; but they came to the conclusion that the former grounds for the advice they humbly tendered still remained valid, and that the appointment just sanctioned of the Duke of Edinburgh added an additional and very strong reason why H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught should be appointed for the present to Rawal Pindi rather than to Bombay. In this last reason Lord Salisbury concurred with his colleagues ; but not the Duke of Richmond.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

LONDON, 19th Dec. 1885.—General Sir Henry Ponsonby with his humble duty finds there are very few of the leading people in town this week.

There is of course much speculation on the meaning of the late Home Rule announcement.¹ The Tories are convinced that some understanding exists between Mr. Gladstone and the Parnellites, and Mr. Healy and other Irish Members have been expressing their satisfaction at the declaration.

The Liberals are divided—some believing as above and others declaring that the whole statement is false. All, of both political parties, are convinced that Mr. Gladstone is determined if possible to resume office. But many Liberals are disheartened and say they prefer Mr. Chamberlain's more definite utterances. Mr. Charles Villiers said he looked upon it as a feeler put out by Mr. Gladstone, who will adopt or reject the published proposals according to the way they are received by the public.

Sir Henry Ponsonby wrote to Mr. Goschen in the sense of your Majesty's letter. By himself he has apparently no followers; but if Lord Hartington will take him with him he will become a strong power in that party.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Goschen.

[Copy.]

Confidential.

OSBORNE, 20th Dec. 1885.—Though Sir Henry Ponsonby has, I know, written to you strongly in my name on the present very anxious state of affairs, I fear he may have hardly expressed himself *as strongly* as I would wish, and as I think the moment requires.

I appeal to *you* and to all moderate, loyal, and *really patriotic* men, who have the safety and well-being of the Empire and the Throne at heart, and who wish to save them from destruction, with which,

¹ See Introductory Note to this chapter.

if the Government again fell into the reckless hands of Mr. Gladstone, they would be threatened, to rise above party and to be true patriots! You must convince Lord Hartington of what is at last *his duty* and of what he owes to his Queen and country, which really goes before allegiance to Mr. Gladstone, who can persuade himself that *everything* he takes up is right, even though it be calling black, white, and wrong, right.

Let me urge and implore you by *all* the sense of honour you so strongly possess, by your devotion and love for our dear, great country, to do *all* you can to gather around you all the moderate Liberals, who indeed ought to be called "*Constitutionalists*," to prevent Mr. Gladstone recklessly upsetting the Government without being able to form a Government himself, which could stand, and which I could accept, for I should firmly refuse Mr. Chamberlain, and Sir Ch. Dilke, for different reasons, as you can understand.

I am sure that you with Lord Hartington and many other moderate Liberals would save the country by standing aloof from Mr. Gladstone, who is utterly reckless, and whose conduct at this moment, in proposing what would be *Home Rule*, is most mischievous and incomprehensible.

Out of this might grow a Coalition in time.

Let Lord Hartington be strong and firm and the country will respect and look up to him. He can never consent to Home Rule, nor would Lords Spencer, Carlingford, and Kimberley, I am sure. Let Lord Hartington and the other gentlemen show that the Liberal Party is *not* actuated with the motives which Lord Clarendon told the Queen governed the Liberal Party, viz. : self and party *first*, and Queen and country *last*!

You *must* act, or the country will be ruined. Lord Salisbury has managed foreign affairs admirably, I think all sides must admit, and it would be a *misfortune* if he was to be removed.

He would highly approve my telling you what I have done. No one knows of this letter, which I send, through Lady Ely, to Mrs. Goschen for you.—V. R. & I.

P.S.—Lord Randolph Churchill is strongly opposed to Home Rule or anything approaching to it, and the Conservative Party are very united and strong.

I do not speak of *myself*, but I may say I think a Queen, and one well on in years and who has gone through terrible anxieties and sorrows, ought not to appeal in vain to British gentlemen, who have known and served her long!

The Marchioness of Ely to Mr. Forster.

[*Copy.*]

OSBORNE, 22nd Dec. 1885.—The Queen desires me to say her Majesty hopes that you are prepared to stand by the moderate patriotic and loyal men, who will not agree with the wild plans of Mr. G., and that you will not join in trying to drive out the present Government to let Mr. G. come in again. The Queen considers that would be a real misfortune for the country and for the whole world. Lord Hartington's letter is very satisfactory,¹ the Queen thinks.—J. ELY.

Mr. Goschen to Queen Victoria.

SEACOX HEATH, 22nd Dec. 1885.—Mr. Goschen presents his humble duty to your Majesty and begs to assure your Majesty of his deep sense of the confidence reposed in him by the gracious letter which he has just received.

Mr. Goschen, in common with Lord Hartington, has urged the grave and inevitable dangers of granting Home Rule to Ireland, over and over again, in speeches during the electoral campaign, and though it may be contended that the projects now attributed to Mr. Gladstone are more or less covered by his expres-

¹ For the nature of Lord Hartington's letter, see Mr. Goschen's letter of this date.

sions with regard to Ireland, in his address to the electors of Midlothian, he read with dismay the various statements in the newspapers which, as he now hopes, erroneously, gave apparently form and substance to what seemed generalities before. Mr. Goschen conferred with Lord Hartington last Saturday, and urged the necessity of some declaration on his part which would conclusively set at rest any doubts which might have been suggested as to his possibly being prepared to fall in with Mr. Gladstone's views. Lord Hartington's letter to the Chairman of the Election Committee was the result of our conversation and clearly states that he stands by his previous declarations.

Mr. Goschen trusts that the immediate danger is to some extent removed, but the great difficulty, which undoubtedly exists, lies in the absolute feeling of despair entertained by many of those who are more conversant with Irish affairs, and most opposed to Mr. Parnell, with regard to any practicable, or in the least hopeful, alternative policy for solving the Irish problem.

The question must soon force itself on the country, what stringency of law or executive action it will stand, not only in dealing with the turbulent law-breakers in Ireland, but with the Nationalists in the House of Commons.

The dangers of the crisis both in respect of the possible paralysis of the House of Commons, of a universal strike against rent in Ireland, of a renewal of outrages, of the mad crimes which the Irish Americans may commit, are so patent and so certain to strike the imagination of many, that Mr. Goschen will not be surprised to see thoroughly loyal men who are anxious for the integrity of the Empire and the stability of the Throne, shaken in their determination, and wavering as to whether a settlement on the basis of Home Rule is not inevitable "after all." Mr. Goschen ventures humbly to submit that, while in his own opinion it is the duty of the country courageously to face the certain perils involved in the refusal

of the Irish demands, hesitation on the subject need not necessarily be ascribed to any care for party interests or desire for office, but may spring, in the case of many men, from a real apprehension of formidable consequences likely to follow from a policy of resistance. Mr. Goschen has seen with much regret symptoms of this frame of mind in some quarters where hostility to Mr. Parnell's plans has hitherto been strongest.

Mr. Goschen fervently trusts that a united front will be opposed to any faction which proposes measures striking at the real unity of the Empire. He will most certainly use his best efforts to promote united action, both in resisting Mr. Parnell's demands, as he has repeatedly formulated them, and in securing the efficiency of the House of Commons, which the present state of parties and the great number of the Nationalist Members may most gravely threaten. He has not had the opportunity of seeing many of his friends during the last two or three weeks, but, so far, he has found no disposition whatever to countenance an early attack on the Government; and the impossibility of forming a Liberal administration, strong enough, and united enough, to be able successfully to cope with the present situation, has become more apparent by the events of the last few days.

In conclusion, Mr. Goschen wishes to assure your Majesty of his deep devotion, and of his resolute intention to do his utmost to defend the interests of the Empire and of the Throne in this momentous crisis.

Sir Henry Ponsonby to Queen Victoria.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 23rd Dec. 1885.—General Sir Henry Ponsonby presents his humble duty to your Majesty.

He hears that Mr. Gladstone is very anxious to resume office, and that as long as this is the case no other Liberal Minister would have a chance of forming a party to govern. If Mr. Gladstone becomes Prime

Minister he will certainly select Lord Granville as his Foreign Minister. Sir William Harcourt, on the other hand, knows nothing of Mr. Gladstone's intentions. He is terribly alarmed at the aspect of the Irish question and is puzzled and provoked by the alleged Irish schemes attributed to Mr. Gladstone.

Mr. Gladstone denies the accuracy of the newspaper announcements respecting himself, and considers that his proper course will be to state his views in Parliament. But the Prime Minister, he thinks, should first announce the intentions of the Government towards Ireland.

Lord Hartington has been assured that Mr. Gladstone has made no compact or agreement with the Parnellites.

Mr. Gladstone knows that his letter about Ireland has been seen by Lord Salisbury, and imagines that the reference to a letter from him to your Majesty in *The Times* alludes to this.

Sir Henry Ponsonby was surprised to see it also stated in *The Times* that Lord Carnarvon held peculiar views on Ireland—with Lord Ashbourne—as he imagined this was strictly secret.

Extract from the Queen's Journal.

OSBORNE, 29th Dec. 1885.—Held a Council at 1, before which I saw Lord Cranbrook and the Duke of Richmond. Both were very full of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule views, also rather annoyed at Lord Randolph Churchill's giving trouble and holding a tone in the Cabinet which they thought wrong and bumptious.

Queen Victoria to Mr. Goschen.

[Copy.]

Confidential.

OSBORNE, 29th Dec. 1885.—I am very grateful for your interesting and kind letter, which is in many ways very satisfactory. Lord Hartington's letter and

Mr. Forster's are most satisfactory, but it must *not stop there*. You must keep Lord Hartington up to the mark and *not* let him slide back (as so often before) into following Mr. Gladstone and trying to keep the party together. At this time, you know, the very *reverse is required*. We want *all moderate men*, all true patriots to support the Throne and Empire *irrespective* of party. I am especially anxious about this, as we hear that Mr. Gladstone (in his 77th year) is *bent* on forcing himself into office. Such a wanton act should meet with no support from those who like yourself—and I hope I may add Lord Hartington and many more—have *the* true interests of the Empire at heart; for I am sure that Mr. Gladstone has *persuaded* himself again, that he has some mission to do great things for Ireland, as he certainly was very full, when he took leave of me, of some enormous scheme for Central Local Government in Dublin which I *know* many of his former colleagues said *meant Home Rule*, though he might deny it.

I hope to hear from you again if there is anything of importance which you can tell me. Pray accept for yourself and Mrs. Goschen my best wishes for the New Year. Yours truly, V. R. & I.

You must have admired, I am sure, the heroism, sagacity, and moderation with which the Prince of Bulgaria, under the most difficult and trying circumstances, has carried his country successfully through the alarming crisis and unjustifiable war.



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